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THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM

The Building of *Rome* to the Ruin
of the *Commonwealth*.

Illustrated with MAPS and other ^{of} *PLATES.*

VOL. II.

By N. H O O K E, Esq;

The FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and R. T O N S O N ; G. H A W K I N S ;
and T. L O N G M A N .

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College Fort William



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
HUGH, Earl of MARCHMONT.

MY LORD,

PERMIT me to lay hold of this fair occasion, publickly to congratulate your Lordship, upon that *true Glory, the consenting praise of the honest and the wise*, which you have so early acquired. ‘ When
‘ men have performed any *virtuous* actions, or such
‘ as sit easy upon their memories, it is a *reasonable*
‘ pleasure’ (says a philosophical *Writer, who speaks contemptuously enough of Renown after death) ‘ to
‘ have the testimony of the world added to that of
‘ their own consciences, that they have done well.’
My Lord, you have not only this pleasure, but another, no less reasonable, and more exquisite, attending a character like yours, The being able to do much good to others. To those whom you distinguish by particular marks of your good opinion you give reputation; and I have happily experienced, that

* Mr. Wollaston.

D E D I C A T I O N.

reputation, so derived, is not meer air and fruitless. Through that warmth of good will which your Lordship, on all occasions, expresses for me, I have profited, greatly profited, by *your* glory. You, my Lord, can be no stranger to this truth; yet I trust, you will forgive me, if, to draw still more advantage from your fame, I here take the liberty to tell your Lordship, *in print*, for the information of others, what you knew before: As a Player, when alone on the stage, speaks aloud to himself, that he may be heard by those who fill the Theatre. I would, by this dedication of my Book to your Lordship, publish, as far as by such means I can, that You, my Lord, are my Patron and my Friend; and that I am, with the greatest respect, esteem and gratitude,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most faithful, and

Most Humble Servant,

N. H O O K E.

V.G.6

T H E

Roman History.

FOURTH BOOK.

From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR
in the Year of Rome 489, to the End of
the SECOND in 552.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAP. I.

The occasion of the First Punic War.

CERTAIN Italian soldiers, called Mamertines, who had been mercenaries in the service of Agathocles King of Sicily, and had, after his death, treacherously seized upon Messina, being reduced to extremities by the arms of Hiero King of Syracuse, one part of them puts the citadel into the hands of the Carthaginians, and the other sends Embassadors to the Romans, offering them the possession of the city, and imploring their protection. The people of Rome order the Consul Appius Claudius to go with an army to the relief of the Mamertines; who, in the mean time, rid themselves of the Carthaginians, that had been admitted into the citadel.

CHAP. II.

First, second, and third years of the War.

The Carthaginians, in conjunction with Hiero King of Syracuse, who had entered into a league with them, besiege Messina. Appius Claudius lands in Sicily, defeats the allies, and forces them to raise the siege. The next year Hiero, for a hundred talents of silver, purchases a Peace with Rome, and the year following assists the Romans in taking Agrigentum from the Carthaginians.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

The fourth and fifth years of the War.

492. *In the Consulship of L. Valerius and T. Otacilius, Rome fits out a fleet of a hundred Quinqueremes and twenty Triremes, in order to dispute with*
 493. *the Carthaginians the dominion of the sea. One of the Consuls of the next year, Cornelius Asina, falls into the enemy's hands, together with seventeen*
 DUILIUS. *of his galleys; but the other Consul, C. Duilius, gains a memorable victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near Mylæ, chiefly by means of a new invented engine for grappling and boarding the enemy's ships.*

C H A P. IV.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth years of the War.

494. *Four thousand Samnites conspire with certain discontented slaves to plunder and burn Rome, but are seasonably discovered, and punished. The Romans invade Corsica and Sardinia with success. A quarrel in Sicily between the Roman army and their Sicilian auxiliaries, gives the enemy some advantages in that island. Next year several towns there surrender to one of*
 495. *the Consuls; and the other surprizes the enemy's fleet in a port of Sardinia, and takes many of the ships; whereupon the Carthaginian sailors mutiny, and crucify their Admiral. The Romans are again conquerors in an engagement at sea near the Tyndaris.*

C H A P. V.

The ninth year of the War.

497. *To oblige Carthage to recal her armies from Sicily, Rome undertakes to transfer the war into Africa. In this view both the Consuls are sent out with a fleet of 330 ships of war, and an army of near 140,000 men. They gain a complete victory over the enemy's fleet near Ecnomus, and afterwards land in Africa. One of the Consuls returns to Italy with the greater part of*
 REGULUS. *the fleet and the army, leaving his colleague Regulus to pursue the war. The Roman General, after taking several towns, routs the land-forces of the Carthaginians near Adis, and then offers peace to the Republic, but upon conditions that are rejected with indignation.*

C H A P. VI.

- XANTIPPUS. *The Senate of Carthage entrust Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian, with the command of their army. By his excellent conduct he totally defeats the Romans in a pitched battle, and takes Regulus prisoner.*

C H A P.

Book IV. CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

From the ninth to the fourteenth year of the War.

Rome dispatches her new Consuls into Africa, with a great fleet, to bring off the remains of Regulus's army, which after the late battle had taken refuge in Clypea. The Consuls gain a victory over the Carthaginian fleet, near the promontory of Mercury; they land at Clypea, and take the legionaries on board; but in their passage home meet with so terrible a storm, that, of above four hundred vessels, only fourscore escape destruction. The Romans fit out a new fleet, with which the succeeding Consuls pass into Sicily, and there reduce some towns. Next year 150 Roman ships perishing by tempest, the Republic gives over all thoughts of naval enterprizes, and resolves to depend entirely upon her land-forces; but those are so much afraid of the Carthaginian elephants, that for two years together they dare not face the enemy in battle, or even appear in the plain field. This terror among the legions, and the advantage which the enemy had of being able, at pleasure, to supply their maritime towns with recruits and provisions, make the Roman Senate resolve to try once more the fortune of Rome at sea. In the mean time, the Roman General in Sicily draws the Carthaginians into a snare, routs their whole army, and kills or takes all the elephants.

CHAP. VIII.

Carthage disheartened by her losses sends Embassadors to Rome, and, together with them, the captive Regulus, to treat of a peace. Regulus dissuades the Senate from hearkening to the overture, and even from consenting to an exchange of prisoners. In performance of his word given he returns to Carthage, and there, soon after, dies.

CHAP. IX.

From the fourteenth to the eighteenth year of the War.

The Consuls set sail with the fleet for Sicily, and lay siege to Lilybæum. Himilco, the Carthaginian Commander in the city, makes a vigorous defence. In the mean time a squadron of ships from Africa passes through the Roman navy, and lands 10,000 men in the town; which being afterwards straitly shut up, one Hannibal, a Rhodian, undertakes to go thither with a single galley, and bring intelligence to the Senate of Carthage of the condition of the besieged; and he succeeds. The garrison in a sally burn all the towers and engines employed against their town; after which the Romans turn the siege into a blockade. Next year the Consul Claudius Pulcher attempts

- attempting to surprize Drepanum, is by the governor of the place defeated at sea, and loses the greatest part of his fleet. The rest of the Roman navy, under the other Consul and his Quæstors, is, by the Carthaginian Admiral, forced upon the south coast of Sicily, where every one of the ships perishing by storm, Rome once more renounces the empire of the seas. Her General in Sicily gets possession of the city of Eryx. The following year produces no remarkable action between the contending parties. The Carthaginian army, for want of pay, mutiny against their General. He is recalled home, and succeeded in the command by Amilcar Barcha, father of the famous Hannibal.

C H A P. X.

From the eighteenth year of the war to the end of it, in the twenty-third or twenty-fourth year after its commencement.

- AMILCAR BARCHA. Amilcar, after quieting the discontents of the army, and making a successful expedition on the coast of Italy, encamps on a mountain between Panormus and Eryx in Sicily; and there maintains his post against all the efforts of the Romans for almost three years. At length (in 508.) he finds means to seize upon the city of Eryx, situated on the side of a high mountain; and though hard pressed by a Roman garrison at the top of the mountain, and a Roman army at the foot of it, yet in two years time they are not able to dislodge him. The Senate of Rome finding it impossible to complete the conquest of Sicily without a naval strength, a considerable fleet is fitted out at the expence of private citizens, the public treasury being exhausted. This new fleet, under the conduct of Lutatius Catulus, obtaining a complete victory over that of the enemy, near the Ægates, the Carthaginians are constrained to yield to the Romans, by a treaty of peace, the whole island of Sicily; which, except the little kingdom of Syracuse, is reduced to the form of a province.
511. LUTATIUS CATULUS. At Rome the tribes are augmented to thirty-five, which number they never after exceeded.
512. 35. Tribes.

C H A P. XI.

The Falisci, a people of Hetruria, rebel against the Romans, but in a few days are forced to submit. Carthage is reduced to great extremities in a war, which for more than three years is carried on against her, by her foreign Mercenaries in conjunction with her African subjects. The conduct of the Romans upon this occasion.

C H A P. XII.

For three years the Romans, having no war to maintain, employ themselves in establishing good order in Italy, and planting colonies in the neighbourhood of the Gauls and Ligurians. The Republic desires to assist Ptolemy king of Egypt against Antiochus of Syria; but the Egyptian civilly declines the offer. At length the Boian Gauls breaking the peace with Rome, and the Ligurians being in motion, the Romans take the field. The Consul Valerius is vanquished in a battle with the Boian Gauls. He afterwards defeats them, while his colleague obtains a victory over the Ligurians. Next year the Romans act entirely on the defensive against the Boians; but offensively against the Ligurians, and with success. At Rome the Secular Games are celebrated. The new Consuls march against the Boians and Ligurians, who having called in to their assistance an army of Transalpine Gauls, take umbrage at their numbers, fall upon them, and put them to flight. The conquerors weakened by their victory are obliged to make peace with the Romans. The Corsicans in the mean time rebel, with whom Claudius Clycias, being sent against them, enters into a treaty, on terms dishonourable to the Republic. She refuses to adhere to the treaty, delivers up Claudius to the resentment of the Corsicans, and then subdues them by force of arms. The Corsicans, in conjunction with Carthage, stir up the Sardinians to revolt. Hereupon Rome threatens the African Republic with a war, but is diverted from it by an Embassy from Carthage: And Sardinia being easily reduced the next year, the temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius. A few months after, the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Sardinians take arms again. The first instance of a divorce at Rome. Marriage settlements introduced. Fabius Maximus the Consul subdues the Ligurians; his colleague triumphs for his exploits against the Sardinians. At the motion of Æbutius, a Tribune of the people, the judicature of the Centumvirs is erected. The following year Flaminius, another Tribune of the people, proposes a law for dividing amongst the poor citizens of Rome some lands lately taken from the Gauls. In obedience to his father he desists from his enterprize; but one of his colleagues carries it on, and succeeds, notwithstanding the opposition of the Senate. Sardinia and Corsica, now entirely subdued, are reduced to the form of a Roman province; and the conqueror of this latter island being refused a triumph, gives the first example of assuming that honour against the will of the Senate.

C H A P. XIII.

The first Illyrian War.

The Romans send ambassadors to Teuta, Queen of a part of Illyricum, to complain of the piracies of her subjects. Teuta, offended at the haughty behaviour of one of the ambassadors, causes them all to be murdered in their return.

524. *return home. To revenge this insult, Rome employs both her Consuls, who, assisted by Demetrius of Pharos, successfully begin the war; which is finished in the following year by a treaty of peace, dictated by the Republic. Her acquaintance with the Greeks commences at this time.*
- 525.

C H A P. XIV.

526. *The Gauls on both sides the Po take arms. To oppose these formidable*
527. *enemies, the Romans make extraordinary preparations; and the next year obtain a complete victory over them. Yet the following Consuls make no progress in the war. Their successors, though Rome, terrified by prodigies, had ordered them to return to the city, hazard a pitched battle, and gain the*
528. *victory. Claudius Marcellus vanquishes in single combat the General of the*
529. *Gauls, who discouraged by his death, are put to flight. Insubria and Liguria submit, and are made one province, which takes the name of Cisalpine*
531. *Gaul. Istria on the Adriatick is subdued by the Republic.*
- 532.

C H A P. XV.

The second Illyrian War.

533. *Demetrius of Pharos, whom Rome had appointed guardian to the young*
534. *Illyrian King, despises her orders, and attacks her allies. The present Consuls being obliged to abdicate their office, and the season being too far advanced for their successors to begin a new war, Æmilius Paullus, and his colleague Livius Salinator, go the next year with an army into Illyricum. Demetrius flies for protection to the Court of Philip of Macedon. Livius, on his return to Rome, is condemned by the tribes, for having applied part of the spoil to his own use. Roman colonies are planted at Placentia and Cremona, in the territories of the Gauls.*

C H A P. XVI.

The second Punic War, or the War of Hannibal. Its causes and commencement.

- THE spirit of revenge with which Amilcar left Sicily, and which he communicated to his son Hannibal, is reckoned the First Cause of the second Punic war. The unjust seizure of Sardinia by the Romans, the Second and principal Cause. The successive victories of Amilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, the Third Cause.*
- HANNIBAL. *Hannibal attacks the Saguntines, a people in alliance with Rome, and the only Spaniards who, on the south of the Iberus, remain unsubdued to the Carthaginian dominion. He reduces Saguntum, after a siege of eight months.*
535. *The Romans order Sempronius, one of their Consuls, into Africa, and P. Cornelius*

Book IV. CONTENTS.

Cornelius Scipio the other Consul, into Spain, and at the same time send an embassy to Carthage, demanding that Hannibal should be delivered up to them, to be punished for his unjust infraction of the peace between the two Republics: This being refused, and war denounced on both sides, the Carthaginian General settles the Affairs of Spain, leaves his brother Asdrubal to command on the south-side of the Iberus, and crosses that river with a great army.

CHAPTER XVII.

Hannibal, after subduing all the country between the Iberus and the Pyrenees, passes those mountains with his army, in his way to Italy. He proceeds to the banks of the Rhone without molestation. There the Gauls in vain oppose his passage; nor can the Consul Scipio, who, arriving at the mouth of the Rhone, gets notice of the place where Hannibal is, advance expeditiously enough to stop him. Scipio reembarks his forces, sends the major part of them forward to Spain, but returns himself to Italy, that he may meet Hannibal at his descent from the Alps. The Carthaginians with great danger and fatigue pass those mountains, lay siege to Turin and take it. The Romans, astonished at the news of Hannibal's being in Italy, whom they thought to have confined to Spain, dispatch orders to the Consul Sempronius, now at Lilybæum, to hasten to the defence of his country. Scipio, in the mean time, crosses the Po, and advances to meet the enemy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Roman horse and light-armed infantry under Scipio are defeated at the Battle of the Ticin by the Carthaginian cavalry. The Consul retires to the neighbourhood of Placentia: Hannibal follows him, and offers battle; which the Roman declines. Scipio distrusting the Gauls, some of whom had gone over to the enemy, removes to the high grounds near the Trebia, and there waits the arrival of his colleague.

CHAPTER XIX.

Sempronius having joined Scipio, and being encouraged by a slight advantage he had gained over a party of the enemy, ventures, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his colleague, to fight a pitched battle with them at the Trebia. The Roman army is totally defeated, and all the nations of the Gauls declare for Hannibal. The Senate make vigorous preparations to support the war. Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius are raised to the Consulate, and the affairs of the Republic prosper in Spain, under the direction of Scipio. Hannibal to gain friends in Italy, dismisses, without ransom, all those of his prisoners who are of the Roman allies. Dreading the levity of the Gauls, he crosses the Apennines, and enters Hetruria through the marshes, where his army suffers extremely, and he himself loses one of his eyes.

C H A P. XX.

The second year of the War.

The Lake
THRASY-
MENUS.

Flaminius, raised to the Consulship by the favour of the people, fears lest the Augurs should declare his election invalid. Neglecting therefore the usual ceremonies of religion, he hastens to Ariminum, where he takes upon him the command of the forces, and from thence, at the head of four legions, marches to Arretium in Etruria. Hannibal lays an ambush for him on the banks of THE LAKE THRASYMENUS, and routs his whole army. The Consul himself is slain in the action; and, a few days after, a body of four thousand horse, that had been sent to his assistance, fall into the hands of the Enemy. Rome, terrified at these misfortunes, names Q. Fabius Maximus to be Pro-dictator, and appoints Minucius Rufus to be his General of the horse. Hannibal, in the mean time, ravages Italy quite to Apulia. Utter Fabius follows him, but keeps on the hills, and declines a general engagement. The Carthaginian, to provoke him to fight, pillages the fine country of Campania. Hannibal, by a stratagem, deceives Fabius, who imagined that the Carthaginian would not be able to get out of Campania, a country surrounded partly by high mountains and partly by the sea. The cautious circumspective conduct of Fabius giving offence at Rome, the Comitia divide the command of the army between him and his General of the horse. Minucius, now at the head of half the troops, and proud of an advantage he had gained in an encounter with the enemy, descends into the plain, hazards a battle with Hannibal, and is on the point of being totally routed; but Fabius rescues him from danger. The two brothers Publius and Cneius Scipio, in the mean time, carry on the war with success in Spain, where the hostages which Carthage had obliged the Spaniards to give her, are betrayed into the hands of the Romans.

C H A P. XXI.

Third year of the War.

537. C. Terentius Varro, by the intrigues of a Tribune of the people, is raised to the Consulship, and L. Æmilius Paullus is appointed his colleague. Rome, weary of dilatory arts, sends both her Consuls, at the head of a mighty army, to dispute once more with Hannibal the superiority in the field. The armies ~~approach~~ approach each other in a plain country near CANNÆ in Apulia. Æmilius, disliking the ground, advises his colleague not to fight; but Varro, on a day when it is his turn to command, gives battle to the enemy, and is totally defeated with the slaughter of almost all his troops. Many of the allies of Rome go over to the conqueror.

CANNÆ.

C H A P. XXII.

Some young Romans of distinction resolving, in despair, to forsake Italy, Scipio (afterwards surnamed Africanus) obliges them to take an Oath never to abandon the Republic. And while the people of Rome are in the utmost consternation and dependency, the Senate preserve their courage, and make all possible preparations for the Defence of their country. They even solemnly give thanks to Varro, for that he had not despaired of the Commonwealth. A DICTATOR is named to govern the State; levies are made with all diligence; the slaves are enlisted for the service; all ranks of men bring their gold and silver into the public treasury, and the silver coin is now first alloyed with copper. In the mean time, by the permission of Hannibal, a deputation from the Roman prisoners in his camp, arrives at Rome, and petitions the Senate to ransom the captives. The Conscript Fathers deny the request. Capua, resolving to shake off the Roman yoke, demands of the Republic that Rome and Capua should for the future, be upon a perfect equality; this proposal being rejected with disdain, the Capuans deliver up their city to Hannibal. The Carthaginian dispatches his brother Mago to Carthage, with an account of his success; the Senate vote him a supply of men and money, but are very dilatory in sending it. The Roman Dictator takes the field with a considerable army, and Hannibal, after making some fruitless attempts upon Naples and Nola, lays siege to Capilinum; the garrison of which place, after a stout defence, at length capitulates. Rome not being in a condition to provide for the fleets and armies in Sicily and Sardinia, berals in those islands assist her by their contributions. The Senate having lost a great number of their members in the war, a Dictator is chosen for the sole business of filling the vacant places. He names 177 new Senators.

C H A P. XXIII.

Fourth year of the War.

Sempronius Gracchus and Posthumius Albinus are raised to the Consulship. The latter being cut off, together with all his army, by the Gauls, the Senate resolve to send no more armies into Gaul. Fabius Cunctator is chosen in the room of the late Consul. Hannibal enters into a treaty with King Philip of Macedon, whose Embassadors, in their return home, are taken at sea, and carried to Rome. The Senate resolve to keep the Macedonian out of Italy, by making war upon him in his own country. The Campaign in Italy passes in expeditions of no great importance, and the Romans, though they have many armies in the field, never hazard a general action against Hannibal. Their arms prosper in Sardinia and Spain. In Sicily, King Hiero being dead, his grandson and successor Hieronymus makes an alliance with Carthage, and is soon after assassinated by his own subjects.

535.

FABIUS
CUNCTATOR.PHILIP of
Macedon.

C H A P.

CHAP. XXIV.

Fifth year of the War.

539. *When the Comitia at Rome were going to raise T. Otacilius to the Con-*
sulate, Fabius, the president of the assembly, knowing the insufficiency of the
 MARCELLUS. *candidate, hinders his election, and is himself chosen, together with Claudius*
Marcellus. The Roman citizens remarkably shew their zeal for the Repub-
lic. The soldiers serve without pay, and fleets are equipped at the expence of
private men. Scipronius is said to have defeated an army of Carthaginians
under Hanno, and Marcellus to have gained an advantage over Hanni-
bal. Fabius besieges and takes Casilinum, while the Prætor Lævinus begins
the war in Greece against King Philip.

CHAP. XXV.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, two of Hannibal's agents in Sicily, get them-
selves, by intrigue, chosen Prætors of Syracuse; yet the inhabitants of that
city enter soon after into a league with Marcellus, then commander of the
Roman army in the island. The Hannibalists, going to Leontini, persuade
the Leontines to a rupture with the Romans; Marcellus takes the place at
the first assault: Nevertheless the Hannibalists not only make their escape, but
by artifice and singular boldness find means to return to Syracuse, with an
army under their command. They are re-elected Prætors, and become abso-
 ARCHIMEDES. *lute masters of the city. Marcellus lays close siege to it, but by the wonderful*
engines of Archimedes is constrained to turn the siege into a blockade.

CHAP. XXVI.

Sixth year of the War.

540.

The following year, the Romans take some towns from the Carthaginians
in Italy. Hanno routs a Præfect of the Allies in Bruttium, and cuts off
almost all his army. In Spain the two Scipios make considerable progress.
They also engage Syphax, a Numidian King, to commence a War with the
Carthaginians in Africa. The latter, in conjunction with Gala (another Nu-
midian King) fall upon Syphax, and defeat him with great slaughter. Mar-
cellus continues the blockade of Syracuse, and with part of his forces reduces se-
veral towns, while many others declare for Carthage.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVII.

Seventh and eighth years of the War.

Hannibal, by means of intelligence with some of the inhabitants of Tarentum, gets possession of the city. The Roman garrison retires into the citadel. Hanno, whom the Carthaginian General had sent to supply Capua with *60 n*, is defeated by the Consul Fulvius. Thurium, and the Metapontines, submit to Hannibal's officers. The Consuls proposing to besiege Capua, send for Sempronius Gracchus to assist them. In his way he is betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and slain. Hannibal advances to the defence of Capua, and begins a battle with the Consuls, which an accident puts an end to. The Roman Generals decamp in the night; Hannibal follows one of them, but missing him, attacks another commander, Centenius Pænula, and destroys almost his whole army. After this he falls upon the Praetor Fulvius, cuts off 16,000 of his men, and takes his camp. In the mean time the Consuls, in conjunction with the forces of Claudius Nero, besiege Capua in form. 541.

During these transactions, Marcellus makes himself master of a part of Syracuse, and encamps within the walls. An army of Carthaginians and Sicilians come to the relief of the Syracusians. A plague makes great havoc in both camps. Hippocrates and all the Carthaginian soldiers are carried off by it; and the Sicilians disband themselves. Epicydes deserts Syracuse, and the inhabitants begin a treaty with Marcellus; during the course of which, a Spanish officer, corrupted by the Roman General, betrays Ortygia to him; whereupon the Syracusians immediately surrender to him Achradina, and he gives both up to be plundered. Archimedes is slain. Syracuse taken.

In the Consulship of P. Sulpicius Galba and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, Hannibal marches to the relief of Capua, now greatly distressed for want of provisions. After some vain efforts to draw the Romans to a battle, or break into the town, he suddenly marches away, and appears before the walls of Rome, in hopes the army before Capua, or part of it, would hasten to the defence of the Capital. The Consuls issue out of the city to oppose him, but keep to the high grounds. Hannibal marches back towards Capua; but finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turns upon the Consuls, who were following him, and forces their camp in the night, with great slaughter. Despairing of being able to raise the siege of Capua, he with wonderful rapidity traverses Apulia, Lucania, and Bruttium, in the view of surprising Rhegium, and is very near succeeding in his design. Capua surrenders to the Romans, and is treated with extreme rigour. In Greece, Lævinus draws the Aetolians, and several other States, into a confederacy against Philip of Macedon. 542.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Ninth year of the War.

543. T. Lævinus and Marcellus are promoted to the Consulship. The latter is accused by the Syracusians of cruelty and injustice, before the Senate, who acquit him. The Campanians in vain complain of the rigorous proceedings of Fulvius Flaccus. Salapia in Apulia is betrayed to Marcellus, who takes two more cities in Samnium. Fulvius Centumalus venturing a battle with Hannibal, is totally defeated. The Consul Lævinus, in the mean time, finishes the reduction of Sicily.

C H A P. XXIX.

Tenth year of the War.

544. Twelve Roman Colonies refusing to pay their contingents of men and money, the Republic does not think it advisable to attempt compulsion; and to supply the deficiencies, she has recourse to a treasure long boarded up in the Exchequer, and farms the lands of Campania for the benefit of the public. Marcellus is said to have fought three general battles with Hannibal, in three days time: in the first, the victory inclines to neither side, in the second the Carthaginians are conquerors, and in the third the Romans. Marcellus, nevertheless, is unable to keep the field while Hannibal ravages Italy, and takes prisoners a body of the enemy's troops that were besieging Caulonia. Tarentum is betrayed into the hands of the Consul Fabius, who massacres all the inhabitants of the town.

C H A P. XXX.

Eleventh year of the War.

545. The Consul Marcellus is slain in an ambush by the Numidians, and his colleague Crispinus mortally wounded. Hannibal miscarries in his attempt upon Salapia, but forces the enemy to raise the siege of Locri. Lævinus makes a descent on Africa with success, and defeats a Carthaginian fleet off Clypea. The Prætor Sulpicius carries on the war against Philip in Greece.

C H A P. XXXI.

Afdrubal
brother of
Hannibal.

- The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Afdrubal (the brother of Hannibal) with an army from Spain. A summary account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Afdrubal's leaving it.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXII.

Twelfth and thirteenth years of the War.

The Consul Livius Salinator is sent to oppose Asdrubal, while the Consul, Claudius Nero, acts against Hannibal. Nero, understanding, by some intercepted letters, what Asdrubal is marching into Umbria, hastens with a detachment of his troops to join Livius. The Carthaginian, misled by his guides, is forced to hazard a battle at the Metaurus, where his whole army is routed, and he himself slain in the action. Hannibal finding it impossible to preserve all his conquests in Italy, retires into Bruttium with all his forces, where, he still appears terrible to the Romans, and gains some advantages over the new Consuls.

546.

Battle of the Metaurus.

C H A P. XXXIII.

In Spain, where Scipio (afterwards Africanus) commands the Roman forces, one of his officers defeats two Carthaginian Generals, and he himself routs a great army of the enemy. He then sails to Africa, to persuade Syphax to break his treaty with Carthage. Falling sick, at his return to Spain, a report of his death encourages part of his army to mutiny, and some of the Spaniards to rebel. Scipio recovers, quiets the sedition, and punishes the rebels. Masinissa, a Numidian King, enters into a treaty with the Pro-Consul. The Carthaginians abandon Spain; and, there being now no open enemies to the Romans in that country, Scipio returns to Rome. He is no sooner gone than several of the Spanish nations take up arms again, but are quelled on the loss of a battle.

SCIPIO.

SYPHAX.

MASINISSA.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Fourteenth year of the War.

Scipio, now Consul, has Sicily assigned him for his province, but is extremely desirous of having a commission immediately to transport an army into Africa. Fabius Maximus strenuously opposes his request. The Conscrip Fathers, after a long debate, give him permission to carry the War into Africa, if he shall think it for the interest of the Republic. He equips a fleet with great expedition, embarks a body of Volunteers, and sets sail for Sicily. In the mean time, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, lands an army in Italy, takes Genoa, and gathers great numbers of the Gauls about him. Two Roman Generals march against him, but no action of moment happens. Nor is any thing of importance done in Bruttium, the plague raging in the Roman and Carthaginian camps. Scipio sends Lælius to make a descent upon Africa, and Pleminius to take possession of Locri, which the inhabitants had promised to betray to the Romans. Pleminius succeeds in his enterprize, but

548.

exercises

exercises unheard-of cruelties upon the Locrians. The Romans, terrified by prodigies, send in great devotion to fetch the goddess Cybele from Phrygia, who works a miracle as soon as she lands.

C H A P. XXXV.

Fifteenth year of the War.

549.

The Romans conclude a treaty of peace with Philip of Macedonia and his allies. Scipio, now continued in his former command, is accused in the Senate, by his Quæstor Cato, of profuseness and idleness; and, by the Locrians, of partiality to the cruel Pleminius. Commissioners are appointed to enquire into his conduct. These making a favourable report of the condition of his army, the Conscrip't Fathers pass a decree, that he shall immediately go into Africa. Syphax is drawn off from the Roman interest, by means of his wife Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, the Carthaginian General, and enters into an alliance with Carthage. At length Scipio arrives with his army in Africa, where he is joined by Masinissa, who had been twice stript of his dominions by Syphax. After some exploits of little importance, the Roman General lays siege to Utica, but upon the approach of Asdrubal and Syphax with two great armies, retires to a promontory near his fleet, and there enters his himself. In Italy the campaign produces no remarkable exploit that is well vouched. The Censors Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero quarrel, and behave themselves extravagantly.

SOPHONISBA.

MASINISSA.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Sixteenth year of the War.

550.

Scipio, having under pretence of negotiating a treaty of peace, got perfect intelligence of the state and disposition of the Carthaginian and Numidian camps, sets fire to them in the night, and destroys the armies of Asdrubal and Syphax. The King and the Carthaginians again take the field with new forces, and are defeated in a pitched battle. Carthage dispatches messengers into Italy, to order Hannibal and Mago to the defence of their native country. In the mean time Masinissa and Lælius pursue Syphax into the heart of his dominions, vanquish him in battle, and take him prisoner. Cyrtha, the capital of his kingdom, surrenders to Masinissa, who, captivated by the charms of Sophonisba, promises her protection against the Romans; and, as the best means to perform his promise, marries her immediately. Syphax, being brought in chains to Scipio's camp, insinuates to the General, that Sophonisba's power over her new Husband would soon make him regardless of his engagements with the Republic. The Roman therefore insists upon Masinissa's delivering up his wife, as the captive of the people of Rome; and the Nymidian, seeing no way to protect her, sends her a cup

a cup of poison, which she resolutely drinks off. Carthage, to gain time for Hannibal and Mago to arrive in Africa, proposes a treaty of peace with Scipio, and consents to the articles he dictates. Two Roman Generals, uniting their forces, obtain a victory over Mago in Insubria, who being wounded in the action, dies at sea, in his voyage to Africa. Hannibal, receiving a command from Carthage to return home, leaves Italy with great reluctance, and the Romans order public thanksgivings to the Gods for his departure. The Senate approves the conditions of peace proposed by Scipio. During the truce, the Carthaginians plunder some Roman ships, driven by stress of weather, upon their coast; and afterwards offer violence to certain Embassadors whom Scipio had sent to demand satisfaction. In the mean time, Hannibal arrives safely in Africa. Hannibal leaves Italy.

C H A P. XXXVII.

The seventeenth year of the War.

While Scipio, provoked at the perfidiousness of the Carthaginians, pursues the war with uncommon fury, Hannibal approaches with his army, and encamps near Zama. There having asked and obtained a conference with the Roman General, he proposes terms of peace, which Scipio rejects. Next day a decisive battle is fought, wherein victory declares for the Romans. Carthage makes humble supplications to Scipio for peace, and, by the advice of Hannibal, submits to the conditions proposed, which, after several debates, are the next year agreed to by the Senate of Rome. Scipio having, in concert with ten commissioners, settled the affairs of Africa, returns home, has a magnificent triumph, and acquires the surname of Africanus. 551. Battle of ZAMA. 552.

F I F T H B O O K.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR in the Year of Rome 552, to the End of the THIRD in 607.

First Macedonian War.

C H A P. I.

ROME, having broke the power of Carthage, begins to think of extending her domination to the East, and with this view seeks matter of quarrel against Philip of Macedon. On pretence that he had attacked her allies in Greece and Asia, and assisted her enemies in Africa, she declares war against him, and appoints the Consul Sulpicius to conduct it. King Philip, in the mean time, crosses the Hellespont, and besieges Abydos. There he 553.

has a conference with some Roman Embassadors, which ends without any prospect of an accommodation. After the reduction of Abydos, he returns to Greece, where the Romans had pillaged Chalcis. He makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens, and vainly endeavours to engage the Achæans in his interest.

In Italy, the Prætor Fulvius defeats an army of Gauls, commanded by Hamilcar, a Carthaginian whom Mago had left in that country. Masinissa and Carthage make presents to Rome; and Vermina, the son of Syphax, is received into the favour of the Republic.

C H A P. II.

554. The Ætolians decline taking part in the War between Rome and Macedon. After some skirmishes, Philip is defeated in battle near Octolophum, by Sulpicius, who then resigns his command to the Consul Villius. Philip gains a victory over the Ætolians, who had now declared for the Romans.
555. The King of Syria, at the request of the Senate of Rome, desists from the war he was carrying on against the King of Pergamus. Philip, after a fruitless conference with Flamininus (the successor of Villius) is driven from his camp by the Romans; who, after this victory, make themselves masters of several towns in Thessaly. The Achæans enter into an alliance with Rome, on a promise of having Corinth re-united to their State.

556.
FLAMINI-
NUS.

Battle of
Cynoc-
ephalæ.

It is agreed between Philip, Flamininus, and the chiefs of the Roman allies, to refer all differences to the arbitration of the Roman Senate. The Fathers, not satisfied with Philip's Embassadors, give full powers to Flamininus to pursue the war, or make peace, as he shall think proper, and the war is continued. Philip, to secure Argos, which the year before had surrendered to Philocles, one of his Generals, gives it up to Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, upon condition of its being restored to him, in case he should be conqueror in the war. The Tyrant, to maintain himself in possession of the town, immediately enters into a treaty with Flamininus. This General, by a fraud, seizes upon Thebes, where the Boeotian Diet is assembled; upon which they are obliged to enter into an alliance with Rome. Attalus, King of Pergamus, dies. Philip being defeated at Cynoccephalæ, offers to submit to whatever conditions of peace the Roman Senate shall please to impose.

- The Republic carries on a war with success in Gaul; but in Spain her army is routed, and the Prætor who commanded it killed in the action.
557. The Senate grant a peace to Philip, on conditions displeasing to the Ætolians. Liberty to Greece is soon after proclaimed, by order of Flamininus, at the Isthmian Games.

C H A P. III.

ANTIO-
CHUS the
Great.

Antiochus the Great, King of Syria, enters Thrace with an army, purposing to erect a kingdom there for one of his sons. The Romans take umbrage

umbrage at the proceedings of the Syrian, and send some Embassadors to order him to quit Europe.

The Roman Ladies take infinite pains to get a Repeal of the Oppian Law, 558. which limited the finery of their dress and equipage. Cato strenuously opposes them, yet they carry their point, by the assistance of two Tribunes of the people. Oppian Law repealed.

Cato embarks for Spain; and conducts the war with success in that country. CATO, the Elder.

Hannibal having disoblged some of the Carthaginian Nobles, by certain new regulations beneficial to the state, is, by those Nobles, accused at Rome, of holding ~~correspondence~~ with Antiochus. The Romans send Embassadors to Carthage, to procure the death of the accused; but he escapes the danger by flying his country, and taking refuge in the Syrian court. Hannibal escapes from Carthage to K. Antiochus.

Preparations are begun at Rome for a war against Antiochus; and, lest Nabis of Lacedæmon should join him, Flamininus has permission to turn the Roman arms against Nabis. All the Greek States, except the Ætolians, agree to assist Flamininus in this war; the chief pretence for which is, to restore freedom to Argos. Flamininus marches to Lacedæmon, and besieges it. Nabis at length submits to the conditions of peace dictated by the Roman General; and, to the dissatisfaction of the Ætolians and Achæans, is suffered to continue master of Lacedæmon. (Argos had recovered its liberty, by an insurrection of its inhabitants.) Flamininus leaves Greece and returns to Rome, where he is honoured with a triumph. Embassadors from the King of Syria arrive at Rome, to ask an alliance with the Republic. Their negotiation does not succeed; the Senate dispatches to Antiochus the same Embassadors who had been with him in Thrace. Hannibal advises him to attack the Romans in Italy, and endeavours to draw the Carthaginians into the war. The latter complain at Rome of the encroachments of Masinissa. The injustice of the Romans with regard to Carthage. 559. 560.

C H A P. IV.

The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece. Antiochus, after some fruitless conferences with the Roman Embassadors, calls a council, in order to deliberate about a war with Rome. Hannibal, on account of his familiar intercourse with the Roman Embassadors, being suspected of favouring their cause, is not consulted. He endeavours to clear himself in a speech to the King. The Council determine for war. In Greece, Philopœmen, at the head of the Achæans, makes war with success against the Tyrant Nabis. The Ætolians pass a decree, inviting Antiochus to come into Europe. They seize upon Demetrias, and assassinate Nabis. Antiochus lands in Greece with a small army; and endeavours, without success, to bring over Chalcis and the Achæans to his party. He reduces Eubœa; and the Boeotians submit to him. Hannibal's advice with regard to the method of carrying on the war. Philip of Macedon declares for the Romans. Antiochus marries the daughter of his host, and passes the winter at Chalcis in feasting and diversions. Philopœmen. 562.

C H A P. V.

War with Antiochus the Great.

562. Rome declares war against Antiochus. The Consul Acilius routs the Syrians at Thermopylæ, drives their King into Asia, and reduces the Ætolians to great extremities. Flamininus takes the island Zacynthus from the Achæans. Philip recovers many places he had lost in his war with the Romans. The Ætolians obtain leave of the Consul, to send deputies to Rome, to treat of peace. Livius, the Roman Admiral, obtains a victory over the Syrian fleet. The Ætolians refuse to submit to the conditions proposed by the Conscrip't Fathers. Lucius Scipio the Consul, assisted by his brother Africanus, is appointed to act against Antiochus in Asia.

C H A P. VI.

Antiochus invades Pergamus, but on the news of Scipio's approach, asks a peace of the Roman Admiral. His petition is rejected. Hannibal, with a Squadron of ships under his command, is blocked up in a port of Pamphylia by the Rhodians. Antiochus, after a vain attempt to engage Prusias King of Bithynia in his quarrel, orders Polyxenidas, the Syrian Admiral, to attack the Roman fleet. The Syrians are totally defeated; and the King, in a fright, withdraws his garrisons from Lysimachia in Thrace, and from Abydos, which commanded the Hellespont. The Consular army having passed into Asia without opposition, Antiochus immediately sends to Scipio proposals of peace. Not succeeding in this negotiation, he ventures a battle with the enemy, is vanquished, and submits to the conditions imposed by the Consul.

C H A P. VII.

564. The Ætolians raise new troubles in Greece. Eumenes of Pergamus asks of the Conscrip't Fathers, all the countries they had taken from Antiochus. The Rhodians oppose his request. It is resolved that the conquered countries shall be divided between him and them. A peace is at length granted to the Ætolians. The Consul Manlius reduces the Gallo-Greeks in Asia. Philopœmen forces the Lacedæmonians to renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and subject themselves to those of Achæa. Ten Commissioners from Rome, in conjunction with the Proconsul Manlius, finish the treaty with Antiochus, and settle affairs in Asia. Manlius, in his return home, is attacked by a body of Thracians, and loses great part of the booty he had taken from the Gallo-Greeks.

C H A P. VIII.

566. Scipio Africanus, and his brother Lucius, are successively accused, before the Roman people, of taking bribes from Antiochus, and embezzling the public

public money. Africanus refuses to answer, and at length retires to Liternum, where he dies. Lucius is condemned; and, on his refusing to pay the fine imposed, all his effects are confiscated. A society of debauchees formed at Rome, and calling themselves Bacchanalians, is suppressed and punished.

Scipio retires from Rome in disgust. 567.

C H A P. IX.

The Romans, jealous of the growing power of Philip of Macedon, send Embassadors into Greece, to take cognizance of his proceedings. They strip him of all the towns he had recovered from the Greeks, in the war with Antiochus, and order him to evacuate Ænus and Maronea, which Eumenes claimed as appendages of Chersonesus and Lyfimachia, granted to him by the Senate. Philip, to revenge himself on the people of Maronea, who had complained of his tyranny, contrives to have a body of Thracians admitted into the town, where they exercise all the cruelties of war. The Romans expressing much dissatisfaction with the King's conduct, he resolves to employ his son Demetrius, to sooth the Conscript Fathers, with whom the young prince had acquired much favour when a hostage at Rome. Appius Claudius, the Roman Embassador, treats the Achæans with great haughtiness, in relation to some complaints made against them by the Lacedæmonians.

568.

569.

C H A P. X.

Cato, after great opposition by the Nobles, is chosen Censor. His conduct in that office.

Cato chosen Censor.

C H A P. XI.

Many complaints are brought to Rome against Philip of Macedon. His son Demetrius pleads for him in the Senate; and, out of regard to the young Prince, the Fathers send an Embassador into Macedon, to settle affairs with the King in an amicable manner. The Messenians break off from the Achæan association, and take up arms. Philopœmen, in a skirmish with them, is made prisoner, and afterwards put to death. Flamininus, the Roman Embassador to Prusias of Bithynia, demands of the King to give up Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his court. The Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, puts an end to his own life, by poison.

570.

Hannibal kills himself.

C H A P. XII.

The Achæan Embassadors having demanded of the Roman Senate assistance against the Messenians, receive a rough answer; but are civilly treated, on the news that Lycortas, the successor of Philopœmen, has reduced the Messenians to surrender at discretion. While Philip of Macedon is busy in forming projects for strengthening his kingdom; there breaks out, between his two sons Perles and Demetrius, a quarrel, which at length proves fatal to the latter.

571.

C H A P. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans, from the year 572 to 578.

C H A P. XIV.

PERSES
K. of Ma-
cedon.

- After the death of Philip, his son Perfes succeeds him in the throne. He renews the treaty with Rome, is recognized King by the Roman Senate, and applies himself to gain the good will of the Greeks. The Bactrianæ, a nation on the Danube, who had been invited into Macedon by Philip, enter Dardania. The Romans, on this occasion, discover their jealousy of Perfes. He makes a journey into Greece, and endeavours to renew the ancient friendship between the Macedonians and Achæans.*
578.
579.

C H A P. XV.

580. *The Consul Popillius vanquishes the Statelliates, a people of Liguria, and treats them with great cruelty. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, accuses Perfes, in the Senate of Rome, of designs against the Republic. Assassins, hired by Perfes, attempt to murder the Pergamenian in his return home. Perfes is accused of plotting to take off by poison certain Roman Generals and Embassadors. The Carthaginians make new complaints at Rome of Masinissa's usurpations. Some Roman Embassadors report to the Senate the ill reception they had met with at the court of Macedon.*
- EUMENES
K. of Per-
gamus.

C H A P. XVI.

Second Macedonian War.

582. *Rome declares war against Perfes. The dispositions of the Greek and Asiatick States at this time. At the election of Centurions for the army designed against Macedon, twenty-three of them refuse to serve, and appeal to the Tribunes of the people; but afterwards one of the appellants drops his appeal, and persuades the rest to follow his example. Embassadors from Perfes sue in vain to the Conscrip Fathers for peace. The Macedonian asks a conference with Marcius the Roman Embassador in Greece, who arfully grants the King a truce, in order to gain time till the Consul should arrive with his army. It is agreed, that Perfes should send Embassadors to Rome, to negotiate a peace. Marcius contrives to dissolve the Boeotian league. The Rhodians declare for the Romans. The Senate will hearken to no overtures from Perfes's Embassadors.*

C H A P. XVII.

Perfes draws together his forces, enters Thessaly, takes some towns, and secures the pass of Tempe; while the Consul Licinius advances thro' Athamania

CONTENTS.

man to oppose him. The King having gained a victory over the Roman cavalry and auxiliaries, Licinius, through fear, decamps in the night, and posts himself behind the river Peneus; yet he refuses a peace to the Macedonian, on any terms but his surrendering himself and his kingdom at discretion. M. Lucretius robs Gentius (an Illyrian king) of his fleet. The Roman Admiral makes himself master of Halartus in Boeotia. Cassius the Consul, attempting to make his way from Gaul into Macedon, is recalled by the Senate. During the winter, Perles defeats the Thracians. Epirus, or great part of it, revolts to him. The new Consul Hostilius makes two unsuccessful attempts to penetrate into Macedon. Appius Claudius is twice defeated in Illyricum. The people of Alabanda deify the city of Rome.

583.

Rome
made a
Goddest.

C H A P. XVIII.

Q. Marcius, the Roman Consul, having penetrated into Macedon, Perles in a fright abandons Dium, withdraws his garrisons from Tempe, and his guards from the passes into Macedon, orders his treasures at Pella to be thrown into the sea, and his naval stores at Thessalonica to be burnt. The Roman General, for want of provisions, leaves his new conquest, but possesses himself of the fortresses of Tempe. Hereupon Perles returns to Dium, repairs his fortifications, and strongly entrenches himself on the banks of the Enipeus. Polybius, at the desire of Marcius, hinders the Achæans from sending a supply of soldiers to Appius Claudius in Illyricum.

584.

POLYBIUS

C H A P. XIX.

L. Æmilius Paullus is chosen Consul at Rome, and has the conduct of the war in Macedon assigned to him. Eumenes being dissatisfied with the Romans, Perles endeavours to draw him from their alliance. The Pergamenian proposes, for a certain sum of money, to stand neuter; and, for a greater sum, to procure the Macedonian a peace. But, the two Kings suspecting each other of dishonesty, the negotiation breaks off. Perles engages King Gentius of Illyricum to begin a war with Rome, and then defrauds him of a sum of money he had promised him. The Macedonian refusing to fulfil his engagements with the Bastarnæ, whom he had invited to his aid, they return into their own country.

585.

C H A P. XX.

In thirty days time, the Prætor Anicius finishes the war in Illyricum, Gentius surrenders himself, and his dominions at discretion. Æmilius Paulus forces Perles to abandon the Enipeus, and soon after defeats him in battle at Pydna. The King, deserted by his subjects, takes refuge in the Isle of Samothrace; and the whole kingdom of Macedon submits to the conqueror. Perles, after an attempt to escape from Samothrace, surrenders himself to the Prætor Octavius, who sends him prisoner to the Consul.

ÆMILIUS
PAULLUS

Battle of
PYDNA!

C H A P. XXI.

Certain Embassadors, whom the Rhodians, in the view of mediating a peace between Perles and the Romans, had sent to Rome, are admitted to audience after the news of the victory at Pydna, and roughly treated by the Senate. Antiochus Epiphanes, at the command of the Senate, intimates to him by their Embassador Popilius, retires from Egypt, when just upon the point of finishing the conquest of it. The Kings of Syria, Egypt, and Numidia, congratulate the Romans on their victory over Perles. Anicius reduces Epirus, and, in conjunction with five Commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum. The Proconsul Æmilius, assisted by ten Commissioners, divides the kingdom of Macedon into four cantons, independent of each other, and makes them tributary to Rome. Five hundred and fifty Ætolians being inhumanly massacred by some of their countrymen, the murderers are acquitted by Æmilius and his colleagues. Many of the Ætolians, Acarnanians, Epirots, and Boeotians, and above a thousand of the principal men of Achaia, being suspected of disaffection to the Romans, are summoned to take their trial at Rome. Æmilius dispatches his son Fabius, and Scipio Nasica, to ravage the country of the Illyrians; and, in one day, by treachery, plunders seventy towns of the Epirots, and reduces 150,000 of the inhabitants to slavery. At his return to Rome, his own soldiers oppose his having a triumph; which, however, is at length granted him. Perles is sent prisoner to Alba (in the country of the Marfi) where he dies. The Senate of Rome restore to Cotys, King of the Odrysians in Thrace, his son, who had been a hostage in Macedon, and taken prisoner by Æmilius.

C H A P. XXII.

Attalus, Embassador at Rome from his brother Eumenes, is incited by some of the Fathers to ask of the Senate a part of his brother's kingdom, but is diverted from this project by one of his attendants, and thereby incurs the anger of the Senate. Though the Rhodians had condemned to death all of their countrymen who had been convicted of having done or said any thing in favour of Perles, yet the Senate of Rome refuse to give audience to their Embassadors, and the Prator makes a motion to the people, to have war declared against Rhodes. Peace, however, is granted her; but the Senate take from her Lycia and Caria, Caunus and Stratonicea. Some years after, she is admitted into an alliance with the Romans, a favour which, till the overthrow of the kingdom of Macedon, she had never asked nor coveted. Prusias strongly flatters the Senate, who are the more gracious to him on that account. The Fathers to avoid receiving the compliments of Eumenes, who is on his way to pay them in person, pass a decree forbidding all Kings to come to Rome.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXIII.

The Consuls obtain some advantage in the war against the Gauls and Ligurians. On complaints from Prusias and the Galatians against Eumenes, a Roman Ambassador is sent to Pergamus, who invites all the King's subjects to bring what accusations they please against their sovereign. Antiochus Eupator, a child of nine years old, succeeds his father Epiphanes in the throne of Syria. Demetrius (the son of Seleucus, the late King's elder brother) now a hostage at Rome, asks leave of the Senate to return home, and take possession of the kingdom of Syria. His request is refused. The Fathers send Cn. Octavius to assume the administration of the government there; and order him to burn the Syrian ships and disable the elephants. While he is executing his commission, he is assassinated at Laodicea. Demetrius, after being a second time refused leave to return home, makes his escape from Rome, arrives in Syria, and, being declared King, puts to death Eupator, and his tutor Lyfias. A treaty is concluded between the Romans and the Jews, in the time of Judas Maccabæus. Demetrius having expelled Ariarathes from his kingdom of Cappadocia, and set up, in his room, Holophernea, a supposititious son of the late King of that country, Ariarathes flies to Rome for protection. The Conscrip Fathers divide Cappadocia between him and his competitor.

587.

588.

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590.

591.

592.

593.

596.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cato, on his return from an embassy into Africa, whither he had been sent to terminate some disputes between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, reports to the Senate, that Carthage is in a very flourishing condition, and exhorts them to destroy it. Scipio Nasica opposes him. The Consul Marcius Figulus begins a war with the Dalmatians, which is finished to the advantage of the Romans by his successor Scipio Nasica. Three eminent Orators being sent by the Athenians on an embassy to Rome, and the Roman youth flocking to hear their discourses, Cato prevails with the Senate to give the Embassadors a speedy answer, and dismiss them. Prusias having, on the death of Eumenes, invaded Pergamus, the Senate of Rome obliged him to make good the damage he had done, and to pay a fine. The Roman armies pass the Alps for the first time, and subdue the Oxybii and the Deciatæ. The long quarrels between the two Ptolemies of Egypt are terminated by the victories and the clemency of the elder. On occasion of some commotions in Spain, the Consuls at Rome enter upon their office on the first of January. Alexander, Balas, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, sets himself up against Demetrius King of Syria, and is countenanced by the Romans. Demetrius is slain in battle, and the impostor is recognized king.

597.

598.

599.

600.

601.

C H A P. XXV. *From the end of the last*

602. *The Carthaginians are reduced very low by the arms of Masinissa; Utica withdraws herself from their obedience; and Rome lays hold of the opportunity*
 603. *of their distresses to declare war against them.*

C H A P. XXVI.

Third Punic War.

First and Second Years of the War.

604. *The Carthaginians, by their Embassadors, surrender themselves to the Roman Senate at discretion, and are promised to be continued in possession of their liberty, laws, territories and effects; on condition of their giving 300 hostages, and obeying the orders of the Consuls, then in Sicily in their way to Africa. These Consuls having, in Sicily, received the hostages, pass into Africa. They require of the Carthaginians to deliver up all their arms; and when this demand is complied with, signify to them, that they must abandon the city of Carthage, which Rome is determined to demolish. Upon notice of this cruel injunction, the inhabitants shut their gates, and resolve to sustain a siege. By indefatigable diligence they furnish themselves with new arms; and, when attacked, repulse the Romans.*
 605. *Masinissa dying, leaves his kingdom to be divided among his sons at the pleasure of Scipio Æmilianus.*

The Romans make no progress in the siege of Carthage.

One Andriscus appears in Macedon, calls himself the son of Perseus, takes the name of Philip, and is acknowledged King by the Macedonians. He defeats the Roman Prætor Juventius Thalna, but is himself defeated by Metellus, and forced to fly into Thrace, where one of the petty Kings delivers him up to the enemy. A second Impostor, pretending also to be a son of Perseus, is driven by Metellus into Dardania.

C H A P. XXVII.

Third and Fourth Years of the War.

606. *Scipio Æmilianus is sent Consul into Africa. He restores discipline among the soldiers. The greater part of Africa submits to him; and Carthage is straitened for want of provisions. Asdrubal, who commands in the town, proposes conditions of peace, which are rejected. Carthage is taken, the people sold for slaves, and the town demolished. Scipio, in conjunction with ten Commissioners from Rome, orders all the towns which had taken part with the enemy to be razed, and reduces the dominions of the African Republic into the form of a Prætorian province.*

SCIPIO
ÆMILIANUS.

607.
CAR-
THAGE
taken and
destroyed.

SIXTH BOOK.

From the end of the THIRD PUNIC WAR, in the year of Rome 607, when Carthage was destroyed, and the ROMAN POWER became irresistible, to the death of the younger GRACCHUS, in 632, the true date of the destruction of ROMAN LIBERTY.

CHAP. I.

THE irreverent behaviour of the Achæans draws upon them a war with Rome. They are defeated in battle by Metellus, and afterwards by Mummius, who demolishes Corinth, Chalcis, and Thebes. Greece is reduced into the form of a Roman province.

CHAP. II.

A summary account of the actions of the Romans in Spain, from the year 558 to the year 600. The Roman Senate forbid the Segedenses, a people of Celtiberia, to enlarge their town, and, they not obeying, a Consular army under Fulvius Nobilior is sent against them; whereupon they take refuge among the Arvaci, another people of Celtiberia, whose capital was Numantia. The two nations jointly carry on the war with advantage. The Consul Marcellus [in 601.] permits the Arvaci to send deputies to Rome to ask a peace; and, though their petition is rejected by the Senate, yet he concludes a treaty with them. His successor Lucullus, without any provocation, invades the country of the Vaccæi, and there behaves himself cruelly and perfidiously. In FURTHER SPAIN the Lusitanian [in 602.] rout the forces of the Roman Prætor Galba. He afterwards treacherously massacres many thousands of them, who had submitted to him on conditions. Vetilius, the successor of Galba, [in 604.] having gained some advantage over the Lusitanians, and forced them into a place whence they could not easily retreat, Viriatus, then a private soldier, saves them by a stratagem, and is declared their General. He soon after defeats Vetilius, who is taken prisoner and slain. Viriatus is victorious over the Roman Generals, in every action, for three years successively.

CHAP. III.

The Consul Fabius (Brother to Scipio Æmilianus) being sent into Further Spain, leaves his Quæstor to discipline the army, and makes a journey of devotion to Gades. In the mean time, Viriatus vanquishes the Romans in battle. A regulation is made at Rome, that the six Prætors shall continue in the city during the year of their office; two of them to take cognizance of civil causes, as formerly; and the other four, to try criminal causes; and that after the expiration of their year they shall repair to their respective provinces abroad. Fabius obtains a victory over Viriatus, who afterwards defeats Quintus the successor of Fabius. The Consul Appius Claudius contrives to kindle a war with the Salassi, and gains a victory; but having lost a battle before, the Senate refuse him a triumph. He nevertheless triumphs, and during the procession his daughter, a Vestal, protests him from being insulted by a Tribune. His

611. His colleague Metellus renews the war in Celtiberia. Next year, by a remarkable act of humanity, he engages several towns to submit to the Romans. The Consul Servilianus loses a battle against Viriatus in Further Spain. A third Macedonian impostor prevails with the people of that country to take arms in his cause. Tremellius, a Roman Quæstor, by one victory finishes the war.

C H A P. IV.

612. The Consul Pompeius, in Hither Spain, successively besieges Numantia and Numantia. Termantia, but quits both enterprizes with loss and dishonour. In the Further Province, Servilianus, now Proconsul, concludes a treaty of peace with Viriatus, which is confirmed at Rome. Servilius Cæpio, one of the Consuls of the next year, obtains leave of the Senate to break this peace, and afterwards hires assassins to murder Viriatus. They dispatch him in his sleep. The Lusitanians chuse another general, but he is soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the Consul.

C H A P. V.

- Pompeius having again laid siege to Numantia with no better success than before, concludes a peace with the Numantines, but afterwards denies the fact. The matter being brought before the Senate of Rome, they resolve to continue the war. 614. Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, gets a law passed for balloting in the election of magistrates; a method of voting, that was afterwards introduced in civil and criminal causes, and in making and repealing laws. 615. The Romans, under the Pro-consul Popillius, are routed by the Numantines. 616. These, the next year, gain a signal victory over the Consul Mancinus, who, to save the remains of his army, enters into a treaty with the enemy. The Conscrip 617. Fathers refuse to adhere to the treaty, and order Mancinus to be delivered up to the Numantines, by way of satisfaction. Brutus, who had come into Further Spain in 615, reduces several nations of the Lusitanians, and afterwards the Gallæci. He joins his forces to those of Æmilius, the successor of Mancinus. Both armies are defeated by the Palantines. 618. The Consuls Furius and Calpurnius, who are successively sent against the Numantines, perform nothing memorable. Fulvius subdues the Ardæans a maritime people of Illyricum.

C H A P. VI.

619. Scipio Æmilianus (a second time Consul) commands the army in Spain, and brings it under good discipline. The next year he invests Numantia. The 620. besieged, reduced to the utmost extremities by famine, set fire to their town, and destroy their wives, their children, and themselves.

C H A P. VII.

- The Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo, forbidding any Roman to possess more than five hundred acres of the public lands, being fallen into neglect, to the great detriment of the Commonwealth, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, a Tribune of the Commons, undertakes to cure the evil by a new law. His design, approved by some of the most virtuous men in Rome, is much disliked by the generality of the great and the rich, who prevail upon M. Octavius, one of the

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the Tribunes, to oppose the proceeding of his colleague. The people, at the instigation of Tiberius, depose Octavius from his office, and then pass the new law. *Triumvirs* are appointed to make the distribution of the lands in question. The Romans, in consequence of the last will of Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, having laid claim to his dominions, Tiberius proposes, that the King's treasures be divided amongst the poorer citizens of Rome, and declares, that his towns and territories shall be disposed of by the Comitia. In a speech to the people, he vindicates his proceedings against Octavius. He stands candidate for a second Tribuneship. On the day of election, Scipio Nasica and the Senate, sent a body, followed by a multitude of clients and slaves, armed with clubs, fall furiously upon the Tribunes and his adherents. He is slain in the tumult, together with above three hundred of his followers. Their dead bodies are thrown into the Tiber; many of the friends of Tiberius are banished, and many put to death without a trial. The Senate, to pacify the people, permit Caius Gracchus's father-in-law to be chosen one of the *triumvirs* for dividing the lands, in the room of Tiberius. To screen Nasica from a trial before the people, they send him into Asia, where he dies. Some reflections on the conduct of Tiberius Gracchus.

CHAP. VIII.

The slaves in Sicily, having broke out into rebellion, vanquish several Roman Prætors, but are routed by the Consul Calpurnius Piso, whose successor, Rupilius, finishes the war with the destruction of the rebels. P. Licinius Crassus Consul and Pontifex Maximus is sent into Asia, against Aristonicus (a bastard brother of Attalus the late King) who had taken possession of the throne of Pergamus. Two plebeians are chosen *Consors* for the first time. Crassus is defeated, falls alive into the hands of the enemy, and is killed by a Thracian soldier. Next year, the Consul Perperna vanquishes Aristonicus, takes him prisoner, and sends him to Rome. Atinius Labeo, a Tribune of the people, makes an outrageous attempt upon the person of the Censor, Metellus Macedonicus. The same Atinius procures a law ordaining, that the Tribunes of the people shall be Senators. M. Aquilius, by the basest methods, finishes the conquest of Pergamus, after which, in conjunction with ten commissioners, he reduces it into the form of a province.

CHAP. IX.

The Roman Senate, at the motion of Scipio Æmilianus, takes from the *Triumvirs* the right of judging in causes relating to the resumption of the public lands, and transfers it to the Consul Sempronius, who soon after leaves the city on pretence of a rebellion in Iapidia a canton of Illyricum. Scipio dies suddenly, which occasions surmises about the cause of his death. The Consul is vanquished in battle by the Iapidians, but afterwards obtains a victory over them for which he triumphs. Nothing very remarkable happens at Rome in the two succeeding years.

In 627, Caius Gracchus goes by sea, into Sardinia with the Consul Aurelius, who is sent thither to quell a revolt. Caius persuades the allied cities in that island to furnish clothes for the Roman army, though the Senate, at their request, had

628. *had freed them from that burden. Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of Caius, being raised to the Consulship, proposes a law for granting the rights of Roman citizenship to the Italian allies, but drops his enterprize to undertake an expedition against the Saluvii, a nation of Transalpine Gaul, who had made incursions into the territory of Marcellæ. The Prætor L. Opimius raises the town of Frégellæ, to punish the inhabitants for a plot they had formed to shake off the Roman yoke.*

629. *Caius Gracchus returns to Rome from Sardinia, is accused before the Censors of a misdemeanor, in leaving his General, and is acquitted. Being chosen Tribune, he, to the great mortification of the nobility, obtains several laws advantageous to the Commons. In the mean time the Consul Metellus subdues the inhabitants of the Ballearæ. Sextius Calvinus, one of the Consuls for the last year, having reduced the Saluvii, builds Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence) and there establishes a Roman colony.*

630.
CAIUS
GRAC-
CHUS.

C H A P. X.

631. *Caius Gracchus is chosen Tribune a second time, and by his credit with the people, obtains the Consulship for C. Fannius Strabo, in opposition to L. Opimius. The Tribune transfers the right of judicature, from the Senators to the Roman knights; ordains that the Senate shall, before every election of chief magistrates, determine what provinces shall be Consular and what Prætorian; plants new colonies; and gives the freedom of Rome to the Italian allies. Drusus, one of his Collegues, being gained over to the party of the Senate, endeavours by unworthy methods to make them gracious among the people, and to supplant Caius in their esteem. The latter goes into Africa, at the head of a colony, in order to rebuild Carthage. On his return to Rome he proposes several new laws. Many of the Italians flocking to the city to give their votes, the Consul Fannius publishes an edict, forbidding any of the allies to appear within five miles of Rome, till the Comitia shall have determined concerning the laws in question. Caius stands candidate for the Tribuneship a third time, and loses his election. L. Opimius being raised to the Consulship, purposes to get several of Caius's laws repealed. Antyllus, one of the Consul's Lictors, is slain, by some of the followers of Fulvius Flaccus, one of the Triumvirs, a warm opposer of the measures of Opimius. The Senate, as if the commonwealth were in the utmost danger, vest Opimius with a dictatorial power. He commands the Senators and knights to take arms. Next morning Fulvius and his party possess themselves of the Aventine hill. Caius persuades them to send to the Consul, and propose an accommodation. Opimius disdains to treat, and advancing with his troops, disperses the followers of Caius and Fulvius. These two Romans, with many others, are slain, and their dead bodies thrown into the Tiber. Opimius builds a temple to Concord: the people raise statues to the Gracchi, and worship before them. The Agrarian law is repealed; and the rich get possession of the public lands.*
- 632.

seems not to have duly reflected, when he says, "It is sufficiently apparent that *Livy* and *Dionysius* knew nothing of the treaty mentioned by *Polybius*." They could not but meet with this piece in *Polybius*'s works, which they appear to be very well acquainted with, and of which *Livy* makes great use in compiling his own. And is it not evident therefore, from their shewing no regard to what *Polybius* says of his old brazen monument, either that they looked upon it as not authentic, or knew that he had been deceived concerning the date of it? It is remarkable, that *Livy*, who informs us, that some authors differing from the rest, make *Horatius* the immediate successor of *Brutus*, has not thought it worth while to observe, that *Polybius* makes them colleagues in the consulship.

Add to this the great improbability, that, during the unsettled and precarious state of things at *Rome*, in the first year after the expulsion of *Tarquinius*, the *Carthaginians* should enter into any treaty with the *Romans*; and the yet greater improbability, that they should conclude a treaty with them in terms, which suppose them in a settled state, and in a condition to maintain the stipulations therein expressed.

Perhaps we should have found the matter cleared up, and *Polybius*'s mistake animated upon by *Livy* or *Dionysius*, if those parts of their histories, which treated of the first war with the *Carthaginians*, had been preserved.

I SHALL close these Observations with the words of M. de Pouilly, in the beginning of his *Nouveaux Essais de Critique sur la fidelité de l'Histoire*.

"It very seldom happens that we avoid one faulty extreme without running into another, its contrary: This maxim, true in morality, is true in criticism. Are men afraid of giving credit to fables? They sometimes refuse it to the most certain facts; they look upon History as a compound of Truths and Fictions, so intimately united, that it is impossible to separate them.—Had the Historian no part in the transactions he relates? They suspect him of being ill informed.—Had he a part in those transactions? They accuse him of prejudice and prepossession.—On the other hand there are those, who, fearing least they should happen to reject true History, give credit to all the Fables which have borrowed its Name.—Let us avoid these opposite extravagances: Let us confess, that, in History, falsehood is mingled with truth; but that there are marks by which they may be distinguished. Love of the Marvellous, Interest, Vanity, Spirit of Party, are so many fountains ever open, from whence fiction spreads itself in ample waves over the Annals of all nations.—When we are reduced to seek the truth of a fact in historians biased by passions, if they are of different parties and interests, let us bring their narrations together, and from this collation, we shall strike out the truth, if I may so speak, in spite of them: I say farther, that those who are of one and the same party, will commonly deserve some credit in facts of such public notoriety, that they durst not disguise them; or in which they were too little interested to have sufficient temptation to undertake it."

* Il paroit même assez, qu'ils n'en ont eu avoit eu connoissance de cette piece, &c. S'il nullo connoissance, Dissert. p. 34. Si Tite Live avoit consulté ce monument, &c. p. 39.

A.

DISSERTATION.

ON THE

CREDIBILITY of the HISTORY of the first 500 years of ROME.

THE famous *Turenne*, (as we learn from the history of his life) when he was about 12 years old, sent a challenge to an officer, who had affronted him, by saying, that *Quintus Curtius's* history of *Alexander the Great* was a mere romance. I do not wish, that our young gentlemen, who have begun to delight themselves in the Roman History, should carry their resentments so far against M. de *Beaufort*, author of a work, intitled, *Dissertation sur l'Incertitude des cinq premiers siècles de l'Histoire Romaine* ^a: yet I think they may reasonably look upon him as an enemy, who seeks to deprive them of a considerable part of their pleasures; and that they ought to be upon their guard against him. And, for my own part, I cannot readily consent to have my grave remarks upon certain passages of the history reduced to the importance of those, by which some industrious chronologer should fix the precise year when *Noah's* grand-daughter *Cesara* fled into *Ireland* to escape the deluge. For the sake therefore of us Romanists, I once proposed to have gone through the whole of M. de B.'s Dissertation, and to have attempted to shew the insufficiency of his citations and his reasonings for discrediting the Roman History of the first 500 years, as to the main and fundamentals of it: For much of the embroidery and flourishing may be given up without parting with the ground-work ^b. But the execution of that design would stretch this Discourse to too great a length;

Ramsay's
life of the
Viscount de
Tourenne.

Topog.
Hibern. p.
135, 136.
apud M.
de Pouilli.

^a A Dissertation on the uncertainty of the history of the first five ages of *Rome*.

^b That the *Romans* had, with the neighbouring states, the successive wars which *Livy* has recorded; that these wars followed one another in the order given them by *Livy*, and had the final events which he has mentioned, may surely be admitted by a reader, not over credulous, and who at the same time will, in his own mind, naturally abate somewhat of the complete victories and numerous triumphs, with which *Livy* has adorned his history, in compliance with the vanity of his countrymen. For, that the *Roman* vanity has now and then prevailed to the misre-

presentation of facts, is too manifest, from several passages in the Latin Historian, some regarding the earlier, some the later ages of *Rome*. The fortunate effect of the unsuccessful enterprize of *Mucius* against *Porfenna's* life, and the marvellous exploit of *Camillus* against the *Gauls*, when, at the foot of the Capitol, they were selling a peace to the *Romans*, are remarkable instances of the power of this vanity. And that it had its influence in *Livy's* relations of the war of *Hannibal*, and the *Spanish* war, is shewn in Book IV. Chap. XVI. and other parts of this Volume.

On the Credibility of the History

and I conceive, that to those who have perused M. L'Abbé Sallier's Defence of the history against the attacks of M. de Pouilli, any further defence is unnecessary. However, as the discourses of that able champion of our cause have, I think, neither been printed apart from the other pieces in the *Memoires de Litterature*, nor translated into English, and therefore may not have fallen into the hands of many persons, who may have met with M. de B.'s Dissertation, which is translated, I shall just mention some particulars, in which I apprehend the chief strength of M. L'Abbé Sallier's arguments to be couched; and then make some brief remarks on M. de B.'s principal positions in his attempt to refute those arguments.

M. L'Abbé Sallier's History and Critique.

1. It is beyond all belief, that Varro^b, the most learned Roman of the most learned age of Rome, should employ his studies and his labours upon the antiquities of his country, in order to dispel the obscurity cast upon the history of the earliest ages, unless there were means of attaining to certainty, or a high degree of probability, with regard to many things that passed in those ages.

2. It is no less incredible, that Cicero should^c design, and Livy undertake

See Memoires de Litterature, Ser. Tom. 8. edit. Amsterdam.

Pref. p. vii.

* It was the controversy [in 1722, 23, 24, 25] between these two very learned and very eloquent gentlemen, members of the Royal French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, which gave occasion to M. de Beaufort's Dissertation sur l'Incertaineté des cinq premiers siècles de l'histoire Romaine. Not content with the efforts made by M. de Pouilli, who, he thinks, has treated a little too superficially a matter which deserved to be examined to the bottom, he without neglecting M. de Pouilli's arguments, endeavours to supply his deficiencies, and to prove, even to Demonstration, the Uncertainty, &c. [Je crois avoir démontré, d'une manière très claire, l'incertitude qui regne sur le temps lequel a précédé la prise de Rome par les Gaulois, et la destruction de ses monumens, qui en fut une suite naturelle. Il est vrai, que cela ne prouve rien à l'égard du siècle suivant, sur lequel j'ai cru pouvoir étendre cette incertitude, à cause de la confusion, qui regne encore par rapport à divers evenemens.] In 1738 Mr. de Beaufort gave the first edition of his Dissertation; an English translation of which was published in 1740. His second edition of it revised, corrected, and considerably augmented, bears date 1750. 'Tis to the pages of the latter the references are made.

N. B. M. de Beaufort gives up one argument, in which M. de Pouilli expatiates, drawn from the work called, *The Parallels of*

Plutarch, a work of which M. l'Abbé Sallier has totally destroyed the credit.

^b Of Varro, Cicero thus writes.

Nos in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospites, tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui, et ubi essemus agnoscere; tu etatem patriæ, tu descriptiones temporum, sedem locorum, tu sacrorum jura, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti. Acad. 1. c. 3.

^c Cicero, says Dr. Middleton, was meditating a general history of Rome, to which he was frequently urged by his friends, as the only man capable of adding that glory to his country, of excelling the Greeks in a species of writing, which, of all others, was at that time the least cultivated by the Romans. But he never found leisure to execute so great a task; yet has sketched out a plan of it, which, short as it is, seems to be the best, that can be formed, for the design of a perfect history.

He declares it to be the first and fundamental law of history, that it should neither dare to say any thing that was false, nor fear to say any thing that was true, nor give any just suspicion either of favour or disaffection: that in the relation of things, the writer should observe the order of time, and add also the description of places: That in all great and memorable transactions, he should first explain

of the first 500 Years of ROME.

take a history of the earliest ages of Rome, if they had no authentic records, no solid materials for their ground work; and this in an age, of which Cicero says^b, that it was too knowing, too much enlightened to be imposed upon by fictions and persuaded to believe absurdities.

3. Cicero in six books which he wrote concerning the *commonwealth*, gave a particular and circumstantial^c account of the customs and maxims of ancient Rome, à *primo urbis ortu*, its domestic and military discipline.

4. We have the express testimony of Cicero for the existence, in his time, of the *PONTIFICAL ANNALS*^d, which were begun almost as early as the birth of the state, and continued to the time of P. Mucius, the High Priest, who lived in the 7th century of Rome. Varro, in his books concerning the Latin tongue, gives us many fragments of these annals.

5. Since it was the custom in the latter times of the republic to record the *acts of the senate* and of the *magistrates*; it is probable that the same custom was observed in the former. And it seems unquestionable from a

L. 12. Ep.
25. ad Cor-
nif. L. 11.
Ep. 25. ad
Brut.

plain the councils, then the acts, lastly the events: that in the councils he should interpose his own judgment on the merit of them: in the acts, should relate not only what was done, but how it was done: in the events, should shew, what share chance, or rashness, or prudence had in them: that in regard to persons, he should describe, not only their particular actions, but the lives and characters of all those, who bear an eminent part in the story. That he should illustrate the whole in a clear, easy, natural stile; flowing with a perpetual smoothness, and equability; free from the affectation of points and sentences, or the roughness of judicial pleadings. *De Orator. 2. 15. Middleton's Life of Cicero, Vol. 2. p. 528.*

^a *Res immensi operis, ut quæ supra septingentesimum annum regeratur, &c. Liv. Pref.*

^b *Ut jam doctis hominibus, ac temporibus ipsis eruditissimum fingendum vix quicquam esset loci. Antiquitas enim recipit fabulas, scilicet etiam nonnunquam incondite: hæc ætas autem jam exulta præsertim et erudita omne quod fieri non potest respuit. Frag. Lib. 3. de Repub.*

^c *Nec enim hic locus est ut de moribus, institutisque majorum, et disciplina ac temperatione civitatis loquamur: aliis hæc locis accurate satis dicta sunt, maximeque in his sex libris quos de republica scripsimus. Lib. 4. Tuscul. c. 1.*

^d *Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium collectio. Cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ causa, ab initio rerum Romanarum*

usque ad Publium Mucium Pontificem Maximum res omnes singulorum annorum litteris mandabat P. Maximus, referrebarque in album. et proponebat tabulam domi ut esset potestas populo cognoscendi, ii que etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi sæculi sunt qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum hominum locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos, Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilaus fuit, alique permulti; talis noster Cato, et Pictor, et Piso, qui neque tenent, quibus rebus ornatur oratio (modo enim huc ista sunt importata) et dum intelligatur, quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse, brevitatem.

Abest enim historia litteris nostris, ut et ipse intelligo, et ex te persepe audio. Potes autem tu profecto satisfacere in ea, quippe cum sit opus, ut tibi quidem videri solet, unum hoc oratorium maximè. Quamobrem aggredere, quæsumus, et sume ad hanc rem tempus, quæ est a nostris hominibus adhuc aut ignorata, aut relicta. Nam post annales pontificum maximorum, quibus nihil potest esse jucundius: sit aut ad Fabium, aut ad eum, qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem, aut ad Fannium, aut ad Vennonium venias: quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen quid tam exile, quam isti omnes.

Unde autem facilius quam ex annalium monumentis aut res bellica, aut omnes reipublice disciplina cognoscitur? Unde ad agendum aut dicendum copia depromi major gravissimorum exemplorum, quasi incorruptorum testimoniorum potest? Frag. Cic. in Hortens.

De leg.
Lib. 1. c. 2.

* Doubtless
sit aut ad Fabium, aut ad eum, qui tibi semper
in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem, aut ad
Fannium, aut ad Vennonium venias: quamquam
ex his alius alio plus habet virium, tamen
quid tam exile, quam isti omnes.
of Civ.
Law. p. 79.

* Lib. 2. de Orat. 12.

a 2

passage

On the Credibility of the HISTORY

passage^a in Suetonius [Vit. Vesp. 8.] not only that the acts of the senate, and of the people, in the earliest ages, used to be recorded; but that many of those records were preserved from the flames, when the Gauls burnt the city.

6. Dionysius speaks of the *memorials*^b, *commentaries* or *tables* of the *censors* preserved in families which had been honoured with the censorship, pieces which he consulted, and in which he found, that a poll of the people had been taken *two years before the burning of Rome*, in the consulship of Valerius and Manlius.

c. 17.

7. Censorinus, in his book *de die natali*, insinuates, that the *memorials* of the *duumvirs* and *decemvirs* were antient monuments that used to be consulted, long after the first ages of Rome.

Libri Lintei.

8. Livy frequently cites the *Linnen books*; which seem to have been of great use for discovering the succession of the consuls and other magistrates.

9. It appears from the historians, that many *treaties* with foreign states were preserved from the flames which consumed the city.

10. *The laws of the twelve tables* were unquestionably preserved, and these would give a thorough insight into the constitution of the state.

Liv. Lib. 1.

Macr. Lib.

3. c. 9.

Aul. Gell.

12. c. 4.

11. In Livy, Macrobius and A. Gellius we have the antient invariable *forms* that were used by the *Roman heralds*, when employed to demand satisfaction for an injury done to the State; *declare war*; *invite the gods* to forsake a city besieged; and, before a battle, *load with curses* the army of the enemy.

12. The *Rituals* and *Calendars* were of use to history. The very name of a festival is often a brief relation of the fact which gave occasion to its institution.

13. Antient *pillars*, *statues* and *inscriptions*^c immortalized the memory of several great men of the early times, and bore testimony to their exploits.

Therefore, though Livy complains of the scarcity of men of letters in the early times [*rare per ea tempora litteræ*]^d and of the loss of a *great part*, or the *greater part*^e of the pontifical annals, and other historical monuments, both public and private, in the burning of Rome by the Gauls,

^a Speaking of Vespasian's restoring the capitol which had been demolished in the Vitellian sedition. Ipse [Vespasianus] ære-
arum tabularum tria millia, quæ simul conflagra-
verant, restituenda suscepit, undique inve-
stigatis exemplaribus, instrumentum imperii
pulcherimum ac vetustissimum confectis; quo
continuantur penè ab exordio urbis sena-
tus consulta, plebiscita de societate, et sæ-
dere, ac privilegio cuiusque concessis.

^b Δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλοῦμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων,

&c. D. Hal. p. 59. Edit. Oxon.

^c Suorum vero clypeos in sacro vel publi-
co, privatim dicare primus instituit (ut reperio)
Appius Claudius, qui consul cum Servilio fuit
anno urbis 259. posuit enim in Bellonæ æde
maiores suos; placuitque in excelso spectari et
titulos honorum legi.—Quales clypeos nemo non
gaudens, suvensque aspicit. Pliny L. 35. c. 3.

^d Quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque
publicis, privatisque erant monumentis incensâ
urbe pleraque interiere. L. 6. c. 1.

of the first 500 Years of Rome.

yet there remained good memorials and original pieces sufficient for composing a credible history of the earliest ages of Rome.

14. Tradition alone was sufficient whereon to found a reasonable and full belief of many facts in the Roman story; such, for example, as the shameful defeat of the Romans near the Caudine Forks; and the seditions and secessions of the Plebeians on occasion of the cruelties exercised by the rich towards the poor. [This is a concession made by M. de Pouilli.]

15. The fables which are found interspersed in the writings of the Roman historians ought not to ruin the credit of the history of the first ages of Rome, as to the essentials of it; though the historians should seem to have adopted those fables or facts. Livy warns us not to be over credulous with regard to several old stories of the marvellous kind, and Cicero ridicules them.

L. 2. de
Divin. &
L. 1. de
leg.

16. And Atticus had successfully laboured to rectify the mistakes in some family-memoirs, concerning the succession of the magistrates, and the origins of families, mistakes occasioned by ignorance or vanity; and he could have had no success in such an attempt, had he been destitute of all sure guides to the truth.

If any reader desires to see these, and several other particulars, relating to the same subject, learnedly and ingeniously discussed, I shall refer him to the discourses at large of M. L'Abbé Sallier in the *Memoires de Litterature*.

BEFORE I take notice of M. de Beaufort's positions, I must frankly confess that I am not well qualified to dispute against his opinion, concerning the Roman History; because I cannot, by his Dissertation, discover with certainty what his opinion is.

I know not whether, in his judgment, we may reasonably reject the whole history of the first 500 years of Rome as groundless and fabulous.

Or

Quæ ab condita urbe ad captam eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus, decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui. L. 6. c. 1.

— Omnis expert curæ, quæ scribentis animum, etsi non flectere à vero, sollicitum tamen efficere possit. Quæ autem conditam, condendamque urbem, poeticis magis decora fabulis, quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec affirmare nec refellere in animo est. Liv. in Præf.

Speaking of the Curtian Lake, and how it came to be so called. Cura non deeſſet, si qua ad verum via inquireretur; nunc fama rerum fandum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fædem. Liv. Lib. 7. c. 6.

Laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor; sic familiarum originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possumus cognoscere, Cic. in Orat. et Corn. Nep. in Attic.

Attendu le peu de soin qu'on a eu de transmettre à la posterité la mémoire des evenemens, dans le tems, qu'ils arrivoient, nous sommes fondés, en voyant une histoire suivie de quatre siècles, de rejeter tout, ou du moins la plus grande partie comme forgée à plaisir.

Ce n'est pas que je veuille revocquer en doute généralement tous les evenemens de ce siècle [le cinquième.] pour quelques traits fabuleux dont ils se trouvent accompagnés, ou parce qu'il y en a plusieurs qui sont manifestement faux. Mon intention est seulement de faire voir, que divers faits des plus marqués, et des plus importants, se trouvent faux, et le trait de la vaine gloire des Romains, les autres doivent nous être suspects. J'en tire encore de nouveaux motifs de douter de l'Histoire des siècles précédens, laquelle, à plus forte raison, doit paroître fabuleuse et forgée après coup. P. 359.

Ces

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One should reject only *almost all*.

Or may stop when we have rejected *the greater part*.

Or, rejecting some passages of the history as utterly false, should call in question, *doubt of, suspect all the rest*: [le revoker en question, en douter, le venir pour suspect.]

This last, from a great number of passages* in his Dissertation, one would imagine to be his real opinion. And yet now and then he seems to slide into *belief*, and even into *certainty*, without being aware of it. He has great faith in what *Polybius* relates of the *Romans* in the early times of the Republic; and admits, as indubitable, several facts, for which the other historians are his only vouchers. Thus, for example,

Differt. p. 299. "It is *certain*^b that *Servius [Tullius]* augmented the number of the Tribes."

p. 329. "Certain it is, that from this time *Porfenna* did not treat the *Romans* as enemies, but as old allies or as good subjects."

See p. 33. And M. de B.'s arguments for disbelieving some facts in the *Roman* story, or doubting of them, are frequently drawn from the *certainty* of others, particularly of the *Treaties*.

Differt. part 2. ch. I cannot but take notice, that, with regard to the story of King *Brennus* the *Gaul*, M. de B. seems not to doubt of these facts. 1. That the *Gauls* totally routed the *Roman* army in the field. 2. That they presently after possessed themselves of *Rome*. 3. That they burnt the city. 4. That the old historical records and monuments were most of them consumed in the flames. 5. That the capitol was saved. 6. That several ancient monuments, being there deposited, were preserved with it. 7. That the *Gauls* sold a peace to the *Romans*, and departed without loss. Here are then, in the history of this one affair, seven important facts which M. de B. seems fully to believe. And what is it he objects to? Why, to *Livy*'

Ces caracteres de fausseté suffiroient à bien des gens pour leur faire rejeter cette *Histoire*, sans plus d'examen; mais je ne veux pas me prevaloir de cet avantage. Ce n'est que sur l'autorité des écrivains les plus celebres, et les plus accredités que je veux m'appuyer pour en douter. Et, afin qu'on ne m'accuse pas d'en douter trop légèrement, je me retranche à ne trouver cette histoire obscure et incertaine, que parce qu'ils la trouvent telle eux-mêmes. p. 10.

* De-là je conclus—que nous sommes fondés à tenir pour fort suspect tout ce qu'on nous raconte des quatre ou cinq premiers siècles de *Rome*.

La seconde partie sera destinée à l'examen de certain faits des plus marqués, et qui figurent le plus dans l'*Histoire Romaine*: l'incertitude ou la fausseté desquels, étant bien prouvée, donnera une nouvelle force aux raisons que l'on a de revoker en doute

TOUTE cette *Histoire*,—je me flatte, que ceux qui se dépouilleront de leurs préjugés conviendront qu'il n'y a rien de plus incertain que tout ce corps d'*Histoire* des premiers siècles de *Rome*. p. 11, 12.

Il faut absolument, qu'on en vienne à dire, que ces traités sont supposés, ce qu'on ne peut faire sans de fortes raisons (et je ne vois pas qu'on ait aucune pour douter de leur authenticité) ou que l'on convienne de bonne foi, que tout ce qu'on nous debite dans l'*Histoire Romaine* n'est qu'incertitude, et qu'on n'y peut compter sur rien. p. 43.

^b Il est sur que *Servius* en augmenta le nombre [des tribus.]

Ce qu'il y a de sur, c'est que, dès lors, *Porfenna* n'en usa plus avec les *Romains*, comme avec des ennemis, et qu'au contraire il les traita en anciens alliés, ou en bons sujets.

relation

relation of *Camillus's* wonderful arrival in the critical moment to save the Romans from the disgrace of living on the foot of a ransomed people, and his destroying the whole army of the *Gauls*. But this relation, romantic in the air of it, and discovered by *Polybius's* account to be a mere fiction of Roman vanity, can never be thought a good reason for questioning the truth of every thing that *Livy* has related of the earliest ages of *Rome*; and much less for regarding the whole Roman History of the first 500 years, as fabulous or uncertain. For when M. de B. speaks of the uncertainty of the Roman History, I suppose he means, or ought to mean, the uncertainty of the best and least exceptionable accounts of the Roman affairs, that can be collected from the several antient writers who have treated the subject.

We shall presently see, that one of M. de B.'s reasons for his incredulity is, that the Roman Historians (the earliest of whom lived in the sixth century from the building of *Rome*) wanted means to know the truth. Yet he gives credit to *Polybius's* relation of the wars between the Romans and *Gauls*, from the time of *Brennus*, to that of *Pyrrhus*; and if he thinks it reasonable to believe *Polybius* on this part of the Roman History, he must allow that there were means of coming at the truth of it, whether *Livy*, and the prior historians whom he followed, made use of them or not.

BUT whatever be the real opinion of M. de B. concerning the Roman History of the first 500 years, he has advanced (if I mistake him not) the following propositions.

I. "THE ROMANS were an obscure people, confined, during four centuries, to a little corner of *Italy*; and the continual exercise of arms, and husbandry (the only sciences they professed) hindered them from thinking the thought of transmitting the memory of events to posterity." Differ. p. 6.
 "AND, if they had thought of perpetuating the memory of what could be said among them, they were universally so illiterate, that nobody was capable of writing history, or transmitting the events to posterity by sure and exact memorials." p. 15. Personne n'étoit capable, &c.

III. "THE

* — *Pempecha de songer à transmettre à la posterité des evenemens, qui dans le fond, ne sont devenus interessans, que par le haut degré de gloire, auquel ses descendans se sont élevés par leurs conquêtes.*

M. de B. cités a passage from *Livy*, (B. vii. c. 3.) to prove that even in the end of the 4th century, WRITING was very little in use. "Raræ per ea temporalitteræ, en faisoit peu d'usage de l'écriture dit Tite Live en parlant de la fin du quatrième siècle." M. de B. adds, "Indeed they must have been very little solicitous in those times to preserve the memory of events, since, instead of all other Annals, they were content with driving a nail every year in-

"to the wall of the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this was the sole expedient they could have for fixing the chronology, [c'étoit là toute la ressource qu'on pouvoit avoir pour fixer la chronologie] as the same historian informs us in the same place." He proceeds; "Had this been practised from the foundation of *Rome*, it might have been of great use for settling the true *Æra* of the city. But the practice could not commence before the temple was dedicated, which was not till after the expulsion of *Tarquin*; and it had suffered a long interruption. It was renewed in the end of the fourth century of *Rome*, not because they found

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III. "THE PONTIFICAL ANNALS, or historical part of the pontifical books, and the other monuments public and private, which could have given some cer-

"it mentioned in any record or ritual, (for "they made so little use of letters, that "they had neither books nor records) but "on account of a tradition almost forgotten, ex seniorum memoria repetitum." [it was recalled to mind by some old men, &c.]

As great use is made of the passage in *Trop.* referred to by M. de B. for proving the extremely illiterate state of the Romans, during many years after the commencement of the Republic, I shall here transcribe the passage at length. The historian is speaking of the year 392 (or, according to the Capitoline Marbles, 390) when Rome was grievously afflicted with the plague.

Cn. Genucio, L. Emilio Mamercino secundum consules, quam piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi afficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur, pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus Senatus, dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici iussit. Dictus L. Manlius imperiosus, L. Pinarius Magistrum Equitum dixit. Lex vetula est priscis litteris, verbisque scripta, ut qui Prætor Maximus sit, Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat. Fixus [most of the manuscripts have fixa *] fuit dextro lateri ædis Jovis optimi maximi; ea ex parte qua Minervæ templum est. Eum clavum, quia rare per ea tempora litteræ erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt: eoque Minervæ Templo dicatam legem, quia Numerus Minervæ inventum sit. Volturnis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum, fixos in templo Nortie Etruscæ Dæ, comparere, diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius affirmat. M. Horatius consul, ex lege Templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit, anno post reges exactos: à consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia majus imperium erat, solenne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermissio deinde more, digna etiam per se visa est res, propter quam dictator crearetur. Liv. B. vii. c. 3.

NOW I conceive that M. de B. has, through inattention, made no less than four mistakes in his comment upon this passage.

FOR I. First of all, *Livy* does not speak of THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, when he says, *some report, that the Nail was to mark the number of years, because Letters were rare in those days, per ea tempora; but of the time, when the Practice of driving*

a nail in the Wall of the Temple of Jupiter, COMMENCED, in pursuance of a Law directing that it should be done annually, on the Ides of SEPTEMBER, by the Chief Prætor, [i. e. by the Chief Magistrate. THE CONSULS were, at first, styled PRÆTORS.] That this Practice commenced long before the end of the fourth century is evident, from the instance then called to mind by the old men, of a Dictator's doing it, and from the words *intermissio deinde more*. And it seems highly probable from *Livy's* words, that the Law was made, and the PRACTICE commenced in the first year of the Republic, and that HORATIUS, when he dedicated the Temple, struck the first nail into the wall; and that it was a part of the Ceremony, at the Dedication, and performed in conformity to the Law above-mentioned. "There is an old Law, (says *Livy*) written in antique characters, and "antique words, importing, that the Chief "Prætor should, on the Ides of September, "drive the Nail, clavum pangat. The Nail "for the Law] was fixed on the right side of "the Temple of Jupiter, in that part where "the Fane of Minerva is." What follows is all Parenthesis, till he thus goes on: "The "CONSUL Marcus Horatius, ACCORDING "TO THE LAW, dedicated the "Jupiter, the year after the ex- "Kings: AFTERWARDS, the "was transferred from the Co- "the DICTATORS, because these were Ma- "gistrates of greater power and dignity" [agreeably to the spirit of the Law, expressed in these words, Qui Prætor Maximus sit.] Whoever attends to *Livy's* words must surely see, that, when he says, the CONSUL Horatius dedicated the Temple EX LEGE, he refers to the Law, where it was enjoined, that the Chief Magistrate should drive a Nail annually on the Ides of September; and means to tell us, that this CONSUL drove the first Nail, pursuant to that Law, when he dedicated the Temple; (which DEDICATION was on the Ides of September, as Plutarch informs us.) If *Livy* did not mean to say that HORATIUS drove the Nail, when he dedicated the Temple, what connexion between the former and latter part of this period? The "CONSUL Horatius dedicated the Temple "the year after the Regifuge; AFTERWARDS, "the fixing the Nail was transferred from the "CONSULS to the DICTATORS."

II. THERE

"*belonging to history, were all destroy'd by the flames which consumed the city, after the Gauls had taken it [in 363.]*"

How to reconcile this *third* assertion with the *second*, or with the *latter part of the first*, seems somewhat difficult; nor seems it very easy to reconcile it with the following enumeration of the ancient monuments which M. de B. supposes to have escaped the flames:

"SOME LAWS of the KINGS.

P. 13.

"ALL the LAWS of the Twelve Tables, by which might be known the constitution of the ancient government.

P. 32.

"SOME of the PONTIFFS BOOKS, which discovered the origin of several religious customs or ceremonies. (Under the name of the Pontiffs books, M. de B. comprehends all the books in general, which treated of the religious ceremonies and traditions of the Romans, as the books of the Augurs and Haruspices, the verses or hymns of the Salii, the Saturnian verses, and a great number of books of that kind.)

46, 47.

"SOME of the books which contained the musters and polls taken of the Roman citizens, which books might be of use to history.

103.

"A

II. THERE is not one word in the passage referred to, importing that the Romans had no annals except nails. And the written law itself is a proof, that the nails were not used because nobody could write or because these nails were the only expedient they could have to fix the chronology. And, for the same reason, they, of whom Livy says *scilicet*, cannot be supposed to have meant, that the nails were used, because nobody could mark the years by words or figures, but because the generality of people could not read what some could write; as was the case in these countries not many hundred years ago. And the interruption of the practice of driving nails [*intermisso deinde more*] if it proves any thing, proves only, that the common people were become less illiterate, and that the nails were not wanted to instruct them in chronology.

III. It appears from the passage referred to, that, in the end of the fourth Century, the Romans had a monument or record mentioning the custom of driving a nail, &c. They had a written law enjoining it; *lex vetusta est preceptis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui Prætor Maximus sit, Idibus Septembribus clavum pangat*: In conformity to which Law the Act of fixing the nail had been transferred from the Consuls to the Dictators. And this shews that both the Law and the Practice were anterior to the Institution of Dictators.

IV. THE thing said to be remembered by VOL. II.

the old men, was not the custom of driving a nail into the wall of the Temple, but a particular instance of the plague's being stopt by a Dictator's driving a nail, &c. *repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quandam clavo ab dictatore fixo sedatam.*

"C'est de ces écrivains, que j'apprens, que tous les monumens publics, qui auroient pu donner quelque certitude à l'Histoire, périrent par le feu, lorsque les Gaulois eurent pris Rome. p. 10.

Il est sur que la partie historique des livres des Pontifes, ou leurs Annales périrent dans la destruction de Rome par les Gaulois. Tite Live est si exprès là dessus, qu'il nous ôte tout sujet d'en douter, — lorsque se plaignant de la peine qu'il a eue parceque tous les memoires, conservez dans les Archives, qui étoient entrez les mains des particuliers, ou qui faisoient partie des livres des Pontifes, avoient été enveloppés dans la ruine de la ville. *Et quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe perierunt interiore.* p. 56.

N. B. In this place, *Pleraque*, with M. de B. imports *Tous*; in p. 5. 18. *Presque tous*; in p. 20, 27. *La plus part*; in p. 19. *Grande partie.*

"Quoique les anciens Historiens omettent quelques livres, et quelque fois les noms des censures, ainsi que le nombre des citoyens, qui s'étoit trouvé dans chaque denom-

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42. "A considerable number of the *Treaties* which Rome had made with the neighbouring states. Il est à presumer qu'ils sauroient un assez bon nombre de ces derniers [les traités] parce qu'ils étoient gardez dans le temple de Jupiter au capitolé, qui demeura à l'abri de la fureur des Gaulois. *And treaties of peace are the most authentic materials for history.* Les traités de paix sont les matériaux les plus authentiques pour l'histoire, et on ne peut former aucun doute raisonnable sur des faits appuyés de pareilles preuves."

145. IV. "THERE was, at Rome, no book, no writing prior to *Pyrrhus's* coming into Italy; no piece that could be of use to history, anterior to the end of the fifth century."

How to make this agree with the foregoing enumeration of pieces preserved from the flames, I do not readily perceive.

- 6, 7. V. "THE LATER historians of Rome did but copy the earlier with regard to the times preceding the earlier."

This seems to be a hasty assertion; since both *Livy* and *Dionysius* speak so frequently of the disagreeing accounts given by the authors they cite, with regard to the times anterior to the first historians. And *Livy*, in his preface, says, that each new writer thinks either to produce something more certain with regard to facts than his predecessors have done, or to excel them in language and style. *Novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.*

- p. 11. VI. "THOSE records or monuments which escaped the flames (when Rome was burnt by the Gauls) were of little use for composing a his-

denombrement, je serois assez porté à croire, sur ce qui nous reste de ces revues generales des citoyens de Rome, que c'étoit un des monumens le mieux conservé, et que les historiens avoient le moins négligé de consulter. Ce que Denis d'Halicarnasse en cite remonte jusqu'au premier cens sous Servius Tullius. On seroit un peu mieux fondé, si on nous alléguoit de pareilles pieces en faveur de l'histoire Romaine. Car, si ce que les historiens nous disent des differens cens, où denombrement, qui se font à Rome, est fondé sur le temoignage de ces monumens, qui se gardoient dans les Archives, on ne peut disconvenir, qu'ils n'aient échappés aux flammes, du moins en partie, et qu'ils n'aient été de quelque usage pour l'histoire. p. 102, 103.

J'ai déjà prouvé que ces Annales des Pontifes n'existoient point: et je prouverai bientôt, qu'il n'y avoit aucune piece qui pût servir à l'histoire laquelle faut antérieure à la fin du cinquieme siecle de Rome. p. 70.

On reconnoitra facilement que ceux

qui ont écrit l'Histoire Romaine n'ont plus que se copier les uns les autres pour ce qui regardoit les tems antérieurs. p. 7.

Fabius Pictor et ceux qui le suivirent de près avoient ignoré, &c. On n'avoit fait depuis que les copier sans autre examen. p. 45.

Ils ont été plus de cinq siècles sans avoir d'historiens—les premiers qu'ils ont eus ont fort mal réussi destinés comme ils l'étoient de monumens anciens et de memoires sur lesquels leur pussent servir de guides—les historiens, qui depuis ont entrepris de fournir la même carrière, se sont contentés de s'appuyer de l'autorité de leurs Predecesseurs et de les donner pour garans des faits qu'ils rapportoient—ils se sont peu mis en peine d'examiner à la rigueur la vérité des faits. p. 6.

N. B. Unless with regard to absurd fictions, it is hard to guess by what test the later historians, if there were no ancient monuments, no authentic memorials, could examine the truth of the facts related by the earlier historians.

"tory.

"*very*. And the first historians did not rest upon such monuments, but founded themselves wholly upon traditions and vulgar stories, as the most celebrated and most esteemed writers inform us, who nevertheless took all their accounts from those first historians.

"What we have of the Roman history [of the first 500 years] was taken out of family-memoirs. Destitute of all other monuments, it was to these pieces, that the historians, towards the middle of the sixth century [i. e. the first historians] were obliged to have recourse, and from no other sources could they have drawn what they related of those times which, as they themselves confess, were cover'd with thick darkness, and of which there was no speaking with any certainty."

p. 142.
143. &
435.
151.
152.

To explain, and, as much as possible, reconcile these two paragraphs, we shall have recourse to another passage in the Dissertation.

"The most ancient piece known at Rome in Cicero's time⁴, was the speech of Appius Claudius, the blind, pronounced in the senate to dissuade them from accepting the terms of peace proposed by Pyrrhus in 474. Indeed there were, beside that, some funeral orations; but tradition must have supplied the rest: so that the truth of the history of the first five centuries had no other support but these two witnesses, funeral orations and tradition."

150.

"Perhaps to these we may add, some songs or hymns, composed in honour of the heroes and illustrious men,—pieces not proper to instruct us in the truth of facts."

THE CASE then was this; there were no written family-traditions nor any

"Je recherche ce qui a pu échaper à cet incendie—j'en trouve que ce qui en échappa fut de peu d'utilité pour la composition de l'Histoire. Ce sont eux memes [les écrivains les plus celebres et les plus accrédités] qui m'apprennent, que ce n'est point sur de pareils monumens, que les premiers Historiens se sont appuyés, et que ceux qui les ont suivis (en avouant, que ceux qui les avoient précédés dans cette carrière, ne s'étoient fondés que sur des traditions, et sur des bruits populaires, que d'ailleurs ils n'avoient apporté ni jugement, ni exactitude, dans la composition de leurs histoires, et dans ce qu'ils disoient des premiers siècles de Rome) n'ont pas laissé de reconnoître que c'étoit d'eux qu'ils tiroient tout ce qu'ils en rapportoient [i. e. tout ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siècles de Rome.] p. 10, 11. Les historiens, qui ont vécu dans des siècles plus polis, et où l'on n'ignoroit aucune des loix de l'Histoire, n'ayant point eu d'autres sources où puiser que ces memes histoires, qui n'étoient ent fondées que sur la tradition, ils n'ont pu

donner plus de certitude à ce qu'ils rapportoient des premiers siècles de Rome. p. 204.

^b By *they themselves*, I presume M. de B. means the later historians; for they are the only writers he cites as complaining of darkness.

^c C'est des *Memoires des Familles*, qu'est tiré ce que nous avons de l'Histoire Romaine. p. 142.

Destitués de tous autres monumens, ce fut à ces pieces [*Memoires des Familles*] que les historiens, vers le milieu du sixieme siècle, furent obligés d'avoir recours. p. 435.

Dans quelle source ont-ils puisé ce qu'ils ont dit sur des tems, que selon eux-memes couvroient d'épaisse tenebres, et dont on ne pouvoient parler avec aucune certitude? Ce n'a pu être que dans ces *Traditions des Familles* puisqu'il n'y avoit point d'autre monument auquel ils pussent avoir recours. p. 152.

^d I am not aware that M. de B. has any support for this, but a mistake of his own (through inattention) in interpreting a

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any other [historical] writings, aucun livre, aucun écrit, before the year 474. Between this time and the year 550 (when *Fabius Pistor* became an historian) funeral orations were written. And from these written orations and from oral tradition, the first historians compiled their works.

- P. 150. But then we are aground again, by reason of an unlucky passage, cited by M. de B. from *Dionysius*, who tells us, that *Fabius* [whom all the following historians are said to have copied] compiled his history of the first 500 years from tradition, from *hear-say*, wholly from *hear-say*; on voit que ce qu'il en disoit n'étoit appuyé que sur ce qu'il en avoit ouï dire :
- P. 164. *ἱστὸρίαν*, D. H. Lib. 7. p. 475. *Fabius* then did not make use of the funeral orations, nor of any written family-traditions, (family-memoirs :) Neither were these, according to M. de B. form'd upon *hear-say*. The matter of them was invented by the vanity of private men. And not only the matter of them was invented, but the greater number of the
- P. 154. pieces themselves were forgeries; i. e. they were not contemporary with the authors to whom they were ascribed, but forged after their time. And if *Fabius* took his historical accounts from forged funeral orations, these forgeries must have been almost all made in his own time, and all in the space of 76 years; supposing it true, that there were no writings of earlier date than the year 474. And then we shall be at a loss to guess how it was possible to impose these forgeries upon *Fabius* for genuine pieces.

But is it not strange that M. de B., who, by admitting that the public monuments and private memorials of the Romans were burnt by the Gauls, admits that the Romans had both ability and disposition to write before

passage of *Cicero's Brutus* [c. 16.] *Nec verò habeo quonquam antiquiorem cujus quidem scripta proferenda putem, nisi Appii Cæci oratio hæc ipsa de Pyrrho, et nonnullæ mortuorum laudationes, fortè delectant: et Hercule, hæc quidem extant. Cicero* is discoursing, not of authors in general, nor of historians, but of Orators, and the last he mentions is *Cato* the Censor: and he adds, that "he is acquainted with none more antient, whose writings he thinks worth speaking of; unless the oration of *Appius Claudius* concerning *Pyrrhus*, and some funeral orations may happen to please. Of these there are indeed enough." Had *Cicero* been speaking of Roman historians, or authors in general, he certainly would not have said, that he knew none more antient than *Cato*, that were worth mentioning; because *Fabius* and *Cincius* and several other historians, much esteemed, were prior to *Cato*. Yet on the authority of this passage M. de B. (p. 145.) writes thus, "On ne pourra pas douter de la vérité de, ce que j'avance, dès que j'aurai fait voir, qu'on n'avoit à Rome

" aucun livre, aucun écrit, qui fût antérieur
" à la venue de *Pyrrhus* en Italie, événement, qui ne se place que vers la fin du
" cinquième siècle de Rome. Pour des
" HISTORIENS, on sait qu'ils ne parurent
" que dans le siècle suivant. *Cicéron*, parlant de ce qu'on avoit de plus ancien de son
" tems, dit que *Caton*, qui étoit mort il
" n'y avoit pas plus d'un siècle, étoit considéré comme un Auteur fort ancien eum
" nos perveterem habemus. Certes ajoutez
" t-il, je n'en connois point de plus ancien
" dont je puisse vous citer les écrits, à moins
" que l'on ne trouve du goût à la harangue
" d'*Appius Claudius* sur *Pyrrhus*, et à quelques oraisons funebres."

L'on peut affirmer sans temerité que l'Histoire Romaine, pour la plus grande partie, a été forgée sur ces Traditions des Familles, et sur des oraisons funebres, qui pour la plupart n'étoient que des pièces supposées que des faussaires avoient forgées pour favoriser les prétentions, que quelques familles formoient à une genealogie illustre.

the same, should yet suppose, that they had neither the one nor the other, for above 100 years after that time?

And there is another difficulty arising from another passage cited by M. de B. from *Dionysius* [Lib. 1. p. 59.] who there says, that the earliest Roman historians took all their accounts of the birth of *Romulus* and the building of *Rome*, from the antique narratives in the SACRED BOOKS, *iv leurs livres saints*.

P. 162.

And what makes these difficulties the greater is, that M. de B. is of opinion, we ought to give full credit to *Dionysius* in what he says concerning the works and merit of the historians who preceded him.

BUT, not to dwell any longer on the seeming repugnancies in the argumentation of our ingenious Critic against the credibility of the history of the five first centuries, let us now consider what *Livy* says concerning his own history of the times anterior to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*.

"I have, in five books, set forth what, from the building of the city to its being taken, was done by the *Romans*, first under the Kings, then under the Consuls, Dictators, Decemvirs, and Military Tribunes with consular power; the foreign wars and domestic seditions; matters very obscure, by reason of their antiquity, (like objects, that at a great distance, are hardly discerned.) For it is only by writings, that the transactions and events of remote times can be clearly and faithfully transmitted; and in those days there were few writers; and the greater part of the commentaries of the High Priests, and of the other records, publick and private, perished in the burning of *Rome*^b. Henceforward, matters more clear and certain will be related; the civil affairs and military acts of the *Romans*, after the rebuilding of their city^c."

Now what is the obvious sense of this passage?

"The foregoing part of my history, (says *Livy*) is full of obscurity and uncertainty; because the matters, there treated of, are of too ancient date to have been transmitted with faithfulness and exactness by oral tradition, and because the contemporary writers were few, and the greater part of their writings perished in the fire that consumed the city. But the transactions and events after that time, are things more clear
" and

* Denis d'Halicarnasse, aiant entrepris l'Histoire des cinq premiers siecles de Rome, doit etre consideré comme juge competent de ceux qui l'ont precedé dans la meme carriere. p. 168. L'on ne risque rien en s'en rapportant à ce qu'il en dit. p. 163.

I cannot possibly be of M. de B.'s opinion in this particular. *Dionysius* seems, of all writers, to be the man who deserves the least credit when he speaks of the merit of other writers. For (Lib. 1. p. 5.) he says of *Polybius*, "that he wrote little concerning the *Romans*, and that the little he

"did write was without any care or accuracy, and wholly founded upon idle reports." Nor could even *Thucydides* please *Dionysius*: but, as to what he says by way of censure on *Thucydides*, Mr. *Hobbes* remarks, "that there was never written so much absurdity in so few lines."

^b It seems pretty plain from what *Livy* here says of the destruction of public and private Monuments or Records, that he knew nothing of the peu d'usage de l'écriture, for which M. de B. contends.

^c Quæ ab condita urbe Roma ad captam L.6.C.1.p.1. eandem

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"And certain, *clariora et certiora*." How so? "Because with respect to these, there are not the same causes of obscurity and uncertainty. The times not being so remote, the traditions concerning them are more to be depended on; contemporary writers were less rare; and there has not been a like destruction of their writings."

This is surely the plain meaning of his words, and it ought to be ascribed to his credit, that his history of the earliest times, is proportioned, for length, to the scarcity of materials he complains of; for notwithstanding his *circumstantial*, and, perhaps in his own opinion, fabulous account of the rape of the *Sabine* women, with the consequences of it; and notwithstanding the frequent display of his skill in adorning a story, as in his description of the combat between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*, and in several other instances, his whole history of the seven kings, who are supposed to have reigned 244 years, hardly fills seventy pages in *Le Clerc's* small edition; and, of these, twenty are taken up with the reigns of *Servius Tullius*, and his successor *Tarquin the Proud*. Now, the institutions of *Servius*, which were his most important acts, and were the plan, whereon, after the expulsion of *Tarquin*, the new government was established and maintained, cannot easily be called in question; nor, I believe, will any body question the truth of the most material things, related of *Tarquin's* tyranny, which gave occasion to the revolt from him, and the abolition of kingly government. The obscurity and uncertainty therefore, of which *Livy* speaks, must chiefly regard the circumstances with which some facts are accompanied in his relations, and not the principal facts and events contained in the history of the early times.

p. 6. Certainly *M. de B.* had not duly attended to the accounts given by the antients, of the regal state of *Rome*, when he ventured to say, "It is surprising to find a continued history of five centuries, in which there is scarce any void, any year, that is not distinguished by some considerable event." For very few of the 244 years of the kings are distinguished by any event whatsoever.

It may be further remarked, that *Livy's* history of the 119 years, from the expulsion of *Tarquin* to the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, is above four times as long as his history of the 244 years of the kings; and his history of those 119 years is no longer than his history of the 95 years that follow the rebuilding of *Rome*, and reach to the year 460, with which his tenth book ends. And the next ten books (which are lost) contained but the history of 73 years. Now the reason of these differences in the length of his accounts of the different periods is very obvious, and is contained in the passage above cited.

eandem urbem Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditiones, quinque libris exposui; res quum vetustate nimia obscuras, veluti quæ magno ex intervallo, loci vix cernuntur: tum quod et rarè per eadem tempora litteræ fuere, una custodia fidelis me-

moriz rerum gestarum: et, quod etiam si quæ in commentariis pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleræque interiere. Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine, velut ab stirpibus lætius, seraciusque renatæ urbis, gesta domi militiæque, exponentur.

I pro-

Proceed now to say something of the value of those materials, which the first Roman historians may reasonably be supposed to have had for composing their histories. Without entering into any discussion of the antiquity or contents of the *linen books*, the *books of the magistrates*, the *tables* and *memorials* of the *censors*, the *books of the Decemvirs and Duumvirs*, or the *inscriptions* on pillars, statues or shields, (from all which, it cannot be questioned but many things, useful to history, might be drawn) I shall confine myself to speak of the other sources of historical matter, that were open to the first historians.

I. THE ANNALS or Commentaries of the High Priests, called the *Great Annals*.

That it was the constant custom from the earliest times, for the High Priests to record in writing the events of each year, and that *antient Annals*, composed by the *High Priests*, existed, either entire or in part in *Cicero's* time, is unquestionable from his express testimony.

And from the complaint which *Livy* makes of the loss of the greater part of the Pontifical Annals, anterior to the burning of *Rome* [*incensa urbe Pleræque interiere*] it is evident that some pieces of those ANNALS L. 6. c. 1. were preserved from that fire. His words import this: and his chief ground for saying that the greater part perished, was doubtless the preservation of the smaller.

Rome was burnt by the *Gauls* about the year 363, i. e. about 119 years after the commencement of the republic. The *Romans*, we are told, were very industrious in collecting what monuments or records had escaped the fire: and it is natural to suppose that endeavours were used to supply by memory (as far as memory could supply) the defects of what remained of the Pontifical Annals. "Before the use of letters (says Sir Isaac Newton) the names and actions of men could scarce be remembered above 80 or 100 years after their deaths: and therefore I admit of no chronology of things done in *Europe* above 80 years before *Cadmus* brought letters into *Europe*." It seems here to be admitted by this great man, that the names and actions of men, and even the chronology of things done 80 years back, might be preserved by memory, and without written records. The defects of the *Great Annals* might therefore, with certainty enough, be supplied, by the help of memory alone, as to the principal events during the far greater part of the time, between the beginning of the Republic and the burning of *Rome*. And with regard not only to that time but to the earlier times, it is to be supposed, that those persons, who had read the Annals before they were in part destroyed, remembered nothing of what they had read?

These Annals, thus repaired, would doubtless be very brief and very

^a — *Ab initio rerum—Res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus—ii qui etiam nunc Annales maximi vocantur, De orat. Lib. 2. c. 12. Servius ad Virg. Æneid. Lib. 1. v. 377. and Vopiscus in Tacito cap. 1. speak to the*

same effect, as M. de B. observes.

^b M. L'Abbé Sallier considers *Livy's Pleræque* as a word of exaggeration, to magnify his own labour in compiling a general history of his country.

Short Chron. p. 71.

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imperfect, but not useless to history. The great events and the order of them would there be found. And as to the Annals, written after the burning of Rome (for the practice was continued) we read of no destruction happening to these either in whole or in part. It must be granted however, that even these, through some accident or neglect, were not entire and perfect in the days of *Livy* or of the prior historians. If there had been no chasms, no interruptions in them, how could the historians have been so much at a loss, as we find they sometimes were, concerning the succession of the magistrates?

But granting the Pontifical Annals, mentioned by *Cicero*, to have been very imperfect, and even supposing, that his words, *ab initio rerum*, regard the time when the practice of writing Annals began, and not the Epoch whence the relations, contained in those which he had read, commenced; yet (as I said before) certain it is from his testimony, that *antient Records*, called *the Annals of the High Priests*, or *the Great Annals*, did exist in his time: and therefore the silence of *Livy* and *Dionysius*, if they are silent, (as *M. de B.* imagines) concerning these Annals, will not prove what *M. de B.* would infer from it, the non-existence of them in their time. If they did not then exist, they must have been lost in the few years between the time when *Cicero* wrote, and the time when *Livy* and *Dionysius* composed their histories; and of this there is no where any hint. *Livy* would doubtless have complained of such a loss, had it really happened, since he complains of the earlier loss suffered by the burning of Rome. And for these several considerations it is reasonable to believe, that the *old Annals*, of which *Livy* frequently speaks, and the *ἱερὰ ἀντίκτα*, mentioned by *Dionysius* as historical monuments, were the *Great Annals* described by *Cicero*: And I think it may be reasonably asked, How could *Cicero* well know (and he speaks with confidence) that the custom of writing Annals commenced *ab initio rerum*, but from the actual existence, in his time, of fragments of Annals, written in the earliest times; or from their being cited by the first historians as existing in their time?

TO PROVE the non-existence of any Annals, or parts of Annals, written before the burning of Rome, *M. de B.* makes great use of the authority of one *CLODIUS* cited by *Plutarch*, and represents this *Clodius* as speaking thus: "ALL the ANTIENT MONUMENTS were burnt when the Gauls sacked Rome, and those which the Romans now have are forgeries."

M. de B. goes on: "And *Plutarch* himself, or whoever was the author of the treatise OF THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS * after speaking of some marvellous events of those early times,—adds, To what purpose should we dwell upon times which have nothing clear, nothing certain, since, as *Livy* assures us, the Roman History was corrupted, and its monuments destroyed?"

Then immediately, (taking for granted, that *Plutarch* was the author of that treatise) he adds, "What *Plutarch* says, upon the testimonies of *Clodius* and *Livy*, of the destruction of those monuments, gets an addi-

tional

In Numa.
Dilect. p.
20.

* De For-
tuna Ro-
manorum.
p. 21.

"...at least force in the mouth of a greater author as he. For say, he does not contradict them, he supports what they say by his surname. The testimony of these authors is very express, &c." Again, "Livy, Clodius and Plutarch depose that the monuments, by which the truth of the Roman History might have been ascertained, and which alone could give it the requisite certainty, were destroyed in the sacking of Rome." And again, "It is certain, that the historical part of the books of the Pontiffs or their ANNALS, if they ever existed, perished in the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. Livy is so express upon this, that he leaves us no room to doubt of it." — For he says, "that ALL the memorials (kept in the Archives) that were in private hands, or that made part of the books of the Pontiffs, were involved in the ruin of the city." But where does Livy say this? Why, [in B. 6. c. 1.] where he tells us, that a great part or the greater part of what was contained in the High Priests' commentaries, and in other public and private monuments, perished in the burning of Rome: *Et quod etiam si quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis incensæ urbe præterque interiere.*

p. 26.

p. 56.

NOW as to CLODIUS, Plutarch writes thus: Though the pedigrees of Numa's family from its beginning to this day, be set forth in very nice order, there is much dispute concerning the time when he lived. One Clodius, in a work entitled *Ἰσχυροὺς ὑπομνήματα*, asserts that the antient writings of that sort [*nos de xylæas EKEINAE d' avayayavte*] were lost, when the Gauls destroyed Rome, and that those which now appear were framed by flatterers to please the vanity of some private families, who would needs be thought descended from the most illustrious origins, to which they had in truth no relation." We see, that Clodius speaks only of genealogical tables, and not of any other historical monuments. Had he asserted, that ALL the antient monuments or records were lost, he would have asserted what was not true, by the concession of M. de B., who allows, that many treaties of peace, the laws of the twelve tables, and several other pieces of antiquity, escaped the flames.

M. de Sallier thinks, that Plutarch was not the author of the treatise

"If they ever existed. Had Livy used those words in this place, he would have spoken like a certain gentleman, who, in giving a bad character of a person deceased, after many severe accusations went on thus, And he was a very cruel father to most of his children — if he had any."

That Livy did not intend to express a doubt whether any Pontifical Annals existed before the burning of Rome, is pretty evident from a passage (in his 4th book c. 3.) cited by M. de B.

The historian is writing of the year 310, and he puts these words into the mouth of

a Tribune, "If we are not admitted to the Fasti, nor to the COMMENTARIES of the High Priests, are we therefore ignorant of those things which are known even by all strangers? That the Consuls succeeded in the place of the kings, and have no rights or prerogatives which the kings had not before?" *Si non ad Fastos, non ad COMMENTARIOS PONTIFICUM admittimur: ne ex quidem scimus, quæ omnes peregrini etiam sciunt: Consules in locum Regum successisse: nec aut juris, aut majestatis quicquam habere, quod non in Regibus ante fuerit?*

tife de Fortuna Romanorum, and indeed, if he were, he must have been a very idle man, and condemned by himself in the above-cited passage from that treatise, to spend his time in writing the lives of *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Poplicola* and *Camillus*, without any materials, but what he believed to be forgeries and romance.

But can it be imagined, that either *be* or *Livy* or *Dionysius* believed nothing of what they have written of the first ages of *Rome*, or that they looked upon all as uncertain? Though *Livy*, in some instances doubts, yet he often says, *it is evident, it is certain, constat, certum est*, and, in his preface, he warns us, with regard to what he is going to write, to distinguish between the stories adorned with fiction, and the traditions supported by authentic monuments.

And it was very singular, and not a little marvellous, it, when *Rome* was burnt by the *Gauls*, the fire did so piously distinguish between sacred writings and prophane. It spared that part of the Pontiffs Books which regarded public worship, and likewise the treaties of peace, and the laws of the twelve tables, treaties and laws being *religiones**, religious matters, deemed so on account of the religious ceremonies performed at their making; but it destroyed entirely the *historical part* of the Pontifical Books, their *Annals*: it spared no writing that was wholly prophane, nothing historical, if not somehow under the protection of religion.

*Livy, l. 6.
c. 1.

II. THE First Roman Historians had, among the materials for their works, not only some parts of the High Priests Annals, written before the burning of *Rome*, but some parts of other public historical monuments or memorials, preserved from that fire. *Quæ in Commentariis Pontificum aliisque publicis monumentis erant pleræque interire*: the greater part, not all, perished.

What those other public monuments were, I will not pretend to say. Perhaps they were the *linen books*, the *books of the magistrates*, the *memorials* or *tables* of the *Censors*, and some other ancient pieces referred to by the historians.

p. 93.

M. de B. observes, that *Livy*, who cites the *linen books* pretty often, from *Licinius Macer*, during the space of about ten years, does not cite them for any thing after that time, or before it. Now supposing this to be a proof that the *linen books*, which *Licinius* had consulted, contained nothing but what related to those ten years; yet, as those years were prior to the burning of *Rome*, we may reasonably believe, that the books in question were part of an old public record, a fragment preserved from that fire. And we may reasonably think the same of those parts of the *books of the magistrates*, and of the *Censors books*, which are cited in attestation of matters anterior to the destruction of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The very imperfection of these pieces carries with it some proof of their antiquity, and of the mischief they had suffered.

III. ORIGINAL RECORDS OF many treaties which the Romans had made with the neighbouring nations, before the burning of the city. And these must

may have been of excellent use to the first historians, both for facts and dates in their accounts of the early times. And as to the treaties, after the building of Rome, there is no question of their preservation.

IV. THE ACTS of the Senate and of the Comitia, and the Laws of the ~~Republic~~ *Table*, which fully laying open the constitution of the state, the customs and manners of the Romans, the rights of the people, and the powers of the magistrates, were a sure guide to the historians in many particulars of their accounts.

V. WHATEVER could be ascertained by ancient annals or records, preserved in the other cities of Italy, that were fallen under the power of the Romans, when Fabius and his successors undertook to write history. Why should we suppose, that these were totally neglected by the first historians? That the neighbouring nations had books and records is evident from Liv. L. 10. c. 38, where we find, that, in the year 459 of Rome, the Samnites had recourse to their *linen books* for direction in forming that legion which they called *legio lintata*.

That treaty with *Porsonia*, (mentioned by Pliny) of which M. de B. takes advantage to discredit the Roman History, was doubtless found at Clusium, or some other city of Etruria, not at Rome.

Livy, in citing the prior historians, does not always tell us from whence they took their matter, yet often enough to make us know, that they cited authorities for what they delivered. And it is evident, that they had recourse to the archives of the conquered cities. From the passage in Livy (L. 7. c. 3.) before referred to, we learn that Cincius having examined into the antiquities of Volsinii, a town in Etruria, had found it to have been formerly a custom there to mark the number of the years by nails fixed in a temple dedicated to Nertia, an Etruscan Goddess; and that Cincius was a diligent enquirer into such antiquities, *diligens salium monumentorum auctor Cincius*.

VI. FAMILY-MEMORIALS, and FUNERAL-ORATIONS.

M. de B. cites the authorities of Cicero and Pliny to prove, that it was the general custom at Rome for each noble family to preserve *memoriale* recording the services which the members of it had done the state in the discharge of those offices, with which they had been intrusted. "If these *memoriale*, says M. de B., had been faithfully written, they would have been of infinite use to history. Should we admit that all the other monuments were lost, we must likewise admit, that the loss might have been supplied by these memorials. They were so many histories of the

p. 104. & 109.

* M. L'Abbé Sallier, in his first discourse, *ent pas sans monumens & sans histoires*, makes this observation; and he adds, Les nations voisines, voyant donc, outre les monuments, les *monumens, et l'usage des histoires*, plusieurs endroits, *monumens & l'usage des histoires*, pour ce que se dit. On pourroit remarquer, que les peuples voisins des Romains n'étoient pas sans monumens & sans histoires. Varron, cité par Censorin et Pélus, en plusieurs endroits, *monumens & l'usage des histoires*, pour ce que se dit. Cic. in Brut. c. 16. Plin. L. 35. c. 2.

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of particular men, and contained the principal affairs of the state, in the conduct of which those men had had a share. But unhappily, in the composition of these histories, much less regard was had to truth than to heightening the lustre of families. There were so many falsifications, the truth of facts was so frequently corrupted in these memoirs, that no use could be made of them without great precaution.

p. 107, 108. To prove the unfaithfulness of the *Family-memorials*, M. de B. insists chiefly on a passage in *Cicero*, and another in *Livy*, charging some *Funeral-orations* with containing false facts invented to gratify the vanity of private families. From which it would seem that he considers the *Family-memorials* as consisting wholly of *Funeral-orations*. Yet, as he ranges certain records of the *Censors*, (called by *Dionysius* *τιμολογια*) among the *Family-memorials*, and is inclined to think that the *linen books* ought to be placed there too, he manifestly admits, that *funeral-orations* were not the whole of the *Family-memorials*.

NOW if the practice of writing *Family-memorials* began early, and these pieces were preserved, and transmitted from generation to generation, they must have been of excellent use to the first Roman historians: For how much soever those pieces might abound in panegyrical exaggeration, and false colourings, they would furnish good evidence of the truth of those facts, in which they agreed, and with which the several writers of those pieces were contemporary.

But as it does not appear, at what time the custom of writing *Family-memorials* began, I shall here leave this matter, and consider what is said of *Funeral-orations*.

DIONYSIUS, speaking of the *Funeral-oration* which *Poplicola* pronounced on his deceased colleague *Brutus*, tells us, it is uncertain whether *Poplicola* introduced this custom among the *Romans*, or found it already established by the kings. Be that as it will, there is no doubt of its being the constant practice from the beginning of the Republic, to honour the memory of great men by *Funeral-panegyrics*. And, as these were premeditated speeches, and as the glory of the orator was no less concerned in the composition, than the glory of the deceased, it is highly reasonable to believe that the orator wrote down what he purposed to say, and by revising and correcting his speech, put it into the best form he could, before he delivered it. I say, it is natural to suppose, that this method was for the most part, if not universally, observed by the speakers of *Funeral-orations*. Nor can any thing be more probable, than that the families, concerned in these orations, would be very desirous to preserve them.

And indeed there seems to be sufficient ground to conjecture, that from these *Funeral-Orations* were taken, into the History of the early times of the Republic, many particulars, not to be learnt from *Chronicles*, or the High Priests Annals, or any other public Memorials. But then, for

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complain of, as the source of many inventions in Funeral Panegyrics of the later ages. Till some families could with *Truth* boast of their antiquity, and the long glories of a line of ancestors from whom they were descended, there was no temptation, no opportunity for vain men *falsely* to claim that kind of nobility, and invent pedigrees to do themselves honour. And should we suppose, that at the renovation of the State, upon the departure of the *Gauls*, (*i. e.* about 119 years after the birth of the Commonwealth) the loss of many monuments public and private, might give both temptation and opportunity for fiction in some degree, yet this could reach to nothing very considerable; and it is hardly credible that the Orator at a Funeral would, to raise the glory of the deceased and his family, hazard invented facts, which derogated from the glory of other families, and could be contradicted by the memory of persons living. And when in later times (the brevity and imperfection of the Pontifical Annals and the other public monuments, and the loss of many private ones, through the extinction or decay of families, giving large scope to inventive vanity) Consulships and Triumphs were *falsely* ascribed, in Funeral Orations, to the remote ancestors of those whose obsequies were then solemnized; still the accounts, given in those Orations, of what they themselves had performed in the high offices they had filled, would be materials which an Historian might confidently and safely employ.

Livy's complaint sufficiently proves, that he thought the first Historians had made use of Funeral Orations in compiling their Histories, and that some of those writers had very injudiciously adopted what they found delivered in such Orations, concerning the remote ancestors of the persons, in whose honour they were spoken. But neither he nor Cicero charges those Orations, with containing false accounts of facts contemporary with the Orators, nor do they speak of those pieces as *forgeries*. I am not aware of any the least ground, *M. de B.* has for thinking, that the Funeral Orations of which *Livy* and *Cicero* complain, were *pieces supposées que des faussaires avoient forgées*.

It is in writing of the year 432 of the City (*i. e.* the 188th of the Republic) that *Livy* is at a loss to know, whether the Dictator *Cornelius*, or the Consuls of the year, conducted the war against the *Samnites*, and had a Triumph for the success. The Authors, he consulted, differed on this point, all agreeing however in *Cornelius* being then Dictator: they had therefore some unquestionable authority for this particular. Their differences, in relation to the persons who obtained the Victory and Triumph, he imputes to the differing accounts in Funeral Orations and In-

scripserunt, et ad memoriam laudum domesticorum, et ad illustrem nobilitatem suam. Quamquam his laudationibus Historia rectius nostrarum est facta mendosior. Multa enim scripta sunt in eis, quae facta non sunt, iam triumphi, plures Consulatus, ge-

nera etiam falsa, et ad Plebem Transfusions: cum Homines summi in alienam ejusdem nominis infunderentur genus: ut si ego me à M. Tullio esse dicerem, qui patricius et a Servio Sulpicio Consule, sano homine posses Reges exiles fuis. *Cic. in Brut. C. 16.*

scripserunt

sculptors on Images, made long after the time, and by which he supposes the disagreeing Historians to have been respectively guided. "It is my opinion," says he, that the truth of history has been corrupted by "Funeral Orations, and lying Inscriptions on Images, each family, by plausible fictions, assuming to itself the honour of great exploits. Hence, (that is, from this arrogant vanity) it has doubtless happened, that the actions of particular men are confounded (those of one man ascribed to another) and the *Public monuments* are likewise in confusion (disagree, contradict one another.) Nor is there any contemporary writer (contemporary with the Dictator and Consuls of the year 432) *extant*, by whose authority the truth of the matter in question can be sufficiently ascertained."

What *Livy* means by *Public Monuments* in this place, I will not pretend to say; probably they were the Inscriptions on Statues, *erected in the later times*, in temples and other public places, which Inscriptions, contradicting one another, had occasioned a disagreement among the Historians, who employed them in their own compositions. That he does not speak of the *High Priests' Annals*, as confounded or made inconsistent, is evident from Cicero's account of those Pieces. The High Priest's business was not to record the transactions that passed two or three hundred years before, but the transactions of the present, or immediately preceding year. No Funeral Orations nor Inscriptions on Images, made in after times, could confound those Annals. Contradict them they might, but not make them inconsistent with themselves.

The same may be said of any other monuments, contemporary with the facts recorded in them; no posterior Orations nor Inscriptions could throw them into confusion.

It must indeed be admitted, upon the Credit of *Livy's* words, that, in his time, no authentic record of any sort, contemporary with the Magistrate he is writing of, was extant, by which the particular point in question could be cleared up: For otherwise the differences among the prior Historians would not have perplexed him. But he does not say, that Rome had no writers so early as the year 432, or that no writing of so early date was extant in his time. His words rather import the contrary, That there were Writers in those days, and that some of their writings were extant, but none whereby the matter in doubt could with sufficient certainty be determined. *Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor extat, quo satis certo auctore stet.*

DEMONSTRATION, or satisfactory proof is not aimed at, by any thing or by all that is said above, in favour of the Roman History of the five first centuries; but only probability. The sum is this. It seems from many passages in Cicero, *Livy*, and other ancient writers, that the first

Vicissim memoriam funebribus laudibus reor, singulisque imaginum titulis, dum familia ad se quæque famam rerum gestarum, honorumque fallente mendacio trahunt. Inde certe et singulorum gesta, et publica monumenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam æqualis temporibus illis scriptor extat, quo satis certo auctore stet. Lib. 8. c. 40.

Roman

Roman Historians had a great variety of ancient and genuine pieces for the foundation of their Histories; *The High Priests Annals; The Acts of the Senate, and of the Comitia; Records of the succession of the Magistrates; The Censors Books; Treaties of Peace and Alliance; Family Memorials and Funeral Orations.*

Of no one sort of these pieces was there an uninterrupted series, but only parts and fragments. The whole stock of materials was insufficient for a continued thread of History; and accordingly, the History is broken and imperfect; there are many chasms in it; some things are delivered as uncertain, some as fabulous; and many things in it are fabulous or uncertain, which are not delivered as such. *Fabius Pistor* and his nearest followers adopted traditional stories which pleased the national vanity, and of which those Historians had no desire to destroy the belief, even when they could have done it by the means of authentic Monuments; and in many instances they were destitute of those means. The *Circumstantial Accounts* of the exploits of particular men, I conjecture to have been taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations; because I cannot conceive from what other source the Historians could have them. For *the Great Annals*, according to the description of them by *Cicero*, must have been too brief, to descend often to *Circumstances* of Actions; and *Tradition* (as *M. de Pouilly* observes) never informs us of *Circumstances* any more than of *Dates*. When fiction or uncertainty is apparent in the accounts given us of the heroic deeds of this or that great man, I apprehend, that those accounts were taken from Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, of *late date*, when, the power of the *Romans* growing considerable, and their vanity keeping pace with it, Genealogies became a matter of great moment to private Families.

BUT as to the most memorable of the *National Affairs*, the civil contests and the important changes produced by those contests in the constitution of the government, the foreign wars in which the *Romans* engaged, and the final success of their struggles with each of the neighbouring states, the truth of these events might be ascertained by Tradition alone; and the very dates of most of them would be ascertained by the *Laws* and the *TREATIES*, that were carefully preserved; the laws consequent to the commotions and the treaties consequent to the wars. And we may well presume that the memory of much more than these principal events was transmitted by the *High Priests Annals* and the other public Monuments, contemporary with the facts they recorded. Family Memorials and Funeral Orations, composed in the earliest times of the Republic, would be excellent materials for an Historian; and even those of *later date*, where truth was mingled with fiction, would be good authority with regard not only to contemporary facts, but to facts much earlier than those Pieces, if many of those Pieces agreed in the same accounts.

M. de B. begins the second part of his Dissertation with these words. "I have given the reasons which make me call in question the History of the first five centuries of *Rome*. They are founded on the want

“ of contemporary Monuments and Historians. So that the first Historians which *Rome* produced, could have nothing whereon to ground their relations but *Tradition*, which is apt to corrupt very much the truth of facts^a.”

Now, granting that *the very short account* of the 244 years of the Kings, contained in *Livy's first Book*, was chiefly taken from *Tradition*, yet surely it is quite incredible, that such a variety of matter, so many particulars (with that degree of order which they have) as fill the nine preserved Books of *Livy* that follow the first, and filled seven^b Books more that are lost, could all be collected from *Tradition alone*. *Tradition* is not so copious and methodical. The earlier Historians, therefore, from whom *Livy* drew the matter of his History of *Rome*, from the Expulsion of *Tarquin* to the end of the 5th Century, must have had written Records and Memorials of some sort to work upon; and from these they must have taken *the greater part* of what they related; unless we will suppose that their Histories were romances of their own invention, which is not very probable; there being no indication whatsoever of those writers being great wits. It is probable, that, after *Fabius Pictor* and some others had composed General Histories of their Country, most of the private Memorials, which had served them, in many particulars, for guides and vouchers, were neglected and lost; as was the fate of *Fabius*, and all the Historians prior to *Livy*, after he had published a better written and more entertaining History, comprehending the substance of all that they had collected.

M. de B., in the second part of his Dissertation, produces from the *Roman* story, several facts, which he calls *Principal Events*, and which, from the disagreement among the Antients, in their accounts of them, he considers as wholly uncertain; and from the uncertainty of these *Principal Events* he infers the uncertainty of all the rest. I shall not enter into a particular consideration of the facts referred to; Because, first of all, some of them are spoken of by the Antients as uncertain; and nobody pretends to certainty where they disclaim it. In the next place, because I conceive that very few of the facts mentioned have a title to be called *Principal Events*; and lastly because, if disagreement in some things, among Historians who write of the same People and times, be a sufficient ground for refusing credit to every thing they relate, there is no History which may not with good reason be utterly rejected; and I am not concerned in the defence of History in general.

But, in the first part of the Dissertation, there is one particular, which being strenuously insisted upon by the ingenious author, and seeming very much to his purpose of discrediting the account given us by *Livy*

J'ai rapporté les raisons qui me font rebouter en doute l'Histoire des cinq premiers Siècles de Rome. Elles sont fondées sur la disette de Monumens, et d'Historiens contemporains; de sorte que les premiers Hi-

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storians ne purent fonder leurs relations, que sur la Tradition, sujette à alterer beaucoup la vérité des faits. p. 105.

^b *Livy's* 17th Book ended with the year 495.

d

and

On the Credibility of the History

and *Dionysius*, of the early times of the Republic, ought not to be passed over unconsidered: I mean THE TREATY which *Polybius* says, was concluded between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in the first year after the expulsion of *Tarquin*; *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* being Consuls. The Reader may find this piece in the 7th Chap. of B. 3. of this History. If the treaty be genuine, and there be no mistake in the date which *Polybius* assigns to it, it stands in opposition to many things related by the two other Historians.

Dissert. p.
15.

I. IT APPEARS by this treaty (says M. de B.) "That *Brutus* and *Horatius* were colleagues in the consulship; which, according to *Livy* and *Dionysius*, and all the *Roman Fasti*, they were not:" and he adds, "that every thing the historians tell us of the events of this year, being partly founded on the names of the Consuls, nothing of the whole is, in his opinion, much worthy of credit."

† Dissert.
vii. N. 8.

He observes, "that Mr. *Dodwell*, (de cyclis Rom. Diff. x. p. 104.) and *Ryckius* (de capit. Rom. c. 11.) chuse rather to accuse *Polybius* of falsifying this treaty, than admit the uncertainty which it throws upon ancient history: and that *Perizonius* † has endeavoured to reconcile *Polybius* with the *Roman Fasti*, by conjecturing, That *Polybius* found only the name of *Horatius* in the original of the treaty, and added, of his own head, the name of *Brutus*, the better to denote the true date of this piece; and, as the name of *Horatius* alone had been put on the temple of the capitol, so that name alone had been put to this treaty. This conjecture [says M. de B.] I would let pass, if it removed the other difficulties raised by the piece in question, and reconciled it with the accounts given by the other Historians: yet I think *Polybius* too well versed in the Roman History, to have given *Horatius* a colleague, who never was his colleague; and too exact and scrupulous to have added any thing of his own to an original piece."

THAT it is not probable, *Polybius* would falsify a Treaty, add anything of his own to an Original Piece, I readily grant; and that *Perizonius*'s conjecture, if admitted, would leave the main difficulties in their full force. But I should be curious to know, what *Roman History* that was, which M. de B. supposes *Polybius* so well versed in, and in which he supposes him to have found, that *Brutus* and *Horatius* were colleagues in the consulship. If, in the days of *Polybius*, there were authentic annals existing, which recorded the transactions of the earliest times of the Republic, M. de B.'s main position in his Dissertation is overthrown. If he supposes that *Polybius*'s sole authority for joining *Brutus* and *Horatius* in the consulship (contrary to report of the old historians and annalists, whom *Livy* and *Dionysius* are said to have copied) was the piece in question, I would ask, how it appears that

* Je crois qu'il faut avouer de bonne foi, de sur les noms de consuls, est peu digne de ne tout ce que les Historiens nous disent des créances.
venemens de cette année, étant en partie fon-

the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* were *certainly* at the head or tail of that antient monument? It is plain they were not in the body of it. When *Livy* and *Dionysius* contradict *Polybius* upon any particular historical fact, I believe there are very few readers who will not be inclined to side with the last, provided there be no reason not to do so, but barely his being contradicted upon *that fact*, by those two historians. But this is not the present case. The fact reported by *him* is highly improbable; and it is inconsistent with a series of not improbable facts, reported by *them*; facts, in regard to which we cannot conceive any temptation they had to *omit, conceal, or disguise*: and, in what *Polybius* himself says, there seems to be good ground for suspecting that he was deceived in relation to the piece in question. He introduces his translation of it with these words: "The first treaty between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* was made in the consulship of *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* the first Consuls after the *Refuge*, by whom also was consecrated the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, 28 years before the passing of *Xerxes* into Greece. Below, you will find the words of the treaty, interpreted in the best manner I was able to do it. For the antient Latin is so different from that now in use, that the most skilful are frequently at a loss, even after close application, to explain it."—And (in c. 26.) after giving us two subsequent treaties, he says, "It is no wonder that *Philius* knew nothing of these [all the 3] treaties, (though engraven on brass, and preserved in the temple of *Jupiter*, under the custody of the *Ædiles*) for even in my time, the oldest men, both *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, those who were thought the best acquainted with public affairs, were ignorant of these treaties."

NOW, granting that some Consuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of the old record in question, yet nobody will suppose, that the Consuls were *there described* in the manner *Polybius* describes them. The *description* is all his own. And (by the way) when he says, that the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was consecrated by *Brutus* and *Horatius*; Who can prefer, of authority, in this particular, to that of *Livy*, or of the most antient Latin historians whom doubtless *Livy* followed herein; and to the very inscription itself on the temple, where *Horatius* was named as the only consecrator? What motive can we imagine the Roman Historians to have had for denying *Brutus* a share in that honour, if he had any title to it? Besides, it seems pretty evident from many passages in *Livy*, that it was not the custom, in the dedication of any temple, for more than one person to perform that ceremony. L. 2. c. 8.
L. 4. c. 29.
L. 9. c. 46.

FURTHER; not only the *description* of the Consuls, but their very NAMES, as *Polybius* gives them, cannot well be supposed to have been annexed to the record, *Lucius Junius* with his surname *Brutus*, and *Marcus Horatius* without his surname *Pulvillus*. If the names were *entire* and *legible*, we must believe that the historian has either omitted or added something. And supposing, that to this record were found both *entire* and *legible*, the names of some Consuls; yet why is it so difficult to believe, that *Polybius* may have been deceived, concerning those names, by the persons to

whom he applied himself, for assistance in his attempt to explain a record in old Latin? For it is not to be supposed that he, a stranger, would undertake without assistance to translate a piece so difficult to be translated, even by the most skilful of the natives. He may have given us a false account of the date of this treaty without being guilty of forgery.

AND why may we not suppose, that time had effaced some parts of the Consuls names, and that the defects were supplied by conjecture? The Roman vanity might have a share too in the conjecture; it might prompt the assistants of our historian to fill up the chasms in such a manner as to form an evidence, that the Roman state was considerable enough, in the first year of the Republic, to have a treaty with the *Carthaginians*.

BUT perhaps there is some reason to doubt, whether any date, or Consuls names were *really* found at the beginning or end of this old record. For it is remarkable, that *Polybius*, who gives us, at large, two subsequent treaties engraven, like the first, on brass, and kept with it under the custody of the *Ædiles*, neither mentions the names of the Consuls under whose administration they were made, nor assigns any certain date to either of them. Of the *former* of the two he says only, that it was made *after the first*; and of the *latter* he says only, that it was made *about the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy*: and for *this* it does not appear, that he had any voucher, but the matter of the treaty itself, where *Pyrrhus* is mentioned. If he had found dates and consuls names to these brazen records, it is wonderful that so exact an historian should omit them; and especially when he is employing these records as evidence against *Philinus's* accounts, and the evidence has no real weight for want of those dates. Seeing then there is so much reason to believe that the records of the two later treaties wanted dates, we may well suspect that the oldest had the like defect; and that the date given to it was by meer conjecture.

Dissert. p.

II. M. DE B.'s second discovery, in this important piece of antiquity, is, "That so early as the first year of the Republic, the Romans practised navigation and piracy; of which things (he adds) there is little said in their history, which represents their *marine*, till the first Punic war, as consisting only of some merchant ships, and as not brought to any perfection but on occasion of that war, as *Polybius himself remarks*."

1. c. 20

I must here confess, that I cannot discern, in the treaty, one word importing, that the *Romans*, at the time of its being concluded, practised

* Suppose the treaty in question to have been made so late as 304, the first year after the Decemvirate, when *Lucius Valerius Potitus* and *Marcus Horatius Barbatus* were Consuls. The matter of the treaty will, in this case, suit better with the times, according to the accounts of them by *Livy* and *Dionysius*. (For *Ardea* was then in alliance with *Rome*, and *Antium* was a *Roman* colony.) Imagine the names of the Consuls to have

been partly effaced, and that there remained of them, (supposing the cognomens to have been originally inserted) only *Lucius —ius —tus*, *Marcus Horatius*. Who will not see, that the Roman vanity of those, whom *Polybius* employed for his decyphers, might tempt them to supply the chasms with *Jun—Bru—*? But I am inclined to think that the piece in question was of much later date than the year 304,

piracy,

piracy, or had any ships of war. Perhaps M. de B. collects this piracy from Polybius's comment on the treaty, who says, "That the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to sail to the south of the Fair Promontory with long ships, μακρῶν ναυῶν;" which are commonly understood to be ships of war. But his comment here does not well accord with what he himself asserts, when he writes of the first Punic war: For he there tells us, "That the Romans, to that time, had never thought of the sea—and were so far from having decked ships, that they had not so much as one long ship, or even a Lembus." In this particular the historian is undoubtedly mistaken; and I mention it, not only to shew its repugnance to his comment on the treaty in question, but to shew likewise that Polybius is not always to be followed with a blind deference; and that we ought, in reading him, to observe the rule which he recommends to those who read the historian Fabius, "not to regard so much the great name of the person who writes, as the matter he delivers," and to consider whether this be probable, have the appearance of truth, and be consistent with what is unquestionably true.

BUT further, this treaty, according to M. de B., informs us,

* Polybius (L. 3. c. 26.) quarrels with Philinus, not for being ignorant of the three treaties before mentioned, as he supposes he was, but for asserting things contrary to the tenor of them. Now it does not appear, from any proof Polybius gives, either that Philinus was ignorant of these treaties, or that he asserted any thing contrary to them. Philinus affirmed (in speaking of the grounds of the first Punic war) that in some treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, it had been covenanted, that the former should not invade any part of Sicily, nor the latter any part of Italy. But this assertion does not contradict what is contained in the other treaties. To shew a contradiction Polybius should have given us the dates of all the three treaties he has mentioned, and likewise the date, which Philinus assigned to the treaty mentioned by him; and this Polybius has not done. The treaty, to which Philinus referred, might have been made after the time of Pyrrhus's coming into Italy: And Philinus might know there was such a treaty, though Polybius could find no record of it; which is the second bad reason he gives for denying the fact. What Philinus reported is so far from being manifestly false, that it is highly probable. For if the Romans before they had subdued all Latium, or had even alliances with all the Latine states, thought it necessary to bind the Carthaginians by treaty not to attempt conquests in any part

of Latium, it was natural, that when they came to have the same sort of interest in protecting all Italy from the Carthaginians, which they had before in protecting Latium only, they should exclude the Carthaginians from every part of Italy; and doubtless in that case the Carthaginians would exclude the Romans for the like reasons, from every part of Sicily.

[N. B. In p. 18. of this second Volume of this History, where the question, Whether the first war, undertaken by the Romans against the Carthaginians was justifiable, is discussed, the reasoning is partly founded on the supposition, that the report of Polybius is true; and that no treaty had been concluded between the two states, whereby the Romans were barred from meddling in the affairs of Sicily.]

It is sometimes urged against the authority of Livy and Dionysius, with regard to certain important facts related by them, that Polybius is silent concerning those facts, though he wrote of the same times and on the same subject which they treat. But I shall here observe once for all, That this his silence will never alone be a sufficient reason for rejecting the accounts of the other historians. For Polybius, though he speaks three times of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, does not once mention their burning it; and yet this is an important fact, of which I believe nobody questions the truth.

Dissert.

p. 37.

* Lib. 2.

in fine.

† Lib. ix.

p. 615.

§ D. Hal.

Lib. 4.

p. 277.

Liv. Lib.

1. c. 57.

III. THAT so early as the first year of the Republic, "The Romans were masters of all the sea-coast as far as to *Tarracina*, and even of the cities of *Antium* and *Ardea*; a point wherein it manifestly stands in opposition to *Livy* * and *Dionysius* †. For these authors tell us, that *Antium* was the capital of the *Volsi*, and that the *Romans* did not take it till 40 years after, in the consulship of *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*. The city of *Ardea* §, according to the same historians, was besieged by *Tarquin* the Proud at the time when the *Roman* people shook off the yoke of his domination. The *Ardeates*, after that, having the same interests with the *Romans*, made a fifteen years truce with them. After which time *Ardea* continued in alliance with *Rome* to the year 310, when, on account of some particular discontents, they confederated with the *Volsi*; but in the following year the old alliance was renewed.

"This city therefore (adds *M. de B.*) was, according to those historians, independent, and only in alliance with the *Romans*; whereas the treaty, given at large by *Polybius*, imports, that this city, and likewise *Antium*, *Laurentum*, *Circeii*, *Tarracina* were SUBJECT to them; and expressly distinguishes these cities from the cities in ALLIANCE with *Rome*. Hence it appears that the two historians give us a false notion of the *Roman* state in the beginning of the republic; for they represent its domination as extending little further than the proper territory of *Rome*; whereas by this treaty we see, that it extended over several cities, and over all the sea-coast as far as *Tarracina*."

WHENEVER THIS treaty was made (supposing it genuine) it is evident, that the main purpose of the *Romans* in it, was to exclude the *Carthaginians* from all *Latium*, not only those parts of it that were subject to the *Romans*, or in alliance with them, but those likewise with which they had neither of those connexions. And it is not, I think, clear from the words of the treaty, that all the towns therein mentioned were in absolute subjection to the *Romans*. It speaks to this effect, "Let the *Carthaginians* do no harm to the *Ardeates*, *Antiates*, *Laurentini*, *Circuenses*, *Tarracineses*, or any other of the *Latines*, if they be ὑπηκοί, nay if any of them be not ὑπηκοί, let not the *Carthaginians* meddle with their towns. If they take any town of the *Latines* [whether they be ὑπηκοί or not ὑπηκοί] let them restore it unhurt to the *Romans*." Here is no distinction made of towns subject and towns in alliance, but of the *Latines* who were ὑπηκοί, and the *Latines* who were not ὑπηκοί. What the force of the word ὑπηκοί is, does not fully appear; whether it mean subject in the strict sense, or only dependent allies. I say dependent allies; for these towns might be in alliance with the *Romans* and yet not independent on them; such being the

* ΚΑΡΧΗΔΟΝΙΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΜΗ ΑΔΙΚΕΙΤΩ-
ΣΑΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΑΡΔΕΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΑ-
ΤΩΝ, ΔΑΥΡΕΝΤΙΩΝ, ΚΙΡΚΑΙΑΤΩΝ,
ΤΑΡΡΑΚΗΝΙΤΩΝ, ΜΗΔ' ΑΛΛΟΝ ΜΗ-
ΔΕΝΑΛΑΤΙΝΩΝ, ΟΣΟΙ ΑΝ ΤΠΗΚΟΟΙ.

ΦΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΜΗ ΩΣΙΝ ΤΠΗΚΟΟΙ,
ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ ΑΠΕΧΕΤΩΣΑΝ. ΑΝ ΔΕ
ΛΑΒΩΣΙ, ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΤΩ-
ΣΑΝ ΑΚΕΡΑΙΟΝ. *Polyb. Lib. 3. c. 22.*

case

case of almost all the states of *Italy* at the commencement of the first Punic war. And what the true import was of the old obsolete Latin word, which *Polybius* has rendered *υπηκοι*, who can tell? One would suspect that neither *Polybius* nor his assistants did very well understand the piece they undertook to explain. For it is a very strange covenant, *That in case the Carthaginians seized any town of the Latines, not subject to the Romans, they should restore it to the Romans.*

Further; If this Brazen Monument had, for its date, the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* (Consuls in the first year of the Republic) and if the words of the treaty import, that the *Ardeates* were SUBJECT to Rome, and distinguish them from ALLIES, it is contradicted by an *Original Authentic Record*, which *Livy* mentions of a *Treaty of Alliance and Friendship*, Lib. 4. c. 7. made with the *Ardeates* in the Consulships of *L. Sempronius Atratinus*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* (year of Rome 309 or 311:) which treaty was a *Renewal of an Alliance* that had long subsisted between the two States ^a.

Again; it is hardly to be imagined that the *Romans* had subdued the maritime towns of old *Latium*, as far as to *Tarracina*, in the remotest extremity of it, without having reduced the intermediate inland towns, and in short, the whole or almost the whole country: Yet this *subjection* of the *Latine* Nation to Rome in the first year of the Republic, is incompatible with an *Original Brazen Monument* existing in *Livy's* time, and L. 2. c. 33. recording the *Treaty of Alliance* made with the *Latines* in the second Consulship of *Cassius*, (years of R. 260 or 261.)

And, as to *Antium*, the Capital of the *Volsci*, though *Livy* reports, L. 2. c. 65. that it was taken (in 284) forty years after the commencement of the Republic, yet, by the sequel ^b of his story, it would seem, that the *Antiaties*

^a The *Ardeates* on occasion of a dispute between them and their neighbours the *Aricini*, about a tract of land, were insulted by a decree of the *Roman* people, to whom the cause had been referred; who, instead of adjudging the land to either of the claimants, took it to themselves. Hereupon the *Ardeates* broke alliance with the *Romans*, and soon after, by Ambassadors, complained at Rome of the injury which has been done them; but complained in such terms, as shewed, they were willing to renew alliance and friendship with the *Roman* state, provided restitution were made of the land in question. The Senate gave them a soft answer; and the next year the alliance was renewed by treaty; the record of which treaty *Licinius Macer* had read. T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat, L. Papirium Mugilanus, L. Sempronium Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus fœdus renovatum est. Idque Monumenti est, Consules eos illo anno fuisse qui neque in *Anna-*

libus Præcis, neque in *Libris Magistratum* inveniuntur, Credo, quod Tribuni Militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac si totum annum in imperio fuerunt, suffectis his Consulibus, prætermisâ nomina Consulum horum. Licinius Macer auctor est, et in *Fœderæ ARDEATINO* et in *Linteis Libris* ad Moneta inventa.

^b The *Latine* Historian relates, that when after the taking of *Antium* in 285. by T. Quinctius, the Senate had decreed to place a Colony there, the persons appointed to settle the Colony could prevail with but few of the *Roman* Citizens to go thither, so that they were forced to admit of *Volsci* to compleat the necessary number; and he further tells us, that a multitude of the old inhabitants returning soon after to the City, these alienated the minds of the Colony from the *Romans*, and its fidelity could no longer be depended upon. *Livy* seems not to have known the exact time, when the *Antiaties* shook off all dependance upon the

L. 3. c. 1.

c. 4.

c. 25.

Antiates were not really subdued, not reduced to a state of absolute subjection till the year 415, when the *Latines* also, or at least the much greater part of them, were brought into the like subjection. And even then *Antium* was made a *Roman* Colony into which the Natives were admitted.

It would seem therefore, that the treaty, given by *Polybius*, as made with *Carthage* in 244, was not made till after the year 415, the matter of it perfectly agreeing with the state of things after this year, and not before it.

* Oros. L. 3. c. 7. calls this treaty, *Promissum illud Antium cum Carth.* *Fœdus.* *Livy* speaks of a * treaty of alliance and friendship with the *Carthaginians* in the Consulship of *Valerius Corvus*, and *Popilius Lænas*, year of Rome (according to the *Fist. Chap.*) 405; and his words seem to import that this was the *first* treaty concluded between the two Republics. Cum Carthaginienſibus Legatis Romæ fœdus iſtum, quum amicitiam ac ſocietatem petentes veniſſent. Liv. L. 7. c. 27. He speaks of no other till he comes to the year 447, when he says a *Third* Treaty was made with *Carthage*;

L. 9. c. 43. Cum Carthaginienſibus eodem anno fœdus *Tertio renovatum.* L. 9. c. 43. So that it would seem from hence, and from the matter of that treaty, which *Polybius* calls the *first*, that it was really the *second*, and made between the years 405 and 447, and after the reduction of *Lattum* in 415. According to the Epitome of *Livy*, the treaty concluded in the time of *Pyrrhus*, * which is *Polybius's* *third* treaty, was the *fourth* treaty made with the *Carthaginians*. Iterum adverſus Pyrrhum dubio eventu pugnatum eſt. Cum Carthaginienſibus *quarto fœdus renovatum eſt.*

* Y. of R. 475. Ept. L. 13. GRANTING then, that, by the words of this old brazen record, the towns, there mentioned, were absolutely subject to the *Romans*; what is the conclusion we should naturally draw from it? Not that *Livy* and *Dionysius* have given us a false account of the Roman state in the first year of the Republic, but that the piece in question was not genuine, or that the names of *Brutus* and *Horatius* were not annexed to it. For,

What could tempt *Livy*, a *Roman*, or *Dionysius*, an extravagant flatterer of the *Romans*, wilfully to disguise the extent of the *Roman* domination at the commencement of the Republic? I say wilfully to disguise: For is it possible to believe that either the *Romans* or the *Latines* were ignorant of the time when the latter became *Subjects* of the former? And M. de B.

Republic; but he represents them in the year 345 at the Head of a Confederacy against Rome. In 377, he makes them surrender their town and territory to the *Romans*. Nevertheless, in 407, we find them acting as an Independent people; they had rebuilt *Saturnum*, and ſet a Colony thither: And they by deputies ſolicit the *Latines* to take arms against the *Romans*. And in 413 the *Antiates* make incursions on the lands of *Opus*, *Ardea* and *Sutrium*; and the *Romans* gain no honour in the war against them. But in 415 they are totally subdued, together with the *Latines*, and a new Colony is sent to *Antium*. The *Antiates* are allow-

ed to enrol themselves in the Colony; but they are forbid the sea, and deprived of their *Long Ships*, some of which the *Romans* burn, carrying the *Beaks* of them to Rome, where the *Suggestum* or *Pulpit*, in the Forum, being adorned with them, acquires thence the name of *Rostra*. With the rest of the ships, the *Romans* augment their own navy.

Supposing the *first* treaty with *Carthage* to have been made in 244, and the *third* in the time of *Pyrrhus*, there will have been, according to *Polybius*, 231 years between the *first* and the *third*.

seems



THE Roman History

FOURTH BOOK.

From the Beginning of the FIRST PUNIC WAR
in the Year of Rome 489, to the End of the
SECOND in 552.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the close of the preceding volume of this History, we left the Romans complete conquerors and quiet possessors of all ancient Italy, that is, of all the country between the *Adriatic* and the *Mediterranean* from the remotest border of *Ettruria* to the *Ionian* sea. The far greater part of this Dominion, though their state [by the usual reckonings] was now 488 years old, had been of late acquisition: For whatever advantage they might have over their neighbours, in the admirable construction of their *legion*, the discipline of war, or any other respects, they could make but little progress in conquest, during the space of above four centuries from the building of their city. *Rome*, while under the government of Kings, was in the weakness of infancy; and if, with *Florus*, we consider her as advanced to sprightly youth, (the second stage of life,) when she became a Republic, yet her natural strength was impaired, and her growth long checked, by the disease of civil discord, a mischief wholly proceeding from the want of that *essential* of a free state, a just equality among its members.

By the revolution which expelled *Tarquin* the Proud, the Commons of *Rome* were delivered from a Tyrant, but not from Tyranny. A short suspension there was indeed of the weight of oppression: This was owing

* *Vegetius* thinks that the form of the legion was not the product of meer human reason, but that the Romans were led to it by a kind of instinct from Heaven: *Non tantum humano consilio, sed etiam divinitatis instinctu, legiones a Romanis arbitror constitutas. De re milit. l. 2. c. 21.*

to the honest zeal of that excellent Patriot, *Valerius Poplicola*, and to the temporising lenity and moderation of the Senate, while their fears of *Tarquin's* return were alive and strong. In so perilous a season the indulgent Fathers had the goodness to decree, *That the poorer sort, by only educating their children, paid sufficient tribute to the State, and ought not to be loaded with any other tax.* But, it was not long before the Plebeians felt themselves in the chains of servitude; *Livy* makes the death of *Tarquin*, which happened in the fourteenth year after his banishment, to be the precise period when they began to be oppressed by the Nobles. The Commons then became sensible, that, by dethroning their King, they had only cast off the domination of one Tyrant to become slaves to many, an Assembly of Tyrants, whose yoke was no less heavy and insupportable. The *Valerian* * law, to permit appeals from the sentence of the Magistrates to the People assembled, was not sufficient to protect the Plebeians from injustice and cruelty. They found it necessary to provide themselves living Protectors against the Tyranny of the Great, and therefore extorted from the Senate a consent to the establishment of the *Tribunitian Power*. Another rampart against the overflowings of ambition they raised to themselves by instituting the *Comitia Tributa*, and by the practice of bringing into judgment, before those assemblies, the most exalted of the Nobles, upon accusations of treason against the People. By the publication of the laws of the *Twelve Tables* some check was given to the abuse of that prerogative, which the Patricians tenaciously kept, of being the sole judges in civil causes; And we find, that on several other occasions, the Commons, urged by oppression to fury, exerted their natural strength in such a manner, as seemed to proclaim them the sovereign masters in *Rome*. But those acts of power were only transient flashes, the lightnings of a civil tempest: and, notwithstanding all the advances hitherto made towards liberty and equality, the Patricians were the permanent, established Lords of the Commonwealth: all the great Offices, Civil, Military, and Sacerdotal, were confined to their body; the public treasure at their disposal: They heaped up riches to themselves; and, while the People, through extreme indigence, fell under a necessity of contracting debts to the Patrician usurers, the laws give the creditors power to be cruel to their insolvent debtors: And the consequence of all this was, that multitudes of the Plebeians, slavishly dependent by reason of their poverty, durst not concur with the more free, in using even the undisputed rights of the commons. Hence the few instances of Plebeians chosen to the *Military Tribuneship*, even after they were legally qualified for that station.

See Vol. I.
B. 3. ch.
4. §. 1.

* Insignis hic annus est nuncio Tarquinii mortis.—Eo nuncio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit

lætitiâ: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa opè inservitum erat, injuriâ à primoribus fieri cœpere. B. 2. ch. 21.

The Commonwealth of Rome was never truly a free state, till after the publication of the *Licinian Laws*, those laws which, in their consequences, made Merit alone the ordinary scale whereby to ascend to the highest offices, and which by admitting the Plebeians to a reasonable share of what was purchased with their blood, delivered them from that servile subjection to the wealthy nobles in which their indigence had so long detained them.

Y. of R.
386.

From this period, the Roman people, when they made laws, or elected Magistrates for the execution of them, were, generally speaking, free from all undue influence; not over-awed, as before, by the rich and the great, nor constrained by any force, but that of reason and natural justice, in the most absolute subjection to which is the most perfect freedom. No citizen, who had shewed superior talents and virtue, stood excluded, on account of the low degree of his birth, from the dignities of the state: The emulation among the individuals was to surpass each other in *deserving* honours.

Indeed the haughty Patricians, as, when vanquished by the Plebeians, they had given ground with an angry reluctance; and retired fighting, so they afterwards, from time to time, shewed a strong disposition to renew the war, in order to regain their unrighteous sovereignty: but their efforts were faint and ineffectual; and at length acquiescing in what they could not undo, there ensued domestic peace and union, and an established liberty.

Union at home gave new strength to the state; and liberty seems to have inspired the people with a more elevated courage, a more unwearied fortitude, than they had hitherto shewn, in their wars abroad. By a series of victories, they, in the space of about 70 years (reckoning from the battle against the *Latines* in 413) enlarged their narrow dominion, of a few leagues about the city, to the utmost extent of *Italy*. And, though destitute of naval strength and naval skill, their next enterprize, as we shall presently find, will be against a rival republic, beyond the continent; a republic that with greater riches, and more ample territories than theirs, had possession of the absolute dominion of the sea. The boldness of the undertaking, and the amazing constancy with which they supported it, in spite of the most terrible adversities, are not to be paralleled in the history of any other nation: But the Roman legions were, at this time, legions of free citizens, whose predominant passion was glory, and who placed the highest glory in facing every danger, and surmounting every difficulty, to preserve their Liberty, and extend their Empire.

C H A P. I.

The occasion and commencement of the first Punic or Carthaginian war.

THE prophetic * exclamation of King *Pyrrhus*, as he sailed from Sicily, is now going to be accomplished, and that island to be the theatre of a bloody war between Rome and Carthage. The

* See Vol.
I. B. 3. ch.
28. §. 3.

Epirus when he beheld these powerful and ambitious Republics making swift advances in conquest, and by every step approaching nearer to each other, could have no difficulty to foresee that they would soon become enemies; and, as he might with reason believe that the Romans would finish the reduction of *Italy*, before the *Carthaginians* could totally subdue *Sicily*, the conjecture was natural, that this country would be the seat of the war between them. He himself had gone thither, on the invitation of the people of *Syracuse*, to guard them against the *Carthaginian* encroachments; and he was, doubtless, persuaded, that, in a short time, they would find themselves under a necessity of suing to the Romans for the like succour. The occasion however of the first rupture, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, was not any distress of the *Syracusians*; it was an event singular and unexpected; and as it has left ground for a dispute, whether the *First Punic* or *Carthaginian War* was justly undertaken by the Romans, it may be proper, for the reader's satisfaction, to state the case as fully as possible; and, in order thereto, we must recall some passages of the former * part of this History.

* See Vol. I. B. 3. ch. 26, §. 1. & ch. 29, §. 5. Strab. l. 6. p. 268. Polyb. l. 1. c. 7. Diod. Sic. in Eclog. p. 866.

A considerable body of soldiers, *Campanians* by birth, and called *Mamertines*, had been mercenaries to *Agathocles* King of *Syracuse*; upon whose death, finding themselves no longer welcome there, they marched away with all their effects to *Messina*. Admitted here, and kindly entertained as friends, they treacherously massacred one part of the citizens, expelled the rest, and seized, for their own use, upon the lands, houses, and even wives of those unfortunate men.

Some time after this, when *Pyrrhus* was just landed in *Italy*, the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, that their city might neither fall into the hands of the *Epirot*, nor become a prey to the *Carthaginians*, who were masters of the sea, and whose fleets appeared frequently off the coast, requested of the Roman Senate, to furnish them with a garrison. A Legion of 4000 Romans, raised in *Campania*, was, under the command of *Decius Junius*, appointed to that service. At first, they demeaned themselves suitably to the intention of those who employed them: but, at length tempted by the wealth of the place, emboldened by the example of the *Mamertines*, and strengthened by their aid, they acted the same perfidious and cruel part towards the *Rhegians*, which the other had acted towards the people at *Messina*.

As these cities are parted only by that narrow sea (now called the *Faro*) which separates *Italy* from *Sicily*, it was easy for the two bands of robbers mutually to assist each other in the defence of their usurpations; for which purpose they entered into a strict confederacy.

The Romans, though they found their honour greatly stained by the outrageous wickedness of the garrison, with which they had furnished their good allies, were then too much engaged in affairs more urgent, to take immediate revenge on the offenders: Nor in truth did they turn their thoughts that way till four years after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italy*, and the old enemies of *Rome* were all subdued. Then they marched an army to *Rhegium*, and besieged it; in which enterprize *Hiero* of *Syracuse*

sent his aid: The traitors, hopeless of pardon, defended themselves with an obstinate resolution, yet the town was at length carried by assault: All those who escaped the sword of the assailants, being led in chains to *Rome*, were, by a decree of the senate, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded: And the *Rbegians* were restored to their former liberty and estates.

About six years after this execution of justice, the fame of which had sounded honourably through all quarters of *Italy*, came messengers to *Rome*, from the *Mamertines* in *Sicily*, imploring help against the *Syracusans*, under whose power they were ready to fall, and who, they feared, would inflict on them the like punishment for the like crimes: A most impudent request from the thieves of *Messina*, To ask protection of the very judges who had condemned to death their fellow-thieves of *Rbegium*! Nevertheless, from a view of their present situation, we shall perhaps be induced to conclude, that the *Mamertines* took this step in consequence of sober reflection, and were not without a reasonable hope of assistance from *Rome*.

These usurpers of *Messina*, so long as they could get succours from their friends at *Rbegium*, had not only lived fearless of any danger, but had often been aggressors on their neighbours the *Cartaginians* and *Syracusans*, putting many towns and villages under contribution. The posture of their affairs received a mighty change by the destruction of their *Italian* allies: Of whose wonted aid being deprived, they were overthrown in battle by the *Syracusans* under the conduct of *Hiero*^d, Prætor of that state, and their army almost totally cut off. Humbled and

Polyb. l. 1. c. 8. and 9.

^d *Hiero*, on his return to *Syracuse*, was elected King. He was the son of *Hierocles*, and by him descended from *Gelo*, who had formerly reigned in *Syracuse*; but his mother was a slave. He distinguished himself early from those of his own years by his expertness in military exercises, and his courage in battle. He gained the esteem of *Egyrrbus*, and was honoured with several rewards from his hand. Extremely handsome, of great bodily strength, smooth and engaging in his address, equitable in business, and gentle in command, he seem'd to want nothing kingly but a kingdom. Pulchritudo ei corporis insignis, vires quæ in homine admirabiles fuere; in alloquio blandus, in negotio justus, in imperio moderatus; prorsus ut nihil ei regium desset, præter regnum videretur. *Justin*, B. 23. chap. 4.

He was chosen Prætor by the soldiers on occasion of a quarrel between them and the citizens: Nevertheless, the latter, on

account of the great gentleness and humanity with which he proceeded on his first accession to power, confirmed him in that office. He aspired however to something yet higher, as was easily discerned by the quick-sighted from the very beginning of his administration. For *Hiero* knowing that the citizens, whenever the troops with their leaders went into the field, were apt to fall into factions and seditions, and that *Leptines*, a man in high repute for his probity, had the greatest sway with the people, he made an alliance with him, by taking his Daughter to wife, proposing by this means to secure to himself the fidelity of the *Syracusans* at home, during his expeditions with the army abroad. As to the soldiery, the veteran mercenaries having lost their discipline, and being on all occasions prompt to mutiny, and to raise new commotions, he took the following method to get rid of them. Under colour of a design to extirpate the

Polyb. l. 1. c. 8.

mur-

Polyb. l.
1. c. 10.

c. 11.

and reduced by so terrible a blow, they thought themselves no longer in a condition to defend *Mysina*, and, being divided in opinion about what measures to take, one party had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, made a league with them, and put the citadel into their hands; the other sent ambassadors, with an offer of the city, to the *Romans*, whose protection they implored, and with whom they pleaded the relation between them, as men of the same country and original.

The *Romans*, having so severely punished the treachery and cruelty of their own citizens, were very sensible how much their honour might suffer, should they protect villains notoriously guilty of the same crimes: And, when, on the other hand, they considered that the *Carthaginians* had not only subdued a very long and rich tract of country in *Afri-*

usurpers of *Messina*, he marched his forces that way, and, when he came up with the enemy, so ordered his battle, as to keep the *Syracusians* both horse and foot from engaging, while he exposed the mercenaries to the entire shock of the *Mamertines*. The mercenaries were all cut off; and while the enemy were busied in the slaughter, he withdrew his own people in safety to *Syracuse*. After his having formed an army to his own mind, he marched once more against the *Mamertines*, and gave them that total overthrow which is mentioned in the text.

Mr. Rollin, who is a Divine, cannot approve this method which *Hiero* took to rid himself of the foreign mercenaries, though he grants, that he had no other way to secure himself from them. Chevalier Folard, who is a soldier, seems to applaud *Hiero* for the action, and says, that it ought to have served for a lesson to the *Roman* Emperors, how to guard themselves against the *Prætorian* Cohorts, when they became licentious.

In the following account of the rise and progress of the *Carthaginian* power, great use is made of Mr. Rollin's collections in his *Hist. Ancienne*.

THE *CARTHAGINIANS* were originally a colony from *Tyre* (in *Phœnicia*, a country on the east coast of the *Mediterranean*) the most renowned city in the world for commerce, and which had long before sent into *Africa* a colony, that built *Utica*. The foundation of *Carthage* is ascribed to *Elissa*, a *Tyrian* Princess, better known by the name of *Dido*. Her great grandfather *Ithobal* King of *Tyre*, is thought to be the same with *Ethbaal* the father of *Jezebel*,

wife of *Abab*. *Dido* married her near relation *Acerbas* (called also *Sicharbas* and *Sichæus*) a man infinitely rich. Her brother *Pygmalion*, King of *Tyre*, put *Acerbas* to death, that he might seize his great riches: but she disappointed the cruel avarice of the tyrant, by conveying them secretly out of his dominions. She put to sea with a considerable number of friends and dependants, and, after stopping a while at *Cyprus*, pursued her voyage, and at length landed on the *African* coast, between *Utica* and *Tunis*. Here she is said to have bought of the natives a piece of ground, as much as she could compass with an ox's hide (cut into thongs) and on this spot to have built *Byrsa*, afterwards the citadel of *Carthage*. Many of the *Africans* in the neighbourhood, invited by the prospect of gain, repaired to these strangers to traffick with them, and, in a short time, took up their habitation among them; so that the whole had now something of the appearance of a petty State.

Dido, soon after, by encouragement not only from the people of *Utica* (who look'd upon the *Tyrians* as their countrymen) but from the *Africans* also, built a city adjoining to *Byrsa*, and called it *Carthada*, a name that in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies *New City*. The *Romans* called it *Carthago*, the *Greeks* *Carchedan*. It was to pay an annual tribute to the *Africans* for the ground on which it stood.

[It is impossible to fix the time of the foundation of *Carthage*, chronologers both ancient and modern, differing widely on the subject. *Appian* and others place it before the fall of *Troy*; others many years later.

Salinus,

Justin. B.
18 ch. 4.
5, 6.
App. de
Bell. Pun.
p. 1.
Strab. B.
17. p. 832.
Vell. Pat.
terc. B. 1.
ch. 6.
Joseph.
contr. Ap.
B. 1.

and some part of Spain; but were masters of Sardinia, and the adjacent isles on the coast of Italy, and had even extended their dominion far in Sicily,

Solinus reckons 737 years from the first year of Carthage to its total destruction, which if placed in the 607th of Rome, Carthage, according to him, was built before Rome 130 years.

According to Sir Isaac Newton, Carthage was founded by Dido 883 years before the beginning of the Christian Era. This Computation will fall in with that of *Solinus*, as to the age of Carthage, but not as to the juniority of Rome; which Sir Isaac supposes to be younger than her rival by 256 years.]

The new City grew in a short time into a flourishing condition; *Iarbas*, a neighbouring Prince, demanded *Dido* in marriage, threatening the Carthaginians with war in case of refusal. *Dido*, to avoid this marriage, without drawing a calamity upon her people, put an end to her own life with a poniard. She was afterwards worshipped as a Goddess so long as Carthage subsisted.

THE FIRST WAR* waged by the Carthaginians in Africa seems to have been on account of the annual tribute they had bound themselves to pay to the Africans for the ground on which their city stood. In this war their arms prospered under the conduct of one *Malchus*.

But *Mago* who succeeded *Malchus*, is considered, by *Justin*, as the first builder of the Carthaginian empire, because it was he that introduced an exact discipline among the troops. After his death his two sons *Hastribus* and *Hamilcar* had the command of the army. These brothers left each three sons, who shared among them the chief authority in Carthage. They made war against the *Moors* and *Numidians* with success, and obliged the Africans to relinquish all claim to the tribute; which they had demanded sword in hand.

[Six commanders out of one and the same family, and who governed all affairs both at home and abroad, seemed dangerous to a free State. It was a jealousy of the exorbitant power of this family of *Mago*, which induced the Carthaginians to elect an hundred judges out of the Senators, to whom the Generals were to give an account of their conduct after their return from the war.]

When the Carthaginians had made considerable conquests in Africa, there arose a war between them and the people of *Cyrene* (a powerful city, standing to the East of the greater Syria) concerning the limits of their respective jurisdictions. After many bloody conflicts by land and sea, it was agreed (as the story is told) that two men should set out from each of the two cities at the same instant, and that the place of their meeting should be the boundary to the two States. The men from Carthage (who were brothers of the name of *Philenus*) either made more expedition than those from *Cyrene*, or, as *Valerius Maximus* relates, began their course before the appointed time. Be that as it will, the *Cyrenians* complained of deceit, and refused to stand to the agreement, unless the two brothers (in proof of their innocence) would consent to be buried alive in the place of meeting. The *Phileni*, readily acquiescing in the proposal, were buried quick in that spot; and the Carthaginians erected there two altars to their memory. The place from that time was called *The Altars of the Phileni* [*Ara Philenorum*], and was ever after the eastern boundary of the Carthaginian Empire, which in time comprehended the whole extent of the northern coast of Africa, from those Altars to the *Pillars of Hercules*.

History does not inform us at what times the Carthaginians first carried their arms into SICILY, SARDINIA, or SPAIN.

SPAIN had sufficient allurements to draw the Carthaginians thither. It abounded with mines of gold and silver, enchanting baits to their avarice, and it was peopled by a martial race of men, who (if once reduced to be subjects of Carthage) would furnish her with brave troops for the conquest of other nations, and free her, in part, from the necessity of employing foreign mercenaries in her wars. For the genius of the Carthaginians being more turned to commerce than war, they had constantly recourse (at least in the latter ages of their state) to that dangerous expedient of hiring strangers to fight their battles.

The

* *Justin*, B. 18. ch. 7. B. 19; c. 1.

† *Sallust*, de Bell. Jugurth. Val. Maxim. B. 5. c. 6.

Sicily, these things gave them very uneasy apprehensions. For they plainly forelaw, that unless they interposed to prevent it, *Messina* would soon fall into the hands of those formidable neighbours; who would then be able speedily to invade *Syracuse*, and all the other parts of the island, not yet in their obedience. They considered likewise, that the *Carthaginians*, when once in possession of *Messina*, might make use of it almost as a bridge to pass into

The occasion of the first descent made by the *Carthaginians* on *Spain*, was, to defend the inhabitants of *Gades*, (a colony from *Tyre*, and more antient than those of *Carthage* and *Utica*) against the *Spaniards*.

Encouraged by success in this enterprize, they became aggressors, and made conquests in *Spain*. It is plain however, by what *Polybius* and *Livy* tell us of the wars of *Asdrubal*, *Adrubal*, and *Hannibal*, that, till the times of these generals, (that is, till after the end of the first *Punic War*) the *Carthaginians* did not penetrate far into that country.

[Some account of *Spain* will be given in a more proper place, when the Romans carry their arms thither.]

Sicily, the largest island in the *Mediterranean*, was anciently called *Trinacria* and *Triquetra*, on account of its triangular form.

The eastern side, which faces the *Ionian* or *Grecian* sea, extends from Cape *Pachynum* to *Peiorus*. The chief cities on this coast were *Syracuse*, *Tauromenium*, and *Messina*.

On the northern coast, looking towards *Italy*, and reaching from Cape *Peiorus* to Cape *Lilybæum*, the most noted cities were *Mylæ*, *Hymera*, *Panormus*, *Bryn*, *Drepanum*, *Lilybæum*.

The south-west side, opposite to *Africa*, extends from Cape *Lilybæum* to *Pachynum*. Its principal cities were *Selinus*, *Agrirentum*, *Gela* and *Camarina*. The passage from *Lilybæum* to the promontory of *Mercury* in *Africa* is about 187 miles.

ABOUT the year Ant. Chr. 480. the *Carthaginians*, in consequence of a league made with *Xerxes* King of *Persia*, raised an army of more than 200,000 men, and equipped a fleet of 200 ships of war, and 3000 transports, in order to attack and expel all the *Greeks* who were settled in *Sicily* and *Italy*, while *Xerxes* himself was to invade *Greece*.

This mighty army, which landed at *Panormus*, and under the command of a general named *Hamilcar*, laid siege to *Hymera*, was, before that place, totally routed and destroyed by *Gelo* governor of *Syracuse*; and this on the very day of the famous action of *Thermopylæ*, when *Leonidas* fell with his 300 *Spartans* in defending that pass against the numberless forces of *Xerxes*.

AFTER the memorable defeat of the *Athenians* under *Nicias* at *Syracuse*, the people of *Segesta* (a city not far from *Bryn*) who had declared in favour of the *Athenians* against the *Syracusians*, fearing the resentment of the latter, and being attacked by the inhabitants of *Selinus*, implored the aid of the *Carthaginian Republic*, under whose protection they put themselves and their city.

The *Carthaginians* allured by the prospect of possessing a place, very convenient for them, promised succour to the people of *Segesta*.

The conduct of this war was given to *Hannibal*, grandson to *Hamilcar*, who had been killed before *Hymera*. At the head of a great army, he besieged *Selinus*, and took it by assault. He treated cruelly all whom he found in the place, but suffered those, who had fled, to return and possess the city, paying a tribute to the *Carthaginians*. He afterwards took *Hymera* by assault, and, to revenge the death of his grandfather, not only razed the city, but caused 3000 prisoners to be murdered on the very spot where *Hamilcar* had been slain.

Hannibal, after these expeditions, returned to *Carthage*; but his successes having rekindled the ambition of the *Carthaginians* to get possession of all *Sicily*, they, with this view, 3 years after his return, appointed him a second time to be their General, and allotted him an army of 120,000 (some say 300,000) men. On his pleading his

great

into *Italy*, the conquest of which had been long their ambition. All this was well weighed by the *Romans*; and yet, as *Polybius* reports, the

Conscrip

great age, to excuse himself from commanding in this enterprize, they gave him for his Lieutenant *Imilco*, son of *Hanno*, of the same family.

The *Syracusians* and their allies prepared themselves to give the enemy a warm reception.

Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of *Agrigentum*. Imagining that it was impregnable except on one side, he employed his whole force on that one side. He threw up banks and terrasses as high as the walls, and made use of the rubbish and ruins of the tombs which he had found standing round the city, and which he had demolished for that purpose. The plague soon after infecting the army, swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the General himself. The *Carthaginians* interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the Gods for the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts they fancied they saw stalking before them in the night. They forbore therefore to demolish any more tombs, and endeavoured to appease the Gods: a child was sacrificed to *Saturn*, and many victims thrown into the sea in honour of *Neptune*.

The besieged after eight months were so pressed by famine, that they resolved to abandon the place in the night. Men, women, and children, all but the aged and sick, retired to *Gela*, the nearest city to them.

Imilco entered *Agrigentum*, and massacred all who were found in it. The plunder of the place was immensely rich. It had contained 200,000 inhabitants, and had never before been besieged, nor consequently plundered. An infinite number of pictures, vases, and statues of an exquisite taste were found in it, and among other curiosities the famous Bull of *Phalaris*, which was sent to *Carthage*.

Imilco having quartered his troops during the winter in *Agrigentum*, and totally ruined it, laid siege to *Gela* in the beginning of the spring. He took this place notwithstanding the succours brought to it by *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who had seized the government of *Syracuse*. A treaty, which the *Carthaginians* afterwards made with *Dionysius*, put an end to the war. The conditions of this treaty were, that *Carthage* should remain mistress of her ancient colonies, and of the territories of the *Sicilians*; that the people of *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Himera* should be subject to her; that those of *Gela* and *Comarina* should inhabit their own dismantled cities, but be tributary to *Carthage*; that the *Leontines*, *Messinians*, and all the other *Sicilians* should enjoy their own laws and liberties, except the *Syracusians*, who were to continue subject to *Dionysius*.

These articles being ratified, the *Carthaginians* returned home, having lost one half of their army by the plague, which raging afterwards in *Africa*, multitudes perished both of the people of *Carthage*, and of their confederates.

Dionysius had concluded the late peace with the *Carthaginians* in no other view, but to get time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for a vigorous war against them. These things being accomplish'd, he called the *Syracusians* together, and represented to them the dangerous ambition of *Carthage*, which, he said, aimed at nothing less than the subduing of all *Sicily*, an enterprize which only the havoc made in *Africa* by the plague did at present suspend; and he exhorted them to seize the favourable opportunity they had of being the aggressors.

The tyrant was no less odious than his tyranny to the people of *Syracuse*; nevertheless, the implacable hatred they bore to the *Carthaginians* made them receive his harangue with applause. *Dionysius* hereupon, without any previous complaint of treaties violated, or so much as a declaration of war, gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the *Carthaginian* merchants, who in great numbers were then residing in *Syracuse*, and were there trading securely on the faith of treaties. These unhappy men were not only plundered of all their effects, but made to undergo the utmost ignominy and cruelties that could be devised, under pretence of retaliation for what the *Carthaginians* had formerly done to the people of *Sicily*: and this example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed in many parts of the island. The Tyrant, after this strange beginning of hostilities, sent deputies to *Carthage*, to demand the restoration of all the

Conscript Fathers could not be brought to determine for succouring *Messina*; because they judged, that the benefit which they should draw from it would

Sicilian cities to their laws and liberties; and to declare that, in case of refusal, all the *Carthaginians* found in those cities should be treated as enemies.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of *Molya*, the chief magazine of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*; and, notwithstanding all that *Imilco* could do to succour it, carried the place by assault. He put all the inhabitants to the sword, except those who took refuge in the temples; he plundered the town, and then leaving a strong garrison in it under a trusty governor, returned to *Syracuse*.

Diod. Sic. B. 14. Ju- The following year *Imilco* came back to
stin, B. 19. Sicily with a most formidable army. He
ch. 2 & 3. landed at *Panormus*, recovered *Molya* by force

of arms, and took several other cities. Animated by these successes, he marched his forces towards *Syracuse* with intention to besiege it, ordering his fleet under the conduct of *Mago* to sail thither. *Mago*, with two hundred ships of war, that were adorned with the enemies spoils, was quickly seen entering the great port as in triumph, and followed by 500 barks: The *Carthaginian* land-forces consisting, according to some authors, of 300,000 foot and 3,000 horse, appeared at the same time on the other side of the city, and both together threw the *Syracusans* into the utmost consternation. *Imilco* for thirty days successively employed his troops in laying waste the neighbouring country: He afterwards possessed himself of the suburb called *Acradina*, and pillaged the temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, beating down the tombs that stood round the city, to fortify his camp with the materials. But now, when master of almost all the cities in the island, he expected to complete the conquest of it by the speedy reduction of *Syracuse*, a dreadful plague, which with incredible swiftness and destruction spread itself among his troops, put an end at once to all his pleasing hopes, and made the splendor of his anticipated triumph vanish in a moment.

Dionysius did not neglect so favourable an opportunity to attack the enemy. The *Carthaginian* ships were almost all either taken or burnt. The land-forces made but a feeble resistance; but night coming on, *Imilco*, during that short suspension of hostilities,

sent to *Dionysius* for permission to carry back to *Carthage* the small remainder of his troops, offering him 300 talents, which was all the money he had left. This permission could not be obtained but for the *Carthaginians* only, with whom he stole away in the night, leaving the *Africans* to the discretion of the enemy. However, to show that what he had done was purely to preserve those few of his countrymen whom the plague had spared, and not from a cowardly care of his own life, he on his arrival at *Carthage* retired immediately to his house, shut the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, and killed himself.

A misfortune far greater than what the *Carthaginians* had just suffered in *Sicily* now threatened them at home: for the *Africans* resenting highly that their countrymen had been left behind in that island, to be slaughtered by the *Syracusans*, flew to arms in the utmost fury, seized upon *Tunes*, and, their numbers increasing to more than 200,000 men, marched directly to invest *Carthage*. Happily for the Republic, this numerous army had no leader, no discipline, no provisions, no engines of war. Disputes and jealousies quickly broke the lawless rabble into factions, and famine soon after entirely dispersed it.

Carthage, not yet despairing of the entire conquest of *Sicily*, made a new effort in that view. A General named *Mago* had the conduct of the enterprize. He lost 15,000 men and his own life in a battle against *Dionysius*; and those of the *Carthaginian* army, who escaped the slaughter, were constrained to sue for peace. *Dionysius* insisted on their evacuating *Sicily*, and defraying all the expences of the war.

The *Carthaginians* pretended to accept the peace on these terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in *Sicily* without the express orders of their Republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to *Carthage*. During this interval they chose the son of *Mago* to be their General. This new commander, tho' very young, yet by his great ability and conduct so improved the short time he had to manage, that at the return of the express he

would not be greater than the reproach they should suffer for so inconsistent a conduct. But the people having been greatly impoverished by the

he was in a condition to take the field, and give the enemy battle. He gained a victory over the *Syracusians*, so considerable, as to produce an honourable peace for the *Carthaginians*. By the conditions of the treaty, they not only kept all their possessions, but acquired some additional places, and had also a thousand talents from *Dionysius*.

After the death of this *Diod. Sic. B. 15.* the elder *Dionysius*, and in the time of the younger (his son and successor) *Carthage* took part in the troubles wherein *Syracuse* was involved, endeavouring to make advantage of them for

establishing there her own domination. *Timoleon* from *Plut. in Timol.* about the Y. *Corinth* rescued the *Syracusan*. *Chr. 346.* *fians* from this danger, and reduced the *Carthaginians* to sue for peace, which was settled on the following terms: The river *Halycus* (or *Lycus*) near *Agrigentum* was to be the boundary of the *Carthaginian* territory in *Sicily*; all natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* were to be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse* with their effects; and lastly, the *Carthaginians* were not to assist, or to have any correspondence with the several tyrants who at this time pretended to the lordship of that city.

It was probably about the *Justin, B. 21.* same time that *Hanno*, one of the most considerable citizens of *Carthage*, formed the design (but without success) of making himself Tyrant of his country, by poisoning the whole Senate at a banquet. His stratagem being discovered, he was put to death by torture; and his children, and all his relations, were at the same time cut off without mercy, tho' they had no share in his guilt.

Some years after this, the *About the Y.* *Carthaginians* were terribly alarmed for their possessions in *Sicily*, by the growing power of the formidable *Agathocles*. This man, who is said to have been the son of

a potter, owed the wonderful rise of his fortune in a great measure to the beauty of his person, his distinguished courage, and his en-

terprising genius; but chiefly to his consummate wickedness, the arts of treachery, and the practice of the most unbounded cruelties. He was now absolute lord of *Syracuse*. Not content with this elevation, he aspired to be King of all *Sicily*, and had made so swift a progress in subduing the island, that *Carthage* was obliged, in self-defence, to dispatch a very numerous army thither, to put a stop to his conquests. *Hamilcar* commanded it; he gave the Tyrant a total overthrow near the *Hymara*, pursued him even to *Syracuse*, and closely besieged him in that capital of his dominion.

The cruelties of *Agathocles* had made him universally detested by the *Sicilians*; he was now therefore deserted by all his allies, and he knew at the same time that his own forces were too weak to preserve the place. In these distressful circumstances he formed an enterprise worthy of the most accomplished Hero; To make a descent upon *Africa*, invade the dominion of his victorious enemies, and transfer the war to the very seat of their empire. His great foresight and judgment to discern that this design was practicable, and also the courage and prudence he displayed in the execution of it, are much admired by the historians, but cannot be enlarged upon here. Let it suffice to mention, that leaving under the command of his brother *Antander* a sufficient number of his troops to defend the city for some time, he put to sea with the remainder, without letting any body know his design, or what course he intended to steer: But, before his departure, to encourage the *Syracusians* to behave themselves with constancy during his absence, he assured them, that the siege would be but of short duration, and that he had found an infallible way to victory.

The forces which *Agathocles* took with him in this expedition amounted to about 14,000 men. Having landed these troops safely in *Africa*, he immediately called them together, opened to them his design, with the motives of it, and made them understand, that the only way to deliver their own country from its present distress was to carry the war into that of their enemies. He represented to them, that the citizens of *Carthage* were a luxurious and effeminate people,

the late wars; and it being represented to them by those who were to command the army, in case of an expedition into *Sicily*, how profitable it would

utterly unable to cope with the *Syracusans*, inured to the toils of war; that the unexampled boldness of his enterprize would alone disconcert and terrify them; that they were wholly unprepared to repel an enemy at their gates; that the *Africans*, always hating the *Carthaginians*, would infallibly join him upon the first notice of his landing; and, in a word, he promised them the whole wealth of *Carthage* as the certain reward of their courage in the present expedition. The soldiers received his harangue with applause and acclamations, and fancied themselves already in possession of that rich city. Taking advantage of their present sanguine temper, and the high hopes he had inspired them with, he then persuaded them to burn all their ships in honour to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, pretending, that in the passage to *Africa* he had secretly made a vow so to do, if those deities would grant him a prosperous voyage. When by thus destroying his fleet he had brought his soldiers under a necessity of placing all their confidence in their courage, he led them on to action.

Two considerable cities he successively attacked, and carried by assault in a short time; the latter was *Tunes*, not many miles from *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians*, terribly alarmed at the swift progress of this unexpected invader, hastily armed their citizens, to the number of above 40,000, and sent them out under the command of *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, men who had been long at variance about family-interests. A pitched battle quickly ensued; *Hanno* was slain in it, the *Carthaginians* routed, and their camp taken. It is said, that *Bomilcar* might have restored the battle after the death of *Hanno*, if for private reasons of self-interest he had not chose rather to quit the field to *Agathocles*. After this victory many fortified places surrendered to the conqueror; and great numbers of the *Africans* revolted to him.

Dio. Sic. B.
17. Q. Curt.
B. 4.

It was at this time that an embassy came to *Carthage* from the *Tyrrians*, to implore succour against *Alexander* the Great, who besieged their city; a request which the *Carthaginians*, how willing soever, could by no means comply with in the present melancholy situation of their affairs.

The unhappy condition, to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, they ascribed to the anger of the Gods, provoked at some neglect of duty. It had been a custom from the very infancy of *Carthage*, and was become a part of their religion, to send annually to *Tyre* (the mother-city) the tenth, or what was so called, of the public revenue, as an offering to *Hercules*, the patron and protector of both *Tyre* and *Carthage*. But from the time that this revenue grew considerable, the whole tenth was not fairly remitted: Remorse seized the *Carthaginians*; and, to expiate their guilt, they now sent to *Tyre*, presents of a prodigious value.

Another custom had prevailed at *Carthage* of a most barbarous and bloody superstition, that of sacrificing great numbers of children to *Saturn*. Anciently those children were chosen out of the best families; of late the children of slaves and beggars had been substituted in the room of the nobly born; a fraudulent impiety, for the expiation of which, two hundred children of the first rank were now thrown into the fire, an offering to the God: And, as *Diodorus Siculus* reports, three hundred of the citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves on this occasion to pacify the same Deity.

After these expiations express were dispatched to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with the news of what misfortunes had befallen the Republic in *Africa*, and to urge him to send speedy succours to *Carthage*. *Hamilcar* commanded the deputies not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*, but on the contrary to report, that his forces had been all cut off, and his whole fleet taken by the *Carthaginians*. The Senate of *Carthage* had sent to *Hamilcar* by the messengers all the beaks of *Agathocles's* ships which had been burnt, that by shewing them he might the more easily gain credit to this report. The stratagem had like to have proved successful. *Hamilcar* summoned the besieged to surrender, and shewed the beaks. The ruin of *Agathocles* being generally believed in *Syracuse*, the majority of the citizens, and *Alexander* himself, were disposed to capitulate.

But

would be, not only to the public in general, but to each man in particular, they passed a decree in favour of the enterprize; and *Appius Claudius*,

But *Eurymnon*, an *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left behind him to counsel his brother, by much persuasion prevailed with them to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. A galley of thirty oars arrived soon after in the port, and brought the news of *Agathocles*'s victory, which at once restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. *Hamilcar* made a last effort to carry the city by assault, but without success. He then raised the siege, and sent 5000 men to the relief of his distressed country. Returning afterwards in hopes to surprize the city in the night, his design was discovered, his army defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. The *Syracusans* cut off his head, and sent it into *Africa*, a welcome present to *Agathocles*.

The confusion, into which all these disasters threw the *Carthaginians*, encouraged *Bomilcar* their General to attempt the execution of a design he had long harboured in his breast; it was to make himself monarch of the *Carthaginian* state. He had gained over some of the citizens to his interest, and had secured a body of the foreign mercenaries to assist him. The conspiracy nevertheless proved abortive; he was over-powered, and being made prisoner, was crucified for his rebellion.

While *Bomilcar* was pursuing his wicked design against the liberties of his country, *Agathocles* was busy in a treachery of another kind. He had won over to his cause *Ophellas*, King of *Cyrene*, by pretending that he would leave him the empire of *Africa*, and that he had no view in his present expedition, but to draw the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*. *Ophellas* brought a considerable army to the assistance of the *Syracusans*. *Agathocles*, to get the absolute command of these troops, slew their leader by surprize, after which by fair words and large promises he engaged the *Cyrenians* to follow him.

His affairs being now in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to leave them a while under the conduct of his son *Archagathus*, and return into *Sicily*, to take some care of his interests at home. His renown and the report of his victories flew before him. On the news of his arrival in *Sicily* many towns revolted to him; but it was not long before

ill news recalled him into *Africa*. His absence had entirely changed the face of things in that country, and all his arts and endeavours proved ineffectual to restore them to their former condition. His army had been defeated, his strong holds had surrendered to the enemy, and his troops were mutinous for want of pay. He attacked the *Carthaginians* after his landing, but was repulsed and routed; he lost 3000 men in the action. After this defeat, and another disaster, by which he lost 4000 of his men, the *Africans* of his army all deserted him. Not thinking himself therefore in a condition to maintain the war any longer, he resolved to leave *Africa*; and not having ships sufficient to transport his troops into *Sicily*, he would have stole away with only a few of his friends, and his younger son *Heraclides*; for he fear'd lest his elder son *Archagathus*, being a daring man, and having been too familiar with his step-mother, would attempt something against his life. *Archagathus* discovered his design, caused him to be arrested and put in chains. A sudden panic soon after seized the army, believing that the enemy was just ready to fall upon them. The guard, who had the King in custody, being in the same consternation with the rest, and in their fright coming out with their prisoner bound, the soldiers were so moved at this sight, that they all cried out, *Unloose him, let him go*. *Agathocles* was no sooner freed from his chains, but, consulting only his own safety, he got on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his two sons to the fury of the enraged soldiers, who slew them both upon the first discovery of his departure. The *Syracusan* troops, tho' thus forsaken by their leader, made an honourable treaty for themselves with the *Carthaginians*, with whom also *Agathocles*, after his return into *Sicily*, concluded a peace upon equal terms, notwithstanding his late disasters and disgrace.

After the death of *Agathocles*, and when *Syracuse* was again involved in civil war, the *Carthaginians* renew'd their attempt once more to subdue the whole island of *Sicily*. They possessed themselves of many cities belonging to the *Syracusans*, and invested *Syracuse* itself. This common danger obliged the

Y. of R.
489. Bef.
J. C. 263.
b His col-
league was
Fulv. Flac-
cus.

dius,^b one of the Consuls, was ordered to conduct an army into *Sicily* to the relief of *Messina*.

the contending parties in the city to unite, and call in King *Pyrrhus* to their aid. *Pyrrhus* (as was mentioned in the former volume of this history) by repeated victories over the *Carthaginians*, deprived them in a short time of all their possessions in *Sicily*, except the city of *Lilybaeum* only. By his own misconduct he afterwards lost all the fruit of his successes, being abandon'd by his *Sicilian* allies, and obliged to quit the island to preserve himself and his *Epirots* from total destruction. The *Carthaginians*, who before his departure had brought a mighty army into *Sicily*, not only recovered all their ancient possessions, but endeavoured to enlarge their dominion by new conquests. *Hiero* being chosen to the government of *Syracuse*, opposed the progress of their arms, till the affair of *MESSINA* united the two powers in one enterprize, drew the *Romans* into *Sicily*, and gave commencement to the first PUNIC WAR.

The Form of the CARTHAGINIAN GOVERNMENT.

The government of *Carthage*, like that of *Rome*, was composed of three different authorities, which balanced each other; the authority of the two supreme magistrates, called *Suffetes* (from the *Phœnician* word *Sophetim*, which signifies *Judges*) that of the Senate, and that of the Assembly of the People: To these was afterwards added the Council of the Hundred.

The SUFFETES.

The *Suffetes* were annual magistrates, and their authority much the same with that of the Consuls at *Rome*. By the antient writers they are frequently styled Kings, Dictators, Consuls. History does not inform us of the manner of their election. Their office was to convene the Senate, to preside there, propose the matters for debate, and collect the voices. They also sat as chief Justices in private causes of importance: Nor was their authority confined to civil affairs, they sometimes commanded the armies.

The SENATE.

The number of which the Senate of *Carthage* consisted is not known; it must certainly have been very considerable, seeing an hundred persons were selected from it to form a

separate council. In the Senate all public affairs were debated, the letters from Generals read, the complaints from the Provinces heard, Ambassadors admitted to audience, Peace and War determined. When the Senators were unanimous, there lay no appeal from their decision; but whenever they were divided in opinion, the affair devolved to the People; a regulation which seems well contrived to prevent divisions, and a factious opposition to reasonable counsels; for it was not to be supposed, that any member of an assembly, which had the prerogative of judging decisively in affairs, would willingly suffer them to be carried before another tribunal.

The PEOPLE.

It appears from *Aristotle's Elogium* on the Government of *Carthage*, that, so low as to his time, the People spontaneously left the chief administration of public affairs to the Senate. And *Polybius* remarks, that, while the Senate governed, the *Carthaginians* were successful in all their enterprizes. But at length riches and extensive conquests made the people insolent; and then forgetting that they owed their prosperity to the wise conduct of that venerable body, they not only interfered in the government of the State, but arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period the public affairs were trafficked wholly by cabals and factions; and *Polybius* assigns this as one of the chief causes of their ruin.

The TRIBUNAL of the HUNDRED.

This Council was composed of 104 persons, tho' Y. of Carthage for brevity sake they are called the Hundred, and was instituted to be a check upon the *Carthaginian* Generals, who had used before to exercise an absolute and uncontrollable power when at the head of armies in the field; they now became accountable to these judges for their actions, on their return from the campaign.

Of these 104 Judges, five had a particular jurisdiction superior to that of the rest, and were like the Council of Ten in the *Venetian* Senate. A vacancy in their body could be filled by none but themselves. They had also the power of choosing those who composed the Council of The Hundred.

Appius,

Appius, to learn the posture of the enemy and the true state of things in that place, is reported^a to have ventured over thither in a fisher-boat, and to have so happily conducted himself there, as by some means to make

^a *Primò ad explorandos hostes fretum piscatoria navi trajecit [Appius Claudius Caudex] et cum duce Carthaginiensium egit, ut præsidium arce deduceret. Rhegium regressus, &c. Aurel. Viâ. ch. 37.*

That the Consul in person went over privately to *Messina*, seems to be supported by the words of *Polybius*, who speaks of the *Mamertines* sending for *Appius*, and surrendering their city to him, as of a transaction previous to the passage of the Roman army to *Messina*. But, according to this author, they had either by art or force rid themselves of the *Carthaginian* officer, before they called over *Appius*. *Polyb. l. 1. c. 11.*

If we may believe *Zonaras*, the person who went over privately to *Messina* to learn the state of affairs in that city was not *Appius Claudius* the Consul, but one *Claudius* a Legionary Tribune, whom the Consul dispatched on that commission.

Zonaras differs in some particulars from *Polybius* concerning the origin of the first Punic War, and has many circumstances which are not mentioned by any writer but himself. He tells us, that the two Republics were mutually jealous of each other; each thought its own safety depended on subduing its rival. This was the true cause of the war. Thus far he agrees with other writers. But he adds, that the *Romans* assigned, for their motive to the war, some assistance which the *Carthaginians* had formerly given the *Tarentines* against *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* on the other hand alledged as their ground of quarrel, that the *Romans* had made a friendship with *Hiero* when he was at war with *Carthage*.

As to the affair of *Messina*, his relation is, in substance, as follows. The *Mamertines*, being besieged by King *Hiero*, ask succour from the *Romans*. The *Romans* knowing that, if this request should be refused, they would give themselves to the *Carthaginians*, who might then be able to pass into *Italy*, readily promise to send the succour desired. This promise however not being speedily performed, and the *Mamertines* being straightly pressed by the enemy, they apply for aid to the *Car-*

thaginians, who thereupon make peace with *Hiero*, both for themselves and for the *Mamertines*, as the most effectual means to hinder the *Romans* from coming into *Sicily*; and under a leader named *Hanno* they take upon them the guard of the city and of the straits. In the mean while *Claudius*, a Legionary Tribune, whom the Consul had sent before him with a few ships, comes to *Rhegium*, but finding that the enemy has a much stronger fleet at sea, and therefore not daring to attempt the passage with his ships, he steals over privately in a small boat to *Messina*, and has a conference with the *Mamertines*; but through the opposition of the *Carthaginians* is obliged to return without effecting any thing. Afterwards, when he hears that the *Mamertines* are in some commotion (for tho' they would not consent to be subject to *Rome*, they were weary of the *Carthaginians*), he goes over again, and promises that the *Romans*, if admitted into the place, shall return home as soon as they have restored *Messina* to a state of security. He then bids the *Carthaginians* quit the place, or give a good reason for staying. The *Mamertines* are silent through fear; the *Carthaginians* make him no answer, because they hold the city by force, and despise him. The silence of both, cries *Claudius*, shews that the *Carthaginians* act unjustly, and that the *Mamertines* desire liberty; for if these cared for the *Carthaginians*, they would promise to stand by them. The *Mamertines* applaud his words. He then returns to *Rhegium*, and endeavours to pass from thence to *Messina* with his fleet. In this attempt he loses some of his ships by stormy weather, others are taken by the *Carthaginians*, so that he is forced to return once more to *Rhegium*. The *Carthaginian* Admiral coming on the coast of *Italy* offers to restore the ships he had taken, but at the same time declares, that the Straits belong to the *Carthaginians*, and that he will not suffer the *Romans* even to wash their hands in them. *Claudius* hearing this, rejects the offer with indignation, repairs his fleet, and seizing a favourable opportunity, passes safely with his troops to *Messina*. *Hanno* was now retired into the citadel; he had quitted the city thro' a distrust of the inhabitants.

Claudius

make the *Carthaginian* officer and his soldiers evacuate the citadel; after which the Consul returned to *Italy* to prepare for the embarkation of his troops.

Claudius persuades the *Mamertines* to invite *Hanno* to an amicable conference. The *Carthaginian*, tho' with great reluctance, comes to the assembly, lest the *Mamertines*, who already complained of his injustice, should begin hostilities against him. After much altercation between him and *Claudius*, he is seized by a *Roman* officer, and carried to prison, the *Mamertines* approving of the action. Thus *Hanno* is reduced to the necessity of entirely abandoning *Messina*. The *Carthaginians* punish him for his ill conduct, and send a herald to signify to the *Romans* to quit *Messina* and all *Sicily* by a certain day; which demand not being complied with, they in the first fury of their resentment murder all the *Italian* mercenaries in their service; and

then, assisted by King *Hiero*, lay siege to *Messina*.

Such is the account given us by *Zonaras*, of what passed in relation to *Messina* before the Consul went thither. But I do not find the least mention of the voyages or management of the Tribune *Claudius* in any other author. Only that the *Romans* sent some troops to *Messina*, as *Zonaras* relates, before *Appius* went thither with the main army, is supported by a fragment of *Diodorus Siculus*, who speaks of an agreement between *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* to make war upon the *Romans*, unless they would immediately withdraw all their forces out of *Sicily*; and this is previous to the arrival of the Consul with the Legions.

CHAPTER II.

First, second, and third Years of the War.

The Consul *Appius Claudius Caudex* transports an army into *Sicily* to the relief of *Messina*, besieged by the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*. He forces them to raise the siege. His successors make peace and an alliance with *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. The next year's Consuls, assisted by *Hiero*, take *Agrigentum* from the *Carthaginians*.

Polyb. B.

THE people of *Carthage*, upon the news of their officer's having quitted the citadel of *Messina*, were so highly offended, that they condemned him to be crucified, as both a traitor and a coward. They ordered at the same time a fleet and a land-army to besiege the place. *Hiero*, the new King of *Syracuse*, having now a fair prospect of exterminating the usurpers of *Messina*, entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and joined his forces to theirs: so that the *Mamertines* were entirely closed up within their city, the *Carthaginians* lying with a navy at sea, and with an army on one side of the place, while the *Syracusians* lay before it on the other.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consul to *Rhegium* with an army appointed for their relief: but how to pass from thence to *Messina* was a difficulty that seemed insurmountable. Not that he wanted transports; for he had borrowed from the *Tarentines*, *Neapolitans*, and other neighbours, a sufficient number of *triremes* and boats of fifty oars, wherein to waft over his men: but the *Carthaginian* fleet was in the way, and was by much superior in strength to that of the Consul.

He

He was obliged therefore to have recourse to stratagem. He pretended to give the enterprize entirely over as a thing impracticable, and, the better to deceive the enemy, steered his course towards Rome. This motion made the Carthaginians watch the Straights less narrowly; and when the Consul tacking about on a sudden, and being favoured by a dark night, passed to Messina without opposition.

Frontin.
de Strat.
B. 1. ch. 4.

His

Polybius (from whom this account of the first Punic War is chiefly taken) does not directly charge the Romans with injustice in their beginning this war, yet declares (L. 1. c. 10.) that it would be difficult to justify them. Sir *Walter Raleigh* is clearly of opinion, that the Romans in this enterprize were unjust. His words are these.

B. 5. ch. 1. "Now in this place I hold it seasonable to consider of those grounds whereupon the Romans entered in to this [the first Punic] war; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprize was much to their benefit, tho' as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict terms of lawfulness, whereupon they built all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yield themselves, and all that they had, into the Romans hands (as the Campanians, distressed by the Samnites, had done) I cannot find; neither can I find how the messengers of those folk, whereof one part had already admitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the public name of all.

"If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawful surrendry of themselves and their possessions, were become subject to Rome, by what better title could the Romans assist the Mamertines against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have aided the Campanians against the Samnites, without the same condition? which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to clear this doubt is lost in all histories, doubtless it is, that no company of pyrates, thieves, outlaws, murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good success of their villainy, obtain the privilege of civil societies, to make league or truce, yea to require fair war, but are by all means, as most pernicious vermine,

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"to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintain that opinion of some Civilian, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a position of ill consequence. This I hold, that no one Prince or State can give protection to such as these, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteem this action of the Romans so far from being justifiable by any pretence of confederacy made with them, as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of murderers and thieves into their protection, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves by the people of Sicily, yea altho' Messina had been taken, and the Mamertines all slain, ere any news of the confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers."

To this reasoning of our learned countryman I take leave to answer:

Whether the messengers, who went to Rome from Messina from one part only of the Mamertines, could be enabled to treat in the name of all, or whether the Mamertines made such an absolute surrendry of their possessions to the Romans, as the people of Capua had formerly done, seems not material to the present purpose. Neither the Romans nor the Carthaginians could acquire any right to Messina in virtue of any such surrendry, whether made by a part or by the whole body of the Mamertines, these having themselves no right to the town, if they are to be considered as a nest of pirates, murderers, and outlaws, which is the light in which Sir *Walter* considers them.

In the next place, tho' it be granted, that no one Prince or State can give protection to pirates, thieves, and murderers, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becoming accessory to their crimes; I say, tho' this be granted, it will not affect the present question. For that the

D

Romans

Polyb. B.
I. ch. 11.

His arrival, however, did not discourage the besiegers; for they far exceeded him in number of men, and the whole island was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were strong enough at sea to hinder any supplies from getting into the town. All this *Appius* well understood; and therefore apprehending both danger and dishonour in the enterprize, he dispatched ambassadors to the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero*, to treat of an accommodation, and obtain peace for the *Mamertines*.

Romans did not grant their protection to the *Mamertines*, in the circumstance above described, is evident from what our author himself relates. He tells us, that the *Carthaginians* (and they were the principals in the present war, *Hiero* was only an auxiliary) upon the news of their officer's being driven out of the citadel of *Messina*, sent a fleet and an army to besiege the place, as a town that had rebelled, having once been theirs. These preparations were to punish rebellious subjects, not to punish the *Mamertines* as pirates and murderers, not for the injuries they had done to the lawful proprietors of *Messina*. It would indeed have been shameful in the *Carthaginians* to pretend the latter after they had made a league with the usurpers, treated them as a civil society, and consented to protect them against King *Hiero*.

From the whole then it would seem, that our author has not assigned sufficient reasons for passing so rigorous a sentence of condemnation against the *Romans*.

CHEVALIER FOLARD, who in his Comment upon *Polybius* entirely differs in opinion from Sir *Walter*, makes very short work with the present question.

A necessary war (says he) is always just. A war, without which the rights and liberties of a people must be greatly endangered, is a necessary war: This was the case of the *Romans* at the present juncture; and he cannot therefore believe, that the Senate of *Rome* were really so scrupulous as *Polybius* represents them to be, about accepting the offer made them by the *Mamertines*.

Nay the Chevalier declares, that not only the consideration of a present danger to our liberties, but even the prospect of a distant one, an allowable motive to begin a precautionary war; and that the too great power of any Prince will justify the neighbouring powers in making war upon him; because Liberty is a thing, which by both divine and human laws we are allowed to have

so tender a concern for, that the apprehension of being deprived of it justifies whatever we do for its preservation.

As I shall not contend with the force of this argument, so neither can I think it necessary to have recourse to it to justify the *Romans* in the present war.

If the *Mamertines* are to be considered as a civil society, the *Romans* acted nothing contrary to justice in making an alliance with them, or in succouring them when in that alliance. *Rome* (if we may believe *Polybius*) had made no treaty with the *Carthaginians*, or with *Hiero*, whereby she was bound not to concern herself in the affairs of *Sicily*. Polyb. B. 3. c. 26.

If the *Mamertines* are not to be considered as a civil society, but as a gang of robbers and pirates, *Messina* would then belong to the first civil society that should get possession of it; and the *Romans* having acquired the right of first possession, the *Carthaginians* must be considered as the aggressors; for I presume, that the latter cannot be deemed to have acquired the right of first possession even of the citadel, by the bare admission of their officer with a few men into it, since they did not enter the citadel as taking possession of it for themselves, but to guard it for the usurpers against King *Hiero*.

As to the conduct of the *Romans* in protecting the *Mamertines*, who had been guilty of the same crimes for which the Senate had punished the *Campanian* Legion, it must undoubtedly at first, as *Polybius* observes, have a strange appearance; but certainly, when by sparing the most notorious offenders a national good is to be obtained, much greater than could accrue from punishing such offenders, there is no doubt but the arm of vengeance may wisely and lawfully be stayed. And this appears plainly to have been the motive on which the *Romans* acted in the case now before us, even according to *Polybius's* relation of the matter.

The answer from King *Hiero* was, that the *Manerlines* for their cruelty and wickedness in getting the possession of *Messina*, and for diverse other barbarities committed in *Sicily*, were most justly besieged; and that it did not become the *Romans*, so famed for their justice and faithfulness, to protect such bloody villains, who had contemptuously broken all the ties of faith and truth among men: That if the *Romans* began a war in defence of such wicked invaders, it would be evident to all the world, that *succour to the distressed* was but a pretence to cloke their covetousness, when in truth their aim was to gain *Sicily*.

Diod. Sic.
in Eclog.
p. 874.

The Consul finding his negotiation fruitless, and that he was under a necessity of fighting, took at length the bold resolution to sally out into the field, and make the enemies know, that his coming to *Messina* was to drive them from the town, and not to be by them besieged within it.

Polyb. B.
I. c. 11.

In executing this determination it was very advantageous for him, that the confederate armies lay incamped in such a manner, as not to be well able to assist one another in distress. *Appius* sallied out first against *Hiero*, and drawing up the Legions in order, presented him battle. This brave Prince (says a learned writer, well skilled in military affairs) must certainly have wanted good advice on the present occasion; otherwise he would not have hazarded all his power against an enemy, of whom he had made no trial, when it had been easy for him, and as much as was requisite, to defend his own camp. With great readiness and gallantry he accepted the challenge, and met the enemy; but after a long and bloody conflict, the *Syracusians* were defeated, and driven to save themselves within their intrenchments. The *Romans* returned triumphantly with the spoils of the dead into *Messina*.

Sir W.
Raleigh.

The King, by this disaster, learnt a point of wisdom very useful both to him and his kingdom during the remainder of his life. Had *Messina* been taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* itself must have sought help from *Rome* against those friends whom it now so diligently assisted. *Hiero* had (in respect of those two mighty States) but a small stock, which it behoved him to manage frugally; such another loss would have almost ruined him. He therefore quietly broke up his camp in the night, and retired home; intending to leave those to try the fortune of the war, who had hopes to be gainers by the event of it.

Polyb. B.
I. c. 11.

Appius receiving intelligence of the King's retreat, and finding the courage of his men greatly raised by their success in the late action, resolved to attack the *Carthaginians* without loss of time. Having caused

^b According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the Consul's embassy was sent from *Rhegium* before he passed the *Straights*.

^c *Diod. Siculus* writes, that when the Consul landed at *Messina*, *Hiero*, suspecting that the *Carthaginians* had made way for him, fled himself to *Syracuse*.

Florus says, that *Hiero* confessed he was conquered before he saw the enemy.

Zonaras, B. 8. makes *Appius* to land with his forces, not at *Messina*, but some place near it, and to attack the *Syracusians* before he entered that town.

the soldiers to take their repast at a very early hour, he sallied out by break of day, surprized the enemy, and routed them with great slaughter; those who escaped flying for refuge to the neighbouring towns. The Romans after this action made inroads upon the country as far as to the territory of the *Syracusians*, and at length set down before *Syracuse*. It does not appear, however, that the Consul made any progress in the siege: remitting the conduct of this enterprize to his successors, he returned to *Rome*^d.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 16.
Y. of R.
490. Bel.
J. C. 262.
189. Consul-p.
|| Diod. Siculus (p. 875.) makes the number to be 67.

§. II. THE Romans being animated by the victories of *Appius* to pursue the war with more than ordinary vigour, it was decreed, that the Consuls for the new year, *Manius Valerius* and *Manius Otacilius*, should both go into *Sicily*, and should take with them four Legions, each consisting of 4000 foot and 300 horse. Upon the arrival of these forces in *Sicily*, most of the || towns and castles, that had submitted to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians*, gave themselves up to the *Romans*; insomuch that the King of *Syracuse* found it high time for him to endeavour after a

^d According to *Entropius*, B. 2. and *Silius Italicus*, P. 6. *Appius Claudius* had a triumph for his victories; but the *Capitoline Marbles* say nothing of it.

He acquired his surname of *Caudex*, if we may believe *Seneca*, (*de Brev. Vit.*) from his having transported the Roman army from *Italy* to *Sicily* in small boats, which the ancients called *Caudices*.

Mr. *Vertot*, perhaps on no other authority, says, that this General was the first who by the means of some Rafts transported troops into *Sicily*, which got him the surname of *Caudex*, as having found the art of fastening planks together, so as to make transports of them.

Chevalier *Polard* rallies the Abbot on this passage of his history, and wants to know his voucher. Doubtless the Chevalier has good reason to dispute the fact. It would have been madness for the Consul to have attempted to wade an army cross those straights on such transports; neither had he any occasion to have recourse to that dangerous expedient, all the ships in the ports of *Italy* being at his disposal; and *Polybius* expressly tells us, that *Appius* embarked his men on vessels of fifty oars, and on *triremes* borrowed of the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, &c. This relation of *Polybius* is decisive also against *Seneca*.

The Chevalier will have it, that *Appius's* surname of *Caudex* was on account of a dull,

stupid air, the word *Codex* signifying a block-head.

Father *Catrou*, in the large *Roman History*, speaking of *Appius's* surname, keeps clear of Mr. *Vertot's* Rafts and *Seneca's* little Boats; but then he wants a reason for *Claudius's* surname of *Caudex*. He says, that when *Appius* undertook to cross the Straights with his fleet, he went himself on board a sorry galley, hastily and clumsily built (*une mauvaïse galere tumultuairement construite & sans art.*) This enterprize happily executed, the *Romans* thought it so fine an exploit, that they gave the Consul the surname of *Caudex*, which word, adds the Father, signified then *un mauvais batteau fait de planches mal arrangées & précipitamment réunies*.

But what reason in the world can be imagined why *Appius* should make choice of such a transport, wherein to convey his own person to *Sicily*, when he might have chosen the best *Triremis* in the fleet? I cannot find, that the Reverend Father has any authority for this fact.

If *Appius* did really acquire the surname in question, from the bad built and fashion of any vessel in which he crossed the Straights, I should conjecture it was from that fisher-boat (which might be a *Caudex*) wherein, as *Aurelius Victor* reports, he courageously ventured over to *Messina*, to learn the state of things there before he transported his army thither.

peace

peace with an enemy so formidable, and that came now to besiege him in his capital. He perceived, says *Polybius*, that the designs and hopes of the *Romans* were better founded than those of the *Carthaginians*, and in conclusion therefore sent ambassadors to the Consuls to treat of peace and an alliance with *Rome*. *Valerius* and *Otacilius* readily embraced the overture, and the more readily, on account of the difficulties they were under with regard to their convoys. The *Roman* troops had the last year been driven to great straits, and there was good reason to apprehend lest the *Carthaginians*, who were masters of the sea, should be able totally to debar them of all supplies of provision. The Consuls nevertheless made the King purchase the alliance which he sought, with an hundred talents of silver.

Diodorus Siculus reports, that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General was by this time come with a fleet to *Xipbonia* (not far from *Syracuse*) to the assistance of the King, but that hearing of what was done, he instantly retired.^{In Eclog. P. 875.}

Hiero after this treaty continued ever a firm and useful friend to the *Romans*; and being a Prince who not only made the prosperity of his subjects his chief aim, but always pursued that aim by measures honest and noble, he enjoyed a long and happy reign, dear to his people, beloved of his allies, and universally esteemed by all the *Greek* nations.

§. III. THE treaty with the *Syracusan* King being ratified by an ordinance of the *Roman* People, it was now thought advisable to abate of the number of troops in the service, and to send into *Sicily* under the command of the new Consuls (*L. Posthumius Megellus* and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*) only two Legions; which, through *Hiero's* friendship, they trusted, would live in plenty of all things necessary.^{Polyb. B. 1. c. 17. Y. of R. 491. B f. J. C. 261. 190 Consul-p.}

As for the people of *Carthage*, when they learnt that *Hiero*, of a friend was become an enemy, and when they considered that the *Romans* were now superior to them in strength, they turned their thoughts to provide

^e We find by the *Capitoline* Marbles, that a Dictator was created this year at *Rome* to drive the Nail, probably on account of some prodigies, or to stop the plague; from the same Marbles we learn also, that *Valerius* at his return to *Rome* was decreed a triumph, and that he acquired the surname of *De Breui Vit. Messala*; which *Seneca* and *Macrobius* tells us was given him for the conquest of *Messina*, (then called *Massana*.) It is hard to reconcile this with *Polybius's* account, unless we suppose that the enemy got possession of that place after the return of *Appius Claudius* into *Italy*. The *Jesuits* believe rather, that *Valerius* performed some notable exploit in

the defence of *Messina*, while *Otacilius* was other ways employed, and that this occasioned the distinction with which he was afterwards honoured above his colleague. *Pliny* authorizes this conjecture, when he tells us, (*B. 35. ch. 4.*) that *Valerius* brought with him from *Sicily* a picture representing the battle wherein he had vanquished *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* before *Messina*. He fixed it up in the old palace of King *Tullus Hostilius*, where the Senate used to assemble. The same author reports also, (*B. 7. ch. ult.*) that *Valerius* brought with him from *Sicily* another novelty, an horizontal sun-dial, and that he placed it on a pedestal in the *Comitium* near the *Resra*. 17378.

a force

Year of R. 491. B.C. J. C. 261. 175. Con- fol. p. † Called also Agrigentum, now Gergenti.

a force that might be sufficient to preserve those acquisitions which they still possessed in the island. To this end they hired a great number of troops in *Gaul* and in *Liguria*, but principally in *Spain*; and having resolved to make *Agrigentum* † (a strong place, distant about eighteen furlongs from the sea, on the south coast of *Sicily*,) the rendezvous of their armies, and their chief magazine, they transported the mercenaries to that city.

The Consuls *Posthumius* and *Mamilius* were now arrived in *Sicily* with the Legions, and having got intelligence of the designs of the *Carthaginians*, and of the preparations they were making in *Agrigentum*, came to a resolution to march directly with their forces towards that place, and invest it. They pitched their camp about a mile from the town, and totally blocked it up.

It happening to be the time of harvest, the *Roman* soldiers, who foresaw that the siege would be a long one, dispersed themselves abroad to forage; and this they did in so unguarded a manner, that it tempted the besieged one day to sally out upon them. The *Carthaginians* not only fell upon the reapers in the fields, but made a furious attack upon the *Roman* advanced guards, not without hopes to force the very camp. And here (says *Polybius*) the *Romans*, as on many other occasions, owed their preservation to that discipline in which they excelled all nations; for being accustomed to see those punished with death who deserted their post, or fled in battle, they diligently rallied, and bravely sustained the shock of the enemy, tho' superior in number. And though many of the *Romans* fell, the loss was much greater on the enemies side, who being at length surrounded when they had almost forced the *Roman* entrenchment, were with great slaughter driven back to their works. After this action the *Romans* became more wary in their foraging, and the *Carthaginians* less forward to make sallies. The Consuls however, the better to secure themselves, cut a deep trench between the walls of the city and their camp, and another on the side towards the country, to prevent any surprize that way; which double fortification also hindered the besieged from receiving any supplies whatsoever. At the same time provisions and all necessaries were brought to the besiegers by their *Sicilian* allies to *Erbesus*; and from that town, which lay not far from their camp, their convoys passed without impediment.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. p. 375. Polyb. B. 1. c. 18.

Affairs continued five months in this posture, neither party gaining upon the other any considerable advantage, their engagements being for the most part only in slight skirmishes. The besiegers received daily reinforcements from the *Sicilians*, and, in all, amounted to above 100,000 men. In the mean time the city being stuffed with a garrison of 50,000 soldiers began to be much straitned for provisions, *Hannibal*, who commanded there in chief, dispatched frequent advices to *Carthage*, representing the extremities to which they were reduced, and demanding speedy succour. The *Carthaginians* therefore embarking on board

their

their fleet what soldiers and elephants they could readily muster, sent them into *Sicily* to *Hanno*, their other General in that country. *Hanno* having assembled all his forces at *Heraclea*, a maritime town a little to the west of *Agrigentum*, marched directly to *Erbesus*, where he had a secret correspondence; and which was put into his hands by treachery. By this loss the *Romans*, not only were deprived of their wonted supplies, but became themselves almost as closely besieged by *Hanno*, as *Agrigentum* was by their troops; and they must unavoidably have quitted their enterprise, if King *Hiero* had not relieved them in their distress. He found means to convey provisions to their camp, tho' not in great quantity, nor sufficient to prevent those distempers among the soldiers, which are the usual consequences of scarcity.

Hanno having intelligence of the bad condition of the *Roman* army, that the soldiers were enfeebled by want, and their number diminished by diseases, believed he might now be able to cope with them. He marched with fifty elephants, and all the rest of his forces from *Heraclea* (whither he had returned after the affair of *Erbesus*) sending his *Numidian* horse before, with orders to approach to the enemies camp, and endeavour to draw the *Roman* cavalry to a battle, in which they were to retreat till they joined the main body. The *Numidians* punctually performed their instructions. They marched up to the entrenchment of the enemy, and being attacked by the *Roman* horse, retired before them till they joined *Hanno* with the army, which almost encompassing the *Romans*, slew many of them, and drove the rest back to their camp. After this exploit, the *Carthaginian* made no other attempt for two months, but lay strongly encamped on an eminence about ten furlongs from the *Romans*, waiting for some opportunity to fight with advantage.

In the mean time *Agrigentum* was reduced to the utmost extremity by famine. *Hannibal* gave notice to *Hanno*, as well by signals from the town, as by frequent expresses, that the garrison were no longer able to sustain the wants they laboured under, and that many of the soldiers were compelled by hunger to desert. This brought *Hanno* to resolve upon a decisive action, to which the *Romans* were no less disposed, on account of their inconvenient situation. The two armies therefore drawing out, came to an engagement on the ground between their camps. The success was long doubtful; but *Hanno's* elephants being at length disordered by his own van-guard, which the *Romans* had broke and put to flight, those unruly beasts threw his whole army into confusion. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great slaughter; some few got into *Heraclea*, but the *Romans* took most of the elephants, and all the enemies baggage.

And now *Hannibal* turned all his thoughts to make his escape from *Agrigentum*, which he despaired of holding any longer; and perceiving that the *Romans* after their victory, wearied with labour, and grown secure by their good fortune, kept negligent watch, he rushed out of the place at midnight with all his foreign troops, and filling the *Roman* trenches

Y. of R.
491. B. f.
J. C. 261.
190 Con-
sul-p.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 19.

Y. of R.
491. B. I.
J. C. 261.
160 Con-
sul-p.

trenches with faggots, passed over their works unhurt and unperceived. The *Romans* saw not their error till the morning, when they contented themselves with a short pursuit, and presently returned to take possession of the town; which they entered without resistance, unmercifully despoiling the inhabitants both of their riches and of their liberty.

C H A P. III.

The fourth and fifth Years of the War.

The Romans, to accomplish their designs upon Sicily, find it necessary to provide themselves with a naval force. They build a considerable fleet, and by the help of a new-invented engine for grappling and boarding the enemies ships, gain a memorable victory over the Carthaginians at sea near Mile, (now Milazzo.)

Polyb. B. I.
c. 20.

GREAT joy there was at *Rome* on the news of the taking of *Agri- gentum*, and every body's courage and hopes were raised. They now thought it not enough to have rescued *Messina*, and enriched themselves by the war; they proposed nothing less than the entire expulsion of the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicily*; nay, and this was to be done the very next year by *L. Valerius* and *T. Otacilius*, their newly elected Consuls. However, they soon became sensible, that the task was too difficult to be accomplished in so short a time. For tho' a great number of the inland towns of *Sicily* had, after the reduction of *Agri- gentum*, readily submitted to the *Romans*, who were evidently superior to their enemies by land; yet many places situate on the coast had revolted from them through fear of the *Carthaginian* strength by sea. And indeed this advantage on the side of *Carthage* made the success of the war still doubtful; which being well considered by the *Romans*, as also that the coast of *Italy* lay exposed to the depredations of the *Carthaginians*, who made frequent descents upon it, whilst *Africa* felt none of the calamities of war, they at length resolved to apply themselves diligently to maritime affairs, and even, at their first essay, to make provision of such a fleet, as should be able to contend with the naval power of *Carthage*.

Y. of R.
492. B. I.
J. C. 260.
191 Con-
sul-p.

Polybius, in speaking on this subject, cannot forbear to express his admiration of the magnanimity of the *Romans*, so void of fear in enterprises of the greatest hazard and moment; and it is in truth an astonishing instance of the resolute bravery of this people, that being hitherto extremely ignorant in all the arts relating to navigation, they should now at once determine upon a naval battle with the *Carthaginians*, who had held uncontested, from time immemorial, the dominion of the sea.

The same author tells us, that the *Romans* were not at this time masters ^f of one single galley, no not even of a bark, and were so little skilled in ship-building, that if fortune had not favoured them, it would have been almost impossible for them to put their design in execution. A *Carthaginian* galley cruising on the coast of *Italy*, and venturing too near the shore, happened to be stranded; the *Romans* seized her before the crew could get her off, and, by the model of this galley, their first fleet, which consisted of 100 ^g *quinqueremes* and 20 *triremes*, was built.

While these vessels were upon the stocks, the men appointed to be the rowers were taught the use of the oar in the following manner. Seats were raised on the sea-shore in the same fashion and order as they were to be in the galleys, and the mariners being placed thereon, an officer who stood in the midst of them, instructed them, by signs with his hand, how at once and all together to dip their oars, and in like manner to recover them out of the water. They afterwards spent some time in practising upon the water what they had been learning at land, adventuring first along the coast of *Italy*. C. 21.

Before the finishing ^h of this naval armament, the Consular *Fasces* were transferred to *Cn. Cornelius Asina* and *C. Duilius*. It fell to *Cornelius* to be the *Roman* Admiral. Leaving orders with the pilots to make the best of their way to the *Straights* so soon as all the new vessels should be equipped, he with only 17 of them repaired to *Messina* to give directions for the reception and security of the main fleet. He had not been long there, when, deceived by some false intelligence, he thought he had a fair

Y. R. 493.
Bet. Chr.
259.
192d Conf.

^f Doubtless *Polybius* goes too far, when he affirms that the *Romans* had no ships before the first *Punic* war; the ancient treaties between *Rome* and *Carthage*, which he himself presents us with, evince the contrary; nay, it appears by the former part of this history, that they had ten ships of war at the time of the rupture with the *Tarentines*. And as to what he says of the loss the *Romans* would have been at to build a fleet, if they had not seized a *Carthaginian* vessel, which chanced to be stranded, his meaning, to be consistent with himself, must be, either that without this accident they would have had no good model whereby to build any ship of war, or would have had no model at all of a *quinqueremus*. For he tells us in the very same part of his history, that some of the vessels in which they transported their troops the first time to *Messina* were *triremes* (and these were ships of war) borrowed from their neighbours the *Tarentines*, &c.

^g Of the ancient ships of war the most considerable were the *naves longæ* (long-ships, or

galleys) so named from their form, which was the most convenient to wield round or cut their way; whereas the ships of burden were generally built rounder and more hollow, that they might be more easy to load, and might hold the more goods. The most remarkable of the *naves longæ* were the *triremis*, the *quadriremis*, and the *quinqueremis*, exceeding one another by one bank of oars, which banks were raised sloping one above another. Some indeed fancy a different original of these names, as that in the *triremis*, for example, either there were three banks one after the other on a level, or that three rowers tugged all together at one oar; but this is contrary not only to the authority of the classics, but to the figures of the *triremes* still appearing in ancient monuments. *Kennel's* Antiq. part 2. b. 2. ch. 20.

^h According to *Florus*, B. 2. and *Orosius*, B. 4. ch. 7. the *Romans* were but sixty days in building and equipping their fleet, reckoning from the time that the necessary timber was prepared.

Y. R. 493. occasion of surprising *Lipara*¹. Thither he went with his Squadron, and
 B. i. Ch. i. drew up under the walls of the town. *Hannibal*, who commanded at
 259. sea for the *Carthaginians*, and was now at *Panormus*, having notice of this
 192d Conf. design, immediately dispatched away 20 galleys under the command of
 one *Boodes* a Senator, who arriving in the night, blocked up *Cornelius* in
 Polyb. B. i. the harbour. As soon as day appeared, the *Roman* mariners, in their first
 ch. 21. fright, to save themselves, got with all diligence ashore. The Consul in
 this distress seeing no remedy, yielded himself prisoner; and the *Cartha-*
ginians possessing themselves of the 17 vessels, and the principal *Roman*
 officers, made the best of their way back to *Hannibal*.

Such is *Polybius's* account of this affair: But according to *Livy's* Epi-
 tome, B. 17. *Cornelius* was made prisoner by treachery, being decoyed
 from his ship by the pretence of a parley, to which the *Carthaginia*
 commander invited him in order to a peace.

Not long after this adventure of *Cornelius*, *Hannibal* himself was ver-
 near falling into a like disaster by an equal indiscretion. For having re-
 ceived advice that the *Roman* fleet was at sea, and coasting along *Italy*
 he would needs be himself a witness of the number and posture of the
 enemy; and to that end went in search of them with only fifty of his
 galleys. The *Romans* happened to be nearer than he was aware of, and
 just as he doubled a promontory on the *Italian* coast, surprized him with
 their whole fleet in order of battle. In this encounter he lost the great
 part of his Squadron, and escaped narrowly himself, when every body
 despaired of his safety.

The *Romans* continued their course towards *Messina*, pursuant to the
 instructions they had formerly received from *Cornelius*, of whose defeat
 and captivity having got advice, they immediately sent the news of it
Duilius (who then had the command of the land-forces in the island) a-
 while they waited the coming of the Consul, they prepared for a new en-
 gagement with the enemy, whose fleet they heard was not far off. A-
 considering that their own ships were heavy and slow, not having been
 built with great art, they turned their thoughts to contrive some new in-
 vention which might compensate for this disadvantage; and then was con-
 vided that famous machine which they afterwards called the *|| Corvus*.

|| The
 Crow.

The learned cannot agree concerning the exact form of this engine.
Polybius's description of it has not been found sufficient to make it clear-
 ly understood. It appears to have been a kind of draw-bridge, so fasten-
 ed on the prow of the vessels, that being let fall upon an enemy's ship,
 served both to grapple her and to render the boarding her more easy.

Duilius, upon the first notice of what had happened to his colleague,
 committing the conduct of the land-army to his Tribunes, hastened to the
 place where hearing, on his arrival, that the enemy were cruising on the coast
 near *Myle*, which was not far from *Messina*, he made the best of his way

¹ A town in a small island of the same name, not far from *Sicily*, to the north.

with all his galleys to encounter them. Their fleet consisted of 130 ships, and was commanded by the same Hannibal who had escaped with his army by night from Agrigentum. His own vessel was a *septiremis*, or galley of seven banks of oars, belonging formerly to Pyrrhus King of Epirus. Y. R. 493
Bef. Chr.
259.
192d Cont

The Carthaginians greatly rejoiced when they descryed the Romans, whom they held in such extreme contempt, that they advanced with their prows directly upon them, careless of any order of battle, and dreaming of nothing but certain victory. But when they drew near, they became much astonished at the sight of the engines before mentioned, having never seen the like before, and not being able to conjecture the design of them. However, they staid not long in suspense, nor did the novelty of what they beheld lessen their presumption. The headmost of their vessels made a furious attack upon the Romans, who grappling with them by means of their engines, entered them at once, fighting upon deck hand to hand with their enemies, as upon firm ground. And now neither the lightness of the Carthaginian galleys, nor the skill of their mariners, availed any thing; all was carried by the advantage of weapon and superiority of valour, and both these were on the side of the Romans. The Carthaginians lost in this first encounter thirty of their vessels, of which Hannibal's galley was one, he himself escaping in a small boat, when he was by all given for lost. At length the rest of the fleet came up; but having perceived the terrible effect of the new engines in the defeat of their first squadron, they used all their endeavours to avoid them, nimbly rowing round the Roman galleys, to find an opportunity of attacking them with safety; but when they observed, that which way soever they approached, those machines were traversed and opposed to them, they were at length compelled to yield the honour of the day to the Romans, retiring with the loss of fifty more of their ships.

Hannibal with the remainder of his fleet stood away for Africk, but fearing lest crucifixion should be his fate, he sent before him one of his friends, a man well chosen for the commission, who being introduced into the Senate, *Your Admiral*, said he, *desires to know your opinion, whether, in case the Romans appear at sea with a numerous fleet, he should give them battle? Doubtless he ought to fight*, they all cried out unanimously. The messenger then added, *He has fought, and is vanquished*. And thus Hannibal escaped the danger that hung over him; for they were no longer free to condemn an action which they had already approved. Val. Max.
B. 7. ch.
3. in l. x.
term.

As for Duilius, the courage of whose men was greatly raised by their late surprising victory, he landed his forces on the island, and marched to the relief of Segesta, which the enemy at that time closely besieged. He not only forced them to raise the siege of this place, but took from them Macella by assault. After these exploits leaving the land-army behind him, he returned to Rome, to receive the recompence due to his valour and conduct. A victory at sea so unexpected, so complete, and so important, made all former victories at land to be in a manner forgot. Polyb. B. 1.
ch. 24.

Y. R. 473. The conqueror, beside the usual honour of the *Triumph*, which was decreed
 Bef. Chr. him, was suffered to assume a new one of his own invention. During the
 259. rest of his life, whenever he had supped abroad in the city, he caused him-
 193d Conf. self to be attended home with flambeaux and music. Medals were struck
 Cic in Cat. by the *Romans* to perpetuate the memory of his exploit; and to the same
 maj. end they erected in the *Forum* a † Rostral Pillar of white marble. This
 Florus, B. pillar was in the last century accidentally dug up out of the ground, in
 2. that part of *Rome* which was formerly the *Roman Forum*. There are yet
 † Columna the figures of six *Rostra*, or *Prows* of *Roman* galleys sticking to it, and a
 Restituta. long, but imperfect inscription on the pedestal.

C H A P. IV.

The sixth, seventh, and eighth Years of the War.

The Romans invade Corsica and Sardinia with success, reduce some places in Sicily, and come to an engagement at sea with the Carthaginians near Tyndaris.

Y. R. 474. THE Consuls for the following year were *L. Cornelius Scipio* and
 Bef. Chr. *C. Aquilius Florus*. While the former employed himself on the
 258. coast in getting the fleet ready for new enterprizes, the latter was de-
 193d Conf. tained at *Rome* on occasion of a conspiracy then on foot to plunder and
 Orosius, B. burn the city. Four thousand *Sammites* being appointed, contrary to their
 4. c. h. 7. inclination, to serve as rowers in the galleys, had united with three thou-
 Zhe. B. 8. sand discontented slaves in this design; but a certain commander of auxi-
 liaries, whom they had chosen to be their leader, and who seemed at first
 to go heartily into their measures, had no sooner learnt their whole secret,
 than he discovered it to the Senate, who took effectual care to avert the
 mischief and punish the offenders.

Before this domestick disturbance was quite over, *Cornelius* weighed anchor and put to sea. Ambitious of signalizing himself by some exploit yet unattempted, he made a descent first upon *Corsica*, and then upon *Sardinia*, and in a short time made considerable progress in the conquest of those islands, the possession of which was of great importance to the *Romans*, who now aspired to the empire of the seas.

Aquilius went late into *Sicily*. The affairs of the *Romans* had suffered much in that island since the departure of *Duilius*. For a dispute had arisen between the *Roman* and *Sicilian* troops about the post of honour; which dispute was carried so far as to produce a separation. *Hamilcar* (the *Carthaginian* General by land) who was then at *Panormus*, having intelligence of this division, surprized the *Sicilians* as they were about to encamp between *Paropus* and *Thermas*, and slew four thousand of them. He had also taken *Enna* and *Camarina*, and had fortified *Drepanum*.

Aquilius staid in the island all the winter in quality of Pro-Consul, and by his able conduct brought affairs into a better posture.

In

In the mean time his colleague held the *Comitia* for the new elections, where *A. Atilius Calatinus* and *C. Sulpicius Paterculus* were chosen Consuls. The command of the land-army fell to the former, the fleet to the latter. Soon after the arrival of *Calatinus* in *Sicily*, *Missastratum*, which the Proconsul *Aquilius* had reduced to the last extremity, surrendered to him. From thence he marched towards *Camarina*; but in his way, not taking sufficient precaution, he brought his army into a valley, where he was shut in, and surrounded by the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Hamilcar*. In this desperate situation *Calpurnius* ^b *Flamma*, a legionary Tribune, undertook, with the Consul's consent, an action of bravery much extolled by the historians. With three hundred chosen men, he, to make a diversion, seized an eminence, where he knew the *Carthaginians* would soon attack him, and from whence he could have little hope to escape. He promised himself, that by this motion he should give the enemy so much employment, that they would not be able to obstruct the Consul's march. The stratagem succeeded. The *Carthaginians*, in their attempt to dislodge him, met with so obstinate a resistance, that they were forced to bring almost the whole body of their army to the charge; and in the mean time the Consul with his legions got safely through the pass with little opposition. Of the three hundred *Romans* *Calpurnius* was the only person that escaped: He was found miserably wounded, but still breathing, under a heap of dead bodies, and his wounds being carefully dressed, he recovered. A *Crown of Gramen* was the reward of his exploit.

Calatinus after this escape continued his march towards *Camarina*, and by the help of engines, sent him by King *Iliero*, made himself master of it. *Enna* betrayed her garrison, and opened her gates to him. He took *Sittanum* by assault; and then many other towns surrendered without standing a siege, and, among the rest, *Erbesus* in the country of the *Agri- gentines*. Flushed with this success he undertook the siege of *Lipara*, expecting for the future to meet with no resistance wherever he appeared: But *Hamilcar* having got notice of his design, had stolen with some troops into the place; and when the *Romans*, who saw none but citizens upon the ramparts, confidently began to scale the walls, they were on a sudden surprized by a sally of the *Carthaginians*, and shamefully repulsed with considerable loss. And thus *Calatinus* finished his campaign, which by the mixture of good and bad success, gained him but little honour.

As for the other Consul, *Sulpicius*, he had conducted the fleet like an able commander. He had not only assisted his colleague in the reduction of the maritime towns of *Sicily*, but had much advanced the conquest of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. However, this did not satisfy his passion for glory; he burnt with a desire of distinguishing himself by a naval victory: And because no *Carthaginian* fleet appeared at sea, he spread a report, that he

¹ He is called by some writers *Cæditius*, by others *Luberius*.

Y. R. 495. intended to go and burn the ships of the *African* Republic in their harbours. This news alarmed the *Carthaginians*, and they trusted *Hannibal* once more with the command of a considerable fleet. He found *Sulpicius* with his not far from the coast of *Africa*. But when both sides were preparing for an engagement, a storm separated them, and drove the ships of both fleets into the ports of *Sardinia*. After this, *Sulpicius* surprized the *Carthaginian* admiral in a harbour of that island, and took many of his galleys; which misfortune begetting a mutiny in the remainder of his fleet, the mariners seized on his person, and crucified him.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 24.
Y. R. 496. The year following, when *C. Attilius Regulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio* were Consuls, the former being with the fleet at *Tyndaris*, descried the *Carthaginian* fleet standing along the coast in a confused and careless manner, whereupon he hastened with a squadron of ten galleys to give them chase, directing at the same time the rest of his ships to follow him. The *Carthaginians* observing that the detached squadron was advanced a good distance from the enemies main fleet, tacked about on a sudden, and surrounding the ten ships, quickly sunk them all, except the admiral galley, which escaped only by her lightness, and the force of her oars. But the rest of the *Roman* fleet coming up soon after in order of battle, amply revenged this disgrace; for the *Carthaginians* were forced to fly to the island of *Lipara* with the loss of eighteen of their vessels, of which eight were sunk, and the other ten taken.

Little was performed this year by land, the armies engaging in no action of importance, and the contending powers being chiefly solicitous about the increase of their naval strength, which for good reason, as we shall presently see, was by each side deemed to be more than ever its principal affair. 17378.

C H A P. V.

The ninth Year of the War.

The Romans, under the conduct of *Marcus Attilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius*, defeat the *Carthaginians* in the memorable sea-fight of *Ecnomus*; after which they make a descent upon *Africa*. *Carthage*, though reduced to great extremity, rejects the hard conditions of peace proposed by *Regulus*.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 26.
THE struggle between the rival Republics for the dominion of *Sicily* had now lasted eight years, and *Carthage* had already lost the greater part of her acquisitions in that island, when the *Romans*, to make her relinquish the rest, undertook to transfer the war into *Africa*. They imagined, that they should hereby reduce the *Carthaginians* to the necessity of calling home all their forces for the defence of their own country. The naval preparations of the *Romans* the last year had been wholly in view to the execution of this design; and the fleet which they now put to sea under

Under the command of their new Consuls, *Marcus Attilius* || *Regulus* and *L. Manlius*, was suitable to the importance of the enterprize; for it consisted of no less than 330 ships of war.

Y. R. 497.
Ref. Chr.
255.
196 Conf.

On the other hand the *Carthaginians*, who well knew how easy it was for an enemy, who had once got footing in their country, to subdue the inhabitants on the coast, and to march even to the walls of *Carthage*, had determined to exert their utmost strength in opposing the intended descent. Fully bent upon a sea-engagement, they had equipped a fleet that was still more numerous than that of the *Romans*. They arrived at *Lilybæum* with 350 galleys. From this place they went afterwards to *Ileraclea Minoa*, where they staid at anchor, waiting the motions of the enemy.

|| 2. J. time.

The *Roman* fleet had touched at *Messina*, and had thence steered its course along the coast of *Sicily* that lay to the right, and having doubled the promontory of *Packinum*, was come to *Ecnomus*, where their land-forces then were. From these the Consuls selected the ablest of the soldiers for the present service, providing all things necessary either for a battle with the enemy by sea, if it should be offered, or to make an irruption into *Africa*, if their voyage thither should not be obstructed. Each galley in the *Roman* fleet had 300 rowers and 120 soldiers, so that the whole army amounted to near 140,000 men. As the *Carthaginians* exceeded their enemies in number of ships, so was their army proportionably greater, consisting of above 150,000 mariners and soldiers. And now, says *Polybius*, who could behold, or but barely hear of such fleets and armies, and of the hazard to which these contending States were exposed, without being astonished at the mightiness of their power, and without taking part in the danger with which they threatened each other?

Ecnomus was not far from *Ileraclea*; the two parties were obstinately determined, the one to *invade*, the other to *defend*; it was easy therefore to foresee they would soon come to a battle.

The *Romans* considering the advantage which the *Carthaginians* had over them in the lightness and ready working of their galleys, took especial care to draw up their fleet, that it should be difficult to break its order. They divided their ships into four squadrons, to three of which they gave the names of *the first*, *the second*, and *the third fleet*; and these, in three lines, composed the form of a wedge or triangle, pointing towards the enemy.

The *first fleet* to the right, and the *second* to the left (keeping the prows of their vessels turned outwards) made the sides of the triangle; and at the head of these two lines, that is, at the point where they met, were the Consuls *Regulus* and *Manlius*, in two galleys abreast of each other. The *third fleet* made the base of the triangle, and towed the vessels of burden, which carried the horses and baggage.

In the rear of all was the fourth division, which they called the *Triarii*, a term taken from the land-forces. This squadron was drawn up

in

R. 497.
L. Clu.
755.
a. Conf. in a line parallel to the base of the triangle, but was stretched so far in length, that its two extremities extended a good way beyond those of the base.

The several divisions of the *Roman* fleet being thus disposed, the whole, says *Polybius*, was fit for action, and very difficult to be broken.

106 B. 1.
27.

The *Carthaginian* fleet was commanded by *Hanno*, who had succeeded so ill during the siege of *Agrirentum*, and by *Hamilcar*, who had fought near *Tyndaris*. These admirals observing how the *Roman* galleys were drawn up, and rightly conjecturing the intention of such a disposition, turned their thoughts to disappoint it, by the order in which they should dispose their own vessels, and by stratagem. Having divided their whole fleet into four squadrons, they drew three of them up in one long line frontways, their prows pointing directly on the enemy. *Hanno* was with the squadron which formed the right of this line, and which stretched a great way out into the sea. He had with him all the best rowing galleys, such as were proper to attack and retreat, and could row round the *Romans* at pleasure. *Hamilcar* was with the squadron in the left of the line. The third squadron, which made the center, was designedly drawn up very thin, that the *Romans* might be tempted to begin the attack there, in which case this squadron had orders to retreat, thereby to engage the *Roman* galleys, which made the two sides of their triangle, in a pursuit, which would separate them from the base.

The fourth division of the *Carthaginian* fleet, in form of a Tenaile, kept close under the shore which lay to the left of their long line of battle.

The stratagem above mentioned, and which *Polybius* imputes to *Hamilcar*, succeeded. The *Romans* began their attack on the *Carthaginians* in the middle of their line. The galleys that were attacked pretended to fly through fear, and the assailants, that is to say, the first and second fleets of the *Romans*, pursuing them warmly, disjoined themselves from their third fleet (which towed the baggage) and from the *Triarians* in the rear of all.

When the *Carthaginians* judged that the first and second fleets of the *Romans* were sufficiently distanced from the rest, the signal was given from *Hamilcar's* galley; whereupon those that were chased by the *Romans* immediately tacked, and made head against the pursuers, *Hamilcar* with his squadron charging them at the same time. And now the battle grew warm; for though the *Carthaginians* had the advantage in the lightness and ready working of their vessels, yet the *Romans* lost not their assurance of success in the end; they found themselves better men when they came to the sword's point, and they had great trust in their engines, with which they grappled and boarded the enemy; besides, the soldiers were animated by the presence of their Generals, in whose eye they fought, and who themselves engaged in equal hazard with the rest.

c. 28.

During this conflict, *Hanno*, who commanded the squadron which had formed the right of the *Carthaginian* line, bearing down upon the *Roman* *Triarians*,

Triarians attacked them vigorously, and succeeded so well, as to reduce them to very great extremities. Y. R. 497.
Bel. Chr.
136 Conf.

At the same time the fourth Squadron of the *Carthaginians*, which in form of a *Tenail* had been posted close under the shore, ranged themselves into a front, and advanced against that Squadron of the *Romans* which they called their *third fleet*, and which had made the base of their triangle. This fleet was therefore obliged to cast off the vessels they had in tow, which having done, they received the *Carthaginians*, and fought them with great bravery. So that now might be seen three naval battles at one and the same instant.

The fortune of the day was for some time doubtful, and would at length have infallibly declared for the *Carthaginians*, if *Hamilcar's* courage had been equal to his skill in stratagem, and if, with his two squadrons of the left and the center, he had only maintained the fight against the *first* and *second fleets* of the *Romans*, so as to hinder them from going to the assistance of their other fleets; but he, after some loss, shamefully fled out of the battle. And now while *Manlius* employed himself in towing away such ships as had been taken, *Regulus*, who perceived the great danger the *Triarians* were in from *Hanno's* attack, advanced with all diligence to their relief, taking with him those ships of his colleague's squadron which had not suffered any thing in the engagement with *Hamilcar*. The *Triarians* hereupon, though now almost quite vanquished, recovered heart, and renewed the battle with alacrity. *Hanno* seeing himself thus assaulted, contrary to all expectation, both in front and rear, betook himself to his oars, and made off to sea, yielding the day to the *Romans*.

About the same time *Manlius* coming up, and joining *Regulus*, they both hastened to the succour of their *third fleet*, which had been forced under the shore by the *fourth Squadron* of the enemy, and was in a manner besieged there. This *third fleet* would have been in great danger of destruction, before the Consuls could have come to its rescue, if the *Carthaginians* had had the courage to push their advantage; but their dread of being grappled by the *Corvi*, and of coming to a close fight with the *Romans*, was so great, that they contented themselves with driving their enemies against the shore, and there keeping them beset. And now they were themselves entirely surrounded by the *Romans*, who took fifty of their ships with all their equipage. Such was the event of this last combat in particular. The *Romans*, every where victors, took in all sixty-four of the *Carthaginian* galleys, and sunk thirty. Of their own fleet they lost but twenty-four galleys, and these perished against the shore, not one was taken.

The Consuls, after this victory, returned into the ports of *Sicily* to take provisions and fresh troops, and prepare anew for a descent upon *Africa*. Polyb. B.
1. c. 29.

Whilst they were thus employed, *Hanno* made no scruple to go in person to amuse them by conferences about peace, which *Hamilcar* had refused

Y. R. 497. fufed to do, for fear he fhould be treated as the *Carthaginians* had treated
 Def. Chr. *Cornelius Afina* five years before. *Hanno's* confidence was founded upon
 255. a different judgment of the temper of the *Romans*; and experience on
 196 Conf. the prefent occafion fhewed that he judged rightly. For when a certain
 legionary Tribune cried out, *That he ought to be detained prifoner by way*
of reprisal for the treachery praftifed towards Cornelius, both the *Consuls*
 immediately ordered him f Silence; and then turning to *Hanno*, *The faith of*
Rome fecures thee from that fear. The *Carthaginian* was difmiffed
 in fafety, but his propofals were rejected, and the *Consuls* purfued their
 enterprize.

Polyb. B. The *Romans* had a fortunate voyage, and landed in the neighbourhood
 1. c. 29. of *Clypea*, near the promontory of *Mercury*. Having made themfelves
 mafters of that town, they would not advance any further till they had
 received frefh inftructions from *Rome*: For fuch was the dependance of
 the *Consuls* upon the Senate at this time, that they did little more than
 execute the orders of the Fathers; moft of whom being experienced fol-
 diers, and having commanded armies, were very capable of directing
 the conduct of their Generals. The *Consuls* however did not continue
 in a perfect inaction; they fortified *Clypea* after the *Roman* manner, and
 detached parties to ravage the rich territory all around, and plunder the
 fine houfes of the *Carthaginian* nobles. Thefe detachments, meeting no
 oppofition, brought away an immense booty, befides 20,000 prifoners, who
 were made flaves.

When the *Consuls* meffenger came back from *Rome*, he brought or-
 ders for *Manlius* to return to *Italy* with the fleet, and for *Regulus* to
 continue in *Africa* with a fufficient number of troops to carry on the war.
 The people of *Rome* depended greatly on the courage and abilities of
Regulus, and the city was in univerfal joy upon the publifhing of this
 regulation. But when the news of it came to *Regulus*, he was much af-
 flicted. His pretext was, the bad condition of his little farm of feven
 acres of land. He reprefented to the Senate, that upon the death of the
 A. U. Max. husbandman, to whom he had committed the care of his farm, the ma-
 8. c. 6. nagement of it had fallen to a day-labourer, who had fince ftolen his in-
 ftruments of husbandry, and carried off all his ftock; fo that his prefence
 was neceffary at home to provide for the fubfiftence of his wife and chil-
 dren. Upon this the Senate gave orders that his loffes fhould be re-
 paired, his farm taken care of, and his family maintained at the public
 Polyb. B. expence; but he himfelf was directed to ftay in *Africa*. *Manlius*
 1. c. 29. leaving behind him forty fhips, 15,000 foot, and 500 horfe, returned to
Italy with the reft of the army, and with all the prifoners which had been
 taken upon the continent of *Africa*.

Regulus made incurfions into the country, and pushed on his conquelts
 with prodigious rapidity. All the towns in his way, that were unfor-
 tified,

Flor. B. 2. ^a *Regulus*, in the progress of his conquelts, river that difcharged itfelf into the fea not
 Zon. B. 8. encamping on the banks of the *Bagrada*, a far from *Carthage*, is faid by many au-
 thors

lified, he took by assault, and those that were fortified, by siege; and now at length he sat down before *Adis*, a city of great importance, and pressed the siege of it with vigour.

Y. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.
245.
296 Conf.

Hitherto the *Carthaginians* had brought no army into the field to oppose his progress. Upon the first notice of their terrible defeat at sea, apprehending a sudden invasion from the *Romans*, they had dispatched away some troops to keep guard upon the coast; but this care was over, so soon as they learnt that the *Romans* were landed. They proceeded therefore with all possible application to reinforce their army with new levies, and make due provision both for strengthening the city, and securing the country. They named two Generals to command their forces, *Bostar*, and *Asdrubal* the son of *Hanno*; they afterwards sent orders to *Hamilcar*, who was then at *Heraclea*, to return home with all expedition. *Hamilcar* brought with him to *Carthage* 5000 foot and 500 horie, and being there named third General of the Republic, and having consulted with *Asdrubal*, it was determined no longer to endure that the *Romans* should make such spoil upon the country, and to hasten to the relief of *Adis*. They advanced with their army, and entamped upon an eminence, which, tho' it overlooked the *Roman* camp, was a very incommo- dious situation; for, as their greatest strength lay in their horie and ele- phants, to abandon the plain country, and post themselves in high and steep places, where neither elephants nor horie could be of any use to them, was in effect to point out to their enemies the method to destroy them. *Regulus*, who saw their mistake, gave them no time to rectify it. At break of day he marched against the enemy, his troops ascending the hill on both sides. The mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* behaved them- selves gallantly on this occasion, and repulsed the first legion of the *Romans* which charged them in front; but being presently after attacked in the rear by the soldiers who had got up the hill on the other side, they could no longer maintain the fight. The whole army disbanded itself, and in the utmost confusion fled out of the camp. The elephants and the horie, which had been wholly useless during the action, gained the champaign country and escaped. The *Romans* having pursued the foot for some space, returned and pillaged the camp; after which they proceeded to make incursions as before, spoiling the country, and taking towns without opposition. Among others, they seized upon *Tunes*, and there

Val. Max. B. 1. thors to have met there
Gell. B. 6. with a monstrous serpent of
Plin. B. 8. 120 feet long, which much

infested his army, seizing his men, and swallowing them whole when they went to draw water. The skin of this animal was so tough, and its scales so thick, as to be impenetrable by the *Roman* weapons, inasmuch that they were forced to employ their battering-engines, called *Bal-*

istæ, to destroy it. And even when they had killed it, the stench of its carcase infected the air and the water to such a degree, that the *Romans* were forced to decamp. Many other extraordinary things are related by the historians of this serpent, which was proba- bly nothing more than an overgrown croco- dile, a creature common in *Africa*, but to which the *Romans* were at this time stran- gers. *Catrou.*

Y. R. 497.
 Bel. Chr.
 255.
 196 Conf.

Polyb. B.
 1. c. 31.

they pitched their camp within the walls of it; this being of all places the most commodious for distressing *Carthage* itself, and the country about it. The *Carthaginians*, who had so unfortunately managed their affairs both by sea and land, not so much through the cowardice of their armies, as the insufficiency of their chiefs, began now to despair. For over and above the calamities that have been related, the *Numidians*, their implacable enemies, taking advantage of the present troubles, had entered their provinces with fire and sword, and compelled the inhabitants to fly for refuge to the capital, whither they brought both fear and famine, a mighty multitude of all sorts flocking at once thither.

It is not surprizing therefore, if in such extremity the *Carthaginians* were overjoyed to receive a message from the *Roman* General, exhorting them to think of an accommodation. What moved *Regulus* to make this step was the apprehension left a successor, who was expected from *Rome*, should deprive him of the glory of putting an end to the war. The Senate of *Carthage* with great readiness dispatched away some of their principal citizens to confer with him; but these were so far from yielding to his proposals, that they could not with patience even hear them mentioned. For *Regulus* would have had them esteem it as a singular grace and benefit, that he granted them peace upon any terms whatsoever; and those he demanded were so infamous for the *Carthaginians*, that in their imagination nothing worse could befall them, should they be entirely conquered. The deputies therefore returned to *Carthage*, not only without having consented to any thing, but full of indignation at the intolerable insolence of the *Roman*. The Senate likewise, when the report was made to them of what had passed at the conference, shewed so much courage and greatness of mind, that tho' they were almost at the brink of despair, they determined rather to abide any adversity which their worst fortune could bring upon them, than stain the nobility of their name and actions by so shameful a treaty.

C H A P. VI.

Xantippus, a Commander of Greek mercenaries in the service of Carthage, by his excellent advice and conduct gives a wonderful turn to affairs in Africa. The Roman army is totally defeated, and Regulus taken prisoner.

c. 34. **I**N the height of this distress, to which the victories and obdurate pride of *Regulus* had reduced the *Carthaginians*, there fortunately arrived at *Carthage* a body of recruits which they had hired in *Greece*. Among these was a certain *Lacedemonian* named *Xantippus*, an officer well skilled in military affairs according to the *Spartan* discipline. This man having informed himself of the circumstances of the late overthrow, and of the number of horse and elephants which yet remained, concluded within himself, and freely said it among his friends, that the *Carthaginians* had

not been vanquished by the enemy, but by the ignorance of their own leaders. This discourse, being spread among the people, came at length to the ears of the magistrates, who thereupon commanded him to be brought before the great council. *Xantippus* offered such strong reasons in support of what he had advanced, that it was impossible to resist the force of them. He shewed plainly, that if instead of encamping upon the high grounds, they would keep in the open champaign country, they might not only banish all fear of the enemy, but even be assured of victory. The whole assembly, the Generals not excepted, applauded what he said, and it was unanimously agreed to place him at the head of their troops; the only example of the kind in all history, and a sure proof that the *Carthaginians* were in the utmost perplexity and consternation.

Y. R. 497
Bef. Chr.
255.
196 Cont

The soldiers had already begun to conceive a favourable opinion of this stranger, and to hope for some advantage from him: but when, after he had led them without the walls of the city, they saw in what manner he drew them up, and the new exercise he taught them according to his rules, displaying such a skill in the art of war, as they had never seen in any of their former Generals, they were quite transported with joy; they pressed earnestly to be led against the enemy, being assured that they could not fail of success under the conduct of *Xantippus*. The army in a few days began to march. It consisted of 12,000 foot, 4000 horse, and about 100 elephants.

The *Romans* were at first a little struck with the novelty, to see their enemies boldly marching in the open flat country, but having no doubt as to the event, they advanced with all expedition to meet them, and incamped within about 1200 paces of them. Next day, the *Carthaginians* held a council of war, to determine how they should proceed, while the soldiers assembling in great numbers, and proclaiming every where the name of *Xantippus*, demanded with much earnestness to be led against the enemy. The officers observing this forwardness of the army to fight; and being urged by the pressing instances of *Xantippus* not to let the ardour of the soldiers cool without action, directions were presently given to prepare for battle, and the whole conduct of it was committed to the *Spartan*, who disposed his troops in the following manner.

He drew up all his elephants in one rank, and behind these, at a reasonable distance, he placed the *Carthaginian* infantry in one phalanx. The foreign troops were posted one part of them in the same line with the phalanx, to the right of it; the other part, composed of light-armed soldiers, was placed in the intervals of the squadrons of horse, which made the two wings of the army.

On the part of the *Romans*, as the chief care of *Regulus* was to guard against the elephants, he to this end placed in front his *Velites*, or light-armed soldiers, that these with their darts or other missive weapons might drive back those huge beasts upon the enemy, or at least hinder them from rushing with their usual violence upon the legions. It was also out

of

Y. R. 497. of fear of the same animals, that he made his battalions deeper in file
 Bel. Chr. than he had been accustomed to do; an excellent precaution, says Poly-
 195 Cont. ²⁵⁵bius, against the shock of the elephants; but then, by narrowing his front,
 he left himself more exposed to be attacked in flank by the enemies ca-
 valry, which greatly outnumbered his.

It does not appear of what number of men *Regulus's* army consisted; but supposing him to have lost none of those which his colleague left him, they amounted but to 15,000 foot and 500 horse.

Polyb. B.
 l. c. 34.

The two armies being thus drawn up, and the signal being given by *Xantippus*, the first onset was made by the elephants, which met with little resistance from the *Velites*, that they presently broke into the Roman main body, making great destruction amongst the foremost ranks of it. However the rest of that body stood firm for some time, by reason of its depth. But the *Carthaginian* horse, having quickly driven those of *Regulus* out of the field, began now to charge his battalions both in flank and rear, which put them into great distress, for they were forced to face every way, and could neither pass forward, nor yet retire, and had much to do, to make good the ground on which they stood. In the mean while such of the *Romans*, as with great difficulty had made their way through the elephants, and had left them at their backs; met with the *Carthaginian* phalanx, which not having yet engaged, and being therefore quite fresh and in good array, obtained an easy victory over a body of men already in disorder, and wearied with wounds and labour. These being entirely cut off, and the phalanx advancing, there was no longer any resource for the *Romans*. Surrounded on all sides, the greater part of them were crushed to death by the enormous weight of the elephants, or slain in their ranks by the arrows of the horse. Some attempted to escape by flight, but being in an open country, they were easily overtaken by the cavalry, and either cut off, or made prisoners. Five hundred who followed *Regulus* fell alive with him into the enemies hands ^b.

Of the whole *Roman* army there escaped only 2000 men, who had been posted in the left point of their main body, and who in the beginning of the action, to avoid the shock of the elephants, had wheeled round them, and charged the mercenaries that were to the right of the enemies phalanx, putting them to flight, and pursuing them even to their intrenchments. These 2000, as it were by miracle, got safely to *Clypea*, when the rest were all slain or taken.

On the enemies side were killed but 800 men, of whom the greater part were of those mercenaries that had been attacked by the 2000 *Romans*.

^b Chevalier *Folard* is of opinion, that the loss of this battle was wholly owing to the mistake of *Regulus*, in not leaving (as *Scipio* did afterwards at the battle of *Zama*) sufficient spaces between the columns of his main body, for the elephants to pass freely through them. That if, by this precaution, the Ro-

man infantry had shunned the mischiefs, which for want of it they suffered from the elephants, they would have had nothing to fear from the *Carthaginian* horse, which could have made no impression on them, (formed as they were) even after the *Roman* cavalry were driven out of the field.

The *Carthaginians*, having spoiled the dead, marched back to their city, leading in triumph the Roman General and the 500 other prisoners.

Whoever, says *Polybius*, reflects seriously on this adventure, will gather from it excellent instruction for the conduct of human life. The misfortune of *Regulus* affords us an admirable lesson of moderation, and teaches us to be always on our guard against the inconstancy of fortune. We see him who but a few days before was so elated by success, so haughty and inexorable, reduced at once to be the scorn of a people whom he had despised and insulted, and to stand in need of that clemency from his enemies, which he had with pitiless pride refused them in their misery. We learn wisdom, says our author, two ways; by our own experience, and by the experience of others. The first is the more convincing, but the other is the easier and safer. And this is the great benefit we reap from the study of History. Without any peril to ourselves, we gather rules of conduct from a view of the miscarriages and misfortunes of other men.

Polybius also observes, that the event which has been just related, confirms that saying of *Euripides*, *That one wise Head is of more value than a great many Hands*. For it is manifest in the case now before us, that the counsel and abilities of one single person subdued the Roman legions that were esteemed invincible, restored a sinking and despairing Commonwealth, and revived the courage of a spiritless army, grown stupid by their defeats.

The *Carthaginians*, whose affairs had prospered to their wish, expressed their joy by solemn thanksgivings to the Gods, and by congratulations and mutual good offices to one another. As for *Xantippus*, who had had so great share in restoring the Commonwealth, he shortly after (an admirable example of judgment and wisdom) took his leave and departed from *Carthage*, well foreseeing that his services, too great for a reward, would draw upon him both envy and calumny, against which a native perhaps might have been able to guard himself by the means of relations and friends, but which would in all probability bring ruin upon a stranger, who had nothing to support him but his merit.

Polybius tells us, that some authors give a different account of *Xantippus's* departure, and promises to take notice of it in another place: but that part of his history has not been transmitted to us. According to *Appian*, the *Carthaginians*, fearing lest the honour of the victory should be ascribed to the *Lacedæmonians*, feigned a gratification of their General, made him magnificent presents, and appointed a convoy of their own ships to conduct him to *Sparta*, but with secret instructions to the commanders of the galleys to throw him and his *Lacedæmonians* over-board, so soon as they could come into the open sea. Such, says our author, was the end of *Xantippus*, and such the recompence he received for so noble an exploit. But surely this is a very senseless account, or the *Carthaginians* must have been a very senseless as well as ungrateful people, first to do publick honour to the *Spartan*, as the known and undoubted

V. R. 497.
Bef. Chr.

255.
196 Conf.

c. 35.

ch. 36.

Appian
De Bell.
Pun. l. 2.

Y. R. 497. doubted author of the victory, and then to imagine they could rob him
 Bel. Chr. of that glory, and conceal their obligation to him, by treacherously
 255. throwing him into the sea.
 196 Conf.

C H A P. VII.

From the 9th to the 14th Year of the War.

The Romans, after the misfortune of Regulus, vanquish the Carthaginians in a sea-engagement on the coast of Africa; but withdraw their forces from that country. In their return home they lose their own fleet by tempest. They build a new one, and this is also destroyed by the like misfortune. Hereupon they resolve to think no more of naval enterprizes; but after two years, in which their land-forces perform nothing of moment, they change that resolution, and, while a third fleet is building, they gain a signal victory at land over the Carthaginians, near Panormus.

Polyb. R.
 c. 36.

THE Romans, having received an account of the miserable condition of their affairs in *Africa*, applied themselves with all diligence to repair and equip their fleet in order to rescue out of danger the 2000 soldiers, who after the late battle had escaped to *Clypea*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, to reduce those remains of *Regulus's* army, laid siege to that place, and used their utmost efforts to carry it; but so brave and so obstinate was the resistance they met with, that they were forced at length to abandon the enterprize and retire. And now hearing of the naval preparations of the *Romans*, for a new expedition to *Africa*, they fitted out in a short time about 200 galleys, and put to sea to watch the arrival of the enemy.

Y. R. 498.
 Bel. Chr.
 254.
 197 Conf.

Early in the summer, the new Consuls *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, with a fleet of 350 sail appeared off the promontory of *Mercury*, and there came to an engagement with the *Carthaginians*, who, not being able to sustain the very first shock, were entirely defeated, and lost 114 of their vessels. The *Romans* pursued their course, arrived at *Clypea*, took the garrison on board, and then steered back towards *Sicily*.

They

* There are two parts of the *Roman* conduct in this war, which Mr. *Rollin* and Chevalier *Folard* think very hard to be accounted for.

1. Why did the *Romans*, after their victory at sea near *Ecnomus*, and the fortunate descent made in *Africa* in consequence of that victory, leave so small a number of troops under *Regulus* to carry on the war in that country?

Mr. *Rollin* says, it was a manifest renouncing of the advantages gained by sea;

and the Chevalier declares, that it is enough to distract a commentator, and wonders that *Polybius* makes no remark on this strange proceeding.

Again, 2. Why did the *Romans*, just after this new victory at sea, near the coast of *Africa*, entirely abandon that country, instead of attempting to complete the conquest of it? *Polybius* relates this fact also without any remark upon it, to the great amazement of Chevalier *Folard*.

But as to both these difficulties, may it not

They had a prosperous voyage till they came near the *Sicilian* coast, in the territory of *Camarina*; but then so terrible a tempest overtook them, as no words are able to describe. Of above 400 vessels, only four-score escaped destruction; the rest either foundered at sea, or were dashed to pieces against the rocks; so that the whole coast from *Camarina* to cape *Packynum* was covered with dead bodies and fragments of ships. History affords no example of a more deplorable shipwreck. And this calamity was owing, not to fortune, but to the obstinacy of the Consuls. For the pilots had often represented to them, that the season was come when it was no longer safe to navigate on that coast of *Sicily* which looks towards *Africa*: but they being full of expectation, that the towns situate thereon, terrified by the late victory, would readily submit to them on their first appearance; despised the admonition, to pursue an interest that was by no means worthy of the hazard. But such, as *Polybius* tells us, was the character of the *Romans*; impetuous, presumptuous, and obli-

Y. R. 498.
Bef. Chr.
254.
197 Conf.

c. 37.

not be answered, that the only object of the *Romans* in this war, was the conquest of *Sicily*? To alarm *Carthage*, and induce her to withdraw her forces out of that island, are the reasons assigned by *Polybius* for the descent made by the *Romans* on *Africa*. But they were disappointed as to the effect of this measure; for the *Carthaginians* judging by the small army left with *Regulus*, that the enemy, in making their descent, had no farther view, than to cause a diversion, did not recall their troops out of *Sicily*; but seeing, as *Polybius* says, that the war would go on slowly, named two Generals, *Bothar* and *Abdrubal*, to command the forces they had at home; and when afterwards *Hamilcar* was sent for from *Sicily* to join those Generals, he brought with him but 5500 men.

It is plain therefore from the conduct of both the contending powers, that neither the *Romans* intended, nor the *Carthaginians* feared, any serious attempt upon *Carthage* by *Regulus*, when he began the war in *Africa*.

But why did not the *Romans* resolve to attempt *Carthage* after the victory at *Ecnomus*? I answer: Because from their knowledge of its great strength, and of the many resources its prodigious wealth furnished, they judged the conquest of it impracticable at this time, and before *Sicily* was subdued. And that they judged right, one may fairly conclude from *Polybius's* not reproving their policy, and from the difficulties they afterwards met with in that enterprise, even when masters of *Sicily*, and of all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*.

But after the total defeat of *Regulus's* army by means of the elephants, the difficulty of succeeding in an *African* war was become infinitely great. We find, that the legions were possessed with such a dread of those animals, that for some years they durst not come to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginians* even in *Sicily*, where the *Romans* had many advantages which they must have wanted in *Africa*.

In a word, *Sicily* was the present object of the *Roman* ambition, and the only reasonable object it could now have; and we shall see by what follows, that they had need of all their forces for the reduction of this island: so that their leaving *Africa* after the victory at sea by *Fulcius* and *Emilius*, ought not perhaps to have so greatly astonished the Chevalier *Folard*.

If we may credit some authors, we have a shorter way of getting rid of the Chevalier's difficulties, which is, to deny the facts that give occasion to them. According to these writers, *Regulus's* army was not so inconsiderable, as from *Polybius's* account it seems to have been. *Appian* and *Orosius* make it 30,000 strong; and *Entropius* reckons 47,000 men, of whom 30,000 were slain, and 15,000 taken prisoner, in the battle with *Xanthippus*.

And as to the *Romans* quitting *Africa* after the victory at sea by *Fulcius* and *Emilius*, the last named author [*Entropius*] represents them, not as making this retreat by choice, but as being constrained to it by famine.

Y. R. 498.
Bef. Chr.
197 Conf.²⁵⁴ nate, they would carry every thing by mere violence; they would force all nature to their will: to them nothing was impossible which they could desire; nay, it must of necessity come to pass, if they had once decreed that it should be done. And indeed, *adds our author*, in their enterprizes by land, and where they had to do only with men and the works of men, this inflexible audaciousness of spirit for the most part (not always) carried them through every obstacle to the end proposed; but in their naval expeditions, when they foolishly imagined that the winds and the seas must be complaisant to their wishes and projects, they were sure to be chastised for their overweening presumption; and of this they had frequent experience.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 38. The Romans, though extremely afflicted, were not discouraged by the ruin of their fleet; they ordered a new one of 220 sail to be speedily built; and, which is almost incredible, this powerful armament was completely equipped in three months time.

Y. R. 499.
Bef. Chr.
198 Conf.²⁵³ The Consular *Fasces* had been transferred to *A. Atilius* and *Cn. Cornelius Asina* (the same *Cornelius* who was formerly made prisoner at *Lipara*, and had lived some time in captivity.) These commanders having passed the *Streights* with the new fleet, and touched at *Messina* to take with them the eighty vessels which had escaped the late storm, shaped their course for *Cephaledium*, which was delivered to them by treachery; thence they sailed to *Drepanum*, and began to besiege it; but upon succours being brought thither by *Carthalo* the *Carthaginian* General (who had retaken *Agigentum*, and demolished the walls of it) they drew off and sailed to *Panormus*, which, according to *Polybius*, was then the capital city of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. The Consuls besieged this place, and having carried the out-works by assault, the besieged capitulated, and surrendered the town. The inhabitants of *Selinus*, *Tyndaris*, and other places, did the like, having first driven out the *Carthaginian* garrisons. After these conquests, the Romans leaving a strong body of troops in *Panormus*, returned to *Rome*.

Y. R. 500.
Bef. Chr.
199 Conf.²⁵² Early the next summer the succeeding Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* and *C. Sempronius*, sailed over to *Sicily* with all their naval force, and from thence soon after stood for the coast of *Africa*, where they made several descents, and brought away some booty, but performed nothing of moment. Coming at length near the island of the *Lotophagi*, (which was called *Melinix*,) not far from the lesser *Syrtis*; and, being unacquainted with the coast, they ran upon some banks of sand, and there stuck fast: the sea ebbing left them dry, and they were utterly at a loss what to do, apprehending the destruction of the whole fleet. But the flood returning some hours after, and they lightning the vessels by throwing their booty overboard, made a shift to get off. Immediately they stood away for *Sicily*, as if they were flying before an enemy, and, having doubled the cape of *Lilybaeum*, arrived safely in the port of *Panormus*. But from thence steering their course homewards at a time unskilfully chosen, they lost 150 of their vessels by a storm that overtook them in the passage.

. So terrible a destruction of two fleets by tempest totally discouraged the Romans from all naval enterprizes. No more than sixty vessels were to be equipped for the future, and these were to be employed only to transport the troops with the baggage and ammunition into *Sicily*. Their thirst of glory and empire was not abated, but they determined to rely wholly on their land-forces for the atchievement of the conquest they had in view. This conquest however could not be effected by land-armies alone, while the maritime towns in the possession of the *Carthaginians* were open to receive provisions and recruits by sea, as occasion should require. Nay, ever since the defeat of *Regulus* by means of the elephants, the *Roman* soldiers were afraid of coming to any engagement by land, where they should have to do with those huge and furious animals.

The *Carthaginians* had dispatched *Asdrubal* with 140 elephants to *Lilybaeum*, and had strengthened the army which was there with troops drawn from other places; and they had sent after him 200 ships of war. *Asdrubal*, after his arrival, having first applied himself diligently to discipline his soldiers and elephants, had boldly taken the field with a resolution to offer the enemy battle. But though the armies were on several occasions encamped within five or six furlongs of each other, sometimes in the territory of *Selinus*, sometimes about *Lilybaeum*, the *Romans* for the space of two years together had not once the resolution to come to an engagement with the enemy; nor durst they descend into the open champaign country. So that during the Consulship of *C. Aurelius*^b and *P. Servilius*, and that of *L. Cecilius Metellus* and *C. Furius*, no progress was made in their affairs, except the taking of two towns, which they could besiege, still keeping themselves posted in high and inaccessible places. This terror among the legions made the Senate of *Rome* at length change their measures, and resolve to try their fortune once more at sea. And accordingly, after the election of *C. Atilius* and *L. Manlius* to the Consulate, they ordered the building fifty new vessels, and that suitable levies should be made of men fit for that service.

In the mean time *Asdrubal* having observed the dread that possessed the *Roman* army, whenever he presented them battle; and having intelligence that *Furius* was returned to *Rome* with ore half of the army, and that *Cecilius* with the other was at *Panormus* to protect his allies while they gathered in their harvest, he marched from *Lilybaeum*, and came with all his forces to the borders of the territory of *Panormus*, hoping to provoke *Cecilius* to fight. But the *Romans*, who well understood his own business, kept close within the town, and pretending fear, suffered the *Carthaginians* to advance, and pillage the country without opposition, till with all their elephants they had passed a river which ran within a mile of the place. He then sent out some light-armed troops, to skirmish and

^b In this Consulate *Tib. Coruncanius* was chosen *Pontifex Maximus*, the first instance of a Plebeian raised to that high station.

Y. R. 500.
Bet. Ch.
252.
199 Conf.

Y. of R.
501.
Y. of R.
502.

Y. of R.
503.
|| A 2d time.
† A 2d time.
6 40.

N. R. 693.
E. I. Car.
249
262d Conf

draw the enemy farther on; supporting his first detachment by others, as occasion required, till by this management he had brought the whole *Carthaginian* army as near the town as he wished them to be. At a proper distance from the walls he had caused a trench to be cut, which the elephants could by no means pass; and he had given his dartmen orders, in case those animals advanced against them, to retire by slow degrees till they came to that trench, into which they were then to leap down, and from thence to gaul the elephants with their darts as much as possibly they could. He ordered the town's people at the same time to furnish themselves with great quantities of darts, and post themselves at the foot of the walls. *Cæcilius* himself, with the main body of his forces, remained in readiness at a certain gate of the town, which was opposite to the left wing of the enemy. When the battle grew warm, the leaders of the elephants, being desirous to have the chief honour of the victory, advanced in order upon the *Romans*, whom, retiring before them, they pursued to the very brink of the trench above mentioned. There they were at a stand, and the elephants being terribly gauled with the darts both of those who leaped into the trench, and of those who were on the other side of it, began presently to grow unruly, and turning back furiously upon their own infantry, utterly disordered them. And now *Cæcilius*, who saw his advantage, sallied out with all his troops, fresh and in good order, and charging the enemy in flank, easily put them to the rout. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great slaughter; some of their elephants were killed, and the rest were all taken.

Pol. B.
1. c. 44.

The news of *Cæcilius's* exploit caused great rejoicings at *Rome*, not so much on account of the taking the elephants, tho' that was a very terrible blow to the enemy, as because by the victory obtained against those formidable animals, the courage of the *Roman* soldiers was entirely restored, and they no longer feared to keep in the open country. It was resolved therefore diligently to pursue the design of sending the new Consuls into *Sicily* with a naval force, and by vigorous efforts both by land and sea, to put an end, if possible, to this destructive war.

^a *Cæcilius*, according to *Pliny*, B. 8. ch. 6. caused the elephants to be transported to *Italy*, where they were baited to death in the *Circus* at *Rome*.

C H A P. VIII.

Regulus is sent to Rome with some Ambassadors from Carthage to negotiate a peace. His behaviour on this occasion, and the consequences of it.

THE defeat of *Asdrubal*^b before *Panormus* threw the people of *Carthage* into discouragement; they began now to think seriously of peace;

^b This General, according to *Zonaras*, was crucified for his misconduct.

and believing that if *Regulus*, a man so much esteemed by his countrymen, engaged in the affair, an accommodation might be easily effected, they sent him to *Rome* with the ambassadors appointed for this negotiation; having first taken an oath of him to return to *Carthage*, in case there should neither be peace nor an exchange of prisoners. When after his landing in *Italy* he came to the gates of *Rome*, he would by no means enter the city, alledging, that he was no longer a *Roman* citizen, but a slave of a foreign power, and that he did not come to infringe the laws and customs of his native country, which forbade the Senate to give audience to strangers within the walls; nor, when his wife *Marcia* with her children ran to meet him, did he shew any signs of joy, but fixed his eyes upon the ground, as one ashamed of his servile condition, and unworthy of their caresses. So extraordinary a behaviour raised the admiration both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, and all were impatiently curious to know how he would conduct himself in the Senate. The *Fathers* being at length assembled without the walls, the ambassadors were admitted to an audience, and made their proposals; and then *Regulus*, whose turn it was to speak next, only added, *Conscript Fathers, being a slave to the Carthaginians, I come on the part of my masters to treat with you concerning a peace and an exchange of prisoners.* He said no more; and when he had uttered these few words, sought to withdraw and follow the ambassadors, who could not be present at the deliberations. In vain the Consuls pressed him to stay, and give his opinion as a Senator and Consular Person; he absolutely refused to take his place among the *Conscript Fathers*. However, he obeyed his *African* masters, who directed him to continue in the assembly. There he remained in a modest silence till the oldest Senators had declared their opinions, and then he expressed himself to the following effect: "*Romans,* I am sensible, that the fatigues and expence of so difficult a war put your virtue to a severe trial; but what great enterprize can ever be achieved without a steady fortitude? I am an eye-witness of the distress of *Carthage*. 'Tis nothing but the impossibility of maintaining the war that makes the *Carthaginians* solicit for a peace. You have lost one battle, (it was when I commanded) a misfortune which *Metellus* has repaired by a notable victory. Except two cities, *Sicily* is entirely yours; and your new fleet spreads a terror throughout the seas. You govern your allies in tranquillity, and they serve you with zeal. *Carthage*, drained of her wealth, can depend but little on the provinces of her dominion. With how much ease did I bring them into a revolt! Your armies are composed of soldiers of one and the same nation, united by mutual esteem and affection: the troops of *Carthage* are chiefly made up of strangers, who have no tie to her but their pay, and whom the example of *Xanthippus* will deter from engaging in her service. My opinion therefore is absolutely against a peace with our Enemies; nor do I think it for your interest to make an exchange of prisoners. Among the *Carthaginian* captives you have

"thirteen

Y. R. 501.
Bet. Car.
249.
202d Conf.
Appian. in
Punic.
B. II. c. 3.
Livy Epit.
tom. B. 18.
Eutrop.
B. 2.
Cic. de Off.
fic. B. 3.
Sil. Ital.
B. 6.
Val. Max.
B. 1. c. 1.
& B. 9. c. 3.
A. Gell. B.
6. c. 4.
Auch.
Viel. c. 40.
Zon. B. 8.

Y. R. esp. " thirteen considerable officers, young, and capable of commanding one
 Bel. Cat. " day the armies of the enemy. As for me, I grow old, and my mis-
 249. " fortunes have made me useless; add to this that the number of Car-
 and Conf. " thaginian captives of an inferior rank infinitely exceeds that of the Ro-
 " man prisoners, so that the exchange must be to your disadvantage.
 " And after all, what can you expect from soldiers who have been van-
 " quished and reduced to slavery? Will they serve the Republic with the
 " courage of men whose reputation is entire and untouched? No, they
 " will rather be like timorous deer, that have escaped out of the toils of
 " the hunter, ever ready to fly at the approach of danger."

This discourse filled the Senators with admiration and compassion, and tho' they approved his advice concerning the proposals made by the Carthaginians, yet they knew not how to consent to the ruin of a man whose contempt of life made him the more worthy to be preserved. The Pontifex Maximus being consulted, declared, that his oath having been extorted from him, he might without perjury continue at Rome. They pressed him therefore not to return to Africk; but Regulus was offended with these solicitations. " What! have you then resolved to dishonour me? I am too well acquainted with the inconstancy of the people's favour, to trust them with the care of my reputation. At my first return they are full of good will, touched with a fresh remembrance of my misfortunes: this fit of joy once over, and I am no longer thought of. Nay, I doubt not but my stay here would be reproached me by those who have seemed the most afflicted for my absence. How often shall I be called Slave! May not Rome herself disdain to own me for one of her Citizens? I am not ignorant, that death and the extremest tortures are preparing for me; but what are these to the shame of an infamous action, and the wounds of a guilty mind? Slave as I am to Carthage, I have still the spirit of a Roman; I have sworn to return, it is my duty to go; let the Gods take care of the rest."

The Senate, by the same decree which refused the Carthaginian ambassadors both peace and an exchange of prisoners, left Regulus at liberty to continue at Rome, or return to Carthage, as he should think fit. This was all that Mercia could obtain from the Fathers by her tears and solicitations. Regulus, to free himself from all farther importunity of his friends, assured them, that before his departure from Africk the Carthaginians had given him a slow poison, and that he could not long survive the negotiation. As soon as it was ended, he quitted his native country, to go and resume his chains at Carthage, with the same serenity as if he had been going to a country seat for his recreation.

Those authors who have celebrated the heroism of Regulus on this occasion, tho' they all concur in reporting that he suffered at his return into Africa some cruel death from the revenge of the Carthaginians, yet are by no means agreed concerning the particular kind of torment he was made to undergo.

The

The most current opinion is, that they cut off or sewed back his eyelids, and then bringing him out of a dark dungeon, exposed him to the sun at mid-day: That after this they shut him up in a kind of chest or press stuck full, on the inside, with iron spikes, and there left him to die in torment *.

Y. R. 503.
B.C. Chr.
249.
103d Conf.

The

* Although this story of the cruel revenge which the Carthaginians took of *Regulus* after his return to *Carthage* be found in many of the best Roman authors, and although it be not expressly contradicted by any ancient writer; yet the reasons that are offered by some moderns against the truth of it may perhaps excuse our incredulity, should we look upon it as a meer fiction.

Palmerius, in a note upon *Appian*, offers two very weighty arguments for rejecting the account as fabulous.

1. The total silence of *Polybius* concerning every thing that happened to *Regulus* after his defeat and captivity.

How can we account for that author's silence upon matters of so interesting a nature, in his History of the First Punic War; a History, which in many parts of it is written rather with prolixity than brevity; I say, how can we account for this, but by supposing, that *Polybius* for good reasons disbelieved the tradition which had been greedily embraced by the Romans concerning *Regulus's* death, and therefore disdained to record it; and that nevertheless he was unwilling to offend them by contradicting such a favourite story? It was hence, doubtless, that he avoided saying any thing of *Regulus's* voyage to *Rome*, his behaviour there, and his return to *Carthage*; because had he mentioned these, without speaking of his death, (the supposed immediate consequence of them,) an affected silence in this particular only, would have amounted to a direct condemnation of the prevailing opinion.

2. A fragment preserved by *Valesius*, of the 24th book of *Diodorus Siculus*.

This fragment (speaking of *Regulus's* wife and sons, into whose custody *Bozlar* and *Hamilcar*, two captive Carthaginian Generals, had been given) begins thus:

“ — But the mother of the young men [the *Attili*] grievously laid to heart the death of her husband, and thinking [or imagining] that he had lost his life [δὲ ἀμύλειαν] for want of good looking after,

“ stirred up her sons to use the captives “ cruelly.”

Then it relates, that the captives being thrust together into a close place, where they could hardly stir, and being kept from food, *Bozlar*, after five days of extreme misery, expired: That *Hamilcar*, who yet held out, telling the wife of *Regulus* how careful he had been of her husband, with tears implored her compassion; but that she, far from being touched with the least sense of humanity, kept him five days after this in the same hole, shut up with the carcass of his companion, giving him only so much sustenance as would serve to prolong his life in misery: That by means of some servants in the house, a report of this horrible cruelty came to the ears of the Tribunes of the people: That the magistrates having well assured themselves of the fact, summoned the *Attili*, and threatened them with the severest punishments, if for the time to come they did not take all due care of the prisoners; nay, that they were very near pronouncing sentence of death upon the young men, for having brought a dishonour upon the Roman name: That the *Attili*, to excuse themselves, laid the blame upon their mother: That they burnt the body of *Bozlar*, and sent the ashes to his relations, and for the future cherished *Hamilcar*, whom they had so barbarously treated.

Palmerius's conjecture from the whole is this:

That *Bozlar* and *Hamilcar* being taken prisoners, [probably in that sea-fight on the coast of *Africa*, where the Carthaginians lost 114 ships, because no mention is made of them in the war after that time,] the Senate, to console the wife and sons of *Regulus*, put those captive Generals into their hands, that they might have the price of his ransom in their possession.

That *Regulus* died of some distemper in captivity, whereto the wife being extremely vexed, as having lost the pleasing hope of recovering her husband by exchange, treated the captives cruelly; that the magistrates being

Y. R. 223.
 Ref. Ch.
 249.
 22nd Conf.

The news of this barbarity no sooner reached *Rome*, but the Senate, by way of retaliation, gave up the chief of the *Carthaginian* captives to be treated at the discretion of *Marcia*, (the widow of *Regulus*;) who condemned them to the same kind of death her husband had suffered.

C H A P.

being angry at this conduct, she, to give a colour of justice to her cruelty, told this fable of her husband's perishing by hunger, want of sleep, and other torments, to her neighbours and gossip; that hence the story by degrees spread far, gathering strength as it went, and easily obtained credit through the hatred born to the *Carthaginians*.

Palmerius might have added, That as some women have imaginations very creative, and as, especially where their passions are concerned, they easily believe the real existence of what meer imagination exhibits, the wife of *Regulus* might possibly have persuaded herself without any ground, that her husband had lost his life through the hardships of his imprisonment. And this is conformable to the fragment of *Diodorus*, which says, that the *winking* that he had lost his life through neglect, stirred up her sons, &c.

3. A third argument against the story of *Regulus's* death by torture may be drawn from the disagreement among those who report it, concerning the kind of torture he was made to undergo. Did he perish by being kept from sleep? Was he starved to death? Was he crucified? Or did he end his life in a chest or barrel stuck with spikes? All these are reported by different authors. If it were certain that the *Carthaginians* put him to death by torture, is it not strange that the kind of torture should not be more certainly known? *Florus* doubts whether he died by the hardships of his imprisonment, or upon a cross.

4. Where there is any good reason to suspect the evidence to a fact, the improbability arising from the situation of things, makes strongly against the belief of such fact. Now it seems highly improbable, that the *Carthaginians* should treat *Regulus* in the manner pretended, at the very time when two of their Generals and many of their inferior Officers, as well as multitudes of their common Soldiers, were in the hands of the *Romans*.

5. We may observe, that the Senate's giving up the *Carthaginian* prisoners to be

treated at the discretion of *Regulus's* sons, upon the news of the cruel death he had suffered, a fact reported by *A. Gellius*, and which, if true, would be the strongest argument in favour of the common opinion, is absolutely inconsistent with what *Diodorus* relates of the anger of the *Roman* magistrates at the conduct of the *Attillii* with regard to the captive.

Thus much concerning the credibility of the story of *Regulus's* sufferings. Before we take leave of him, let us see Sir *Walter Raleigh's* judgment of that part of his behaviour, which is supposed to have drawn upon him the *Carthaginian* resentment, and brought him to so miserable an end. Sir *Walter's* words are these:

"The death of *Attilius Regulus* the Consul was very memorable. He was sent from *Carthage* to *Rome* about the exchange and ransom of prisoners on both sides, giving his faith to return if the business were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his country should lose by the bargain so far as he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own misery, that he earnestly persuaded to have the prisoners in *Africa* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*, where for his faith taken he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constancy and faith all writers highly extol him. But the *Carthaginians* seem to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemy, that neither in his prosperity would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the natural care to preserve himself and others, by yielding to such an office of humanity as is common in all wars (not grounded upon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him, sure it is, that his faithful observance of his word given cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech which he made in the Senate against the exchange of prisoners, appears, in all reason, to have proceeded from

C H A P. IX.

From the 14th to the 18th year of the war.

The Romans, flushed with their late victory at land, imagine, that, with the assistance of their new fleet, they shall now be able to take Lilybaeum, and thereby put an end to the war in Sicily. After considerable progress made in the siege, they are forced to turn it into a blockade: And, not long after, their whole navy is utterly destroyed. More fortunate by land, they take Eryx from the enemy. Amilcar Barcha is sent from Carthage to command the forces of that republic in Sicily.

WHEN the Consuls *Attilius* and *Manlius* had got all things ready for their expedition into *Sicily*, they put to sea with a fleet of 200 sail, and arrived on the coast of *Lilybaeum*, in the neighbourhood of which place their land forces were already assembled.

It was the strongest, and except *Drepanum* (about 15 miles from it northward) the only city of importance, which the *Carthaginians* possessed in the island; and the *Romans* had therefore resolved to besiege it, as knowing that, could they make this conquest, it would be easy for them afterwards to transport the war into *Africa*.

Lilybaeum stood almost at the extremity of the cape of the same name, and was surrounded by a strong wall, and a deep ditch, filled with water from the sea. The *Romans* sat down before it, and having fortified themselves by an entrenchment which ran from sea to sea, made their first approaches against some towers of defence. These they soon beat to the ground; after which they filled up the town ditch, and by their battering engines, and by mining, so weakened the wall in many parts of it, that the Besieged began to be extremely terrified; although the garrison, without reckoning the inhabitants, consisted of more than 10,000 men. *Ilmilco*, who commanded in the place, performed the part of a gallant and able officer. He repaired the breaches, made countermines, and was in a manner every where present, watching an opportunity to set fire to the enemies wooden towers, and engines of battery; and, in this view, making frequent sallies by night and by day with a boldness little short of temerity; on which occasions the slaughter was sometimes not less than what commonly happens in ranged battles, in the field.

In the mean while, though they were ignorant at *Carthage* of what passed at *Lilybaeum*, yet concluding that the garrison must be sorely distressed,

“from a vain-glorious Forwardness, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soon after his death; wherein the *Romans* had the worse bargain, by so much as *Regulus* himself was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnify him in this point; we are to consider that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philius*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise.”

Y. R. 503.

Bel. Clu.

249.

262 Conf.

they dispatched an officer, named *Hannibal*, with 10,000 men on board a fleet of 50 galleys to their relief. *Hannibal* being arrived at the island of *Agusa*, lying a little off of *Lilybaeum*, waited there for a favourable and brisk gale, which no sooner presented, but crowding all his sails he came to the entrance of the port, having ranged his soldiers in a fighting posture on the decks of the vessels. The *Romans*, (whose ships were stationed on each side of the mouth of the haven) partly through surprize, and partly through fear of being forced by the wind into the port with the enemy, made no motion to attack them, but contented themselves to look on and wonder at their hardy attempt. Thus *Hannibal* without any opposition made his way into the haven, where he landed his men, to the great joy of the besieged, who were yet more pleased with the consternation, in which they beheld their enemies, than with the succour they themselves received.

P. 11. B.

c. 46.

Himilco observing the alacrity and good dispositions, both of the inhabitants, whose courage was railed by the reinforcement, and of the new comers, who had yet suffered nothing of the hardships incident to a town besieged, resolved now to make a general sally and attempt what he had long meditated, the burning of the enemies towers and engines. The conflict on this occasion was extremely bloody, all the forces on both sides being engaged in it, and fighting with the utmost obstinacy and emulation. In conclusion the *Romans* happily preserved their works; for at the very instant when they were beginning to despair of it, *Himilco*, seeing great numbers of his men slain, and his purpose not effected, sounded a retreat, and put an end to the fight.

c. 46.

After this action, *Hannibal* sailing away in the night, went with his fleet to *Drepanum*, there to consult with *Adherbal*, who was his intimate friend, and who commanded in that place for the *Carthaginians*.

But now the *Romans* kept *Lilybaeum* so straitly shut up, and watched the entrance of the haven so narrowly, that nobody durst make an attempt to come out of it. In the mean while they were very impatient at *Carthage* to have some account of the condition of the besieged; and at length a certain *Rhodian*, named *Hannibal*, a man of distinction, undertook to satisfy their desire. Having prepared a light galley expressly for this enterprize, he put to sea from *Carthage*, (or perhaps from *Drepanum*) and got under covert of one of those islands lying off of *Lilybaeum*. Early the next morning, with a fair and fresh gale, passing in view of the enemy, who could not thrust from the shores on either side time enough to stop him, he got by ten o'clock into the Port. The *Romans* doubted not, but this bold adventurer would soon attempt to return. The Consul therefore, to keep a better guard, posted at the entrance of the Port ten of his nimblest vessels (on each side five) which with their oars displayed like wings kept themselves ready to fly upon the expected prey. The *Rhodian* nevertheless in broad day light made his passage safely through these guards, and not only so, but when he was got out to

to sea, turned about, and, lying upon his oars, with an insulting mockery, challenged any one of them to come and fight him. In this manner he passed and repassed several times, bringing orders and carrying intelligence, to the great encouragement of the besieged, and the amazement of the *Romans* at so successful a temerity. But the boldness of the *Rhodian* was founded on his perfect knowledge of the channel, and how to keep clear of the rocks and sand-banks on each side. His success so often repeated, encouraged others, who had the same skill, to follow his example: which the *Romans* finding to be of very ill consequence, they undertook to choak up intirely the mouth of the haven. For this purpose they filled a great number of round ships (or ships of burden) with huge stones, and sunk them in the channel; but the force of the stream carried the most of these away. However they grounded so many of them in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heap, like a ragged island, in the passage. A certain *Cartaginian* galley coming out of the port in the night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ran herself aground upon it, and so fell into the enemies hands. The *Romans* immediately manned her with chosen soldiers and their best rowers, and then placed her on the watch to catch the *Rhodian*. He had happily got into the port by night, and was returning in open day, when he found himself chased by a galley that gathered upon him. He soon perceived what she was by her form and her swiftness, and as he was not able to run from her, he had no way left but to turn about and fight with her. This he resolutely did, but she being too well manned for him, he was presently taken; after which no more attempts were made to go in or out of the port of *Lilybaeum*.

The besieged however were not so disheartened by this disadvantage, as to remit any thing of their attention to a vigorous defence; and though they had lost all hope of destroying the works erected against their fortification, they continued indefatigable in repairing the breaches made in it. And now a favourable accident, when they least expected such good fortune, delivered them at once from the fear of those wooden towers which overtopped their walls, and of all the battering engines of the besiegers. So violent a tempest arose on a sudden, as made the galleries of the *Romans* totter, and threw some of their towers to the ground. This was thought by some *Greek* soldiers, in the service of *Carthage*, an opportunity which ought not to be neglected, to attempt once more the burning of the enemy's works of battery. Having communicated the project to their commanding officer (who both approved it, and prepared every thing necessary for its execution) out they rushed and set fire to the works in three places. The flames spread themselves with great swiftness, by reason of the violence of the wind and the dryness of the timber, the works having been long erected. The *Romans*, all in confusion and surprize, knew not which way to turn themselves; for they were blinded by the smoke and the sparks of fire which the wind drove in their faces,

Y. R. 503.
Bef. Chr.
249.
202d Conf. so that many of them were slain before they could approach the places where help was wanted. On the other hand, the wind favouring the *Carthaginians*, not only they could see clearly, and so take their aim, but whatever they threw either against the enemy, or against their batteries, was carried with the greater violence to the mark, while the darts of the *Romans* could take no effect. In a word, the fire became irresistible, and spreading every way, it consumed to ashes all the *Roman* works, and even melted the brazen heads of their battering rams.

The besiegers by this blow were totally discouraged from the thoughts of renewing their attacks. They turned therefore the siege into a blockade, encompassing the place with a rampart and a ditch, and patiently hoping to obtain by some happy turn of fortune, or by starving the enemy, what they now despaired of carrying by assault.

Polyb. B.
L. c. 49. But when the news came to *Rome* that great numbers both of the sea and land forces had been lost in fighting to defend the works, and in the other service of the siege, the people were only the more animated by it to pursue the enterprize with vigour, insomuch that 10,000 of them voluntarily offered themselves to go and serve before *Lilybæum*. Upon the arrival of these troops at the camp, *Claudius Pulcher*, who was then in the Consulate, (with *L. Junius Pullus*) and had the command of the forces in *Sicily*, having called his officers together, proposed to them instantly to embark and sail with all the fleet to *Drepanum*. To engage their approbation of this project, he represented to them, that *Adherbal* the Governor of that place had not a sufficient strength to resist them; that he knew nothing of the reinforcement they had received, and would never imagine they could be masters of a naval army, after the losses they had sustained in the siege. The design being generally approved, the seamen, both old and new comers, were ordered forthwith to embark, together with the bravest soldiers of the legions, who readily offered themselves for this expedition, not doubting but they should enrich themselves with the plunder of *Drepanum*.

For this place then the fleet, consisting of 124 galleys, set sail about midnight; and at break of day the headmost of the vessels were descried from the town. *Adherbal* was at first struck with the unexpected appearance of the enemy, but, soon recovering himself, he determined to run any hazard, rather than endure a siege, with which he plainly saw that he was threatened. Instantly he called together, upon the sea shore, all his seamen and soldiers, both those that were on board his galleys and those that were in the town, and set before them in few words how easily they might be victors in a naval battle, if they would but resolve to behave themselves with courage; and, on the other hand, what dreadful calamities (the consequences of a siege) they must unavoidably undergo, if on the present occasion they let themselves be intimidated by the apprehension of danger. The army unanimously declared their readiness to follow him, whithersoever he should please to conduct them.

Hereupon

Hereupon he instantly ordered them all on board, and embarking himself, directed them to keep their eyes on his galley (which should lead the van,) and to do as he did. Then putting to sea he brought his fleet out of the port, and hid them behind some rocks which lay on the side of the haven opposite to that by which the *Romans* were going to enter.

V. R. 504.
Bel. C. m.
148.
203d Cont.
Polyb. B. 1
c. 50

The headmost of the *Roman* vessels were already entered into the port, other gallies were entering, and others were not far off, when *Adherbal*, quitting his concealment, appeared on a sudden with his fleet out at sea, and in a posture to give battle. At this sight *Claudius*, extremely surprized and disappointed, made a sign to his foremost gallies to tack and stand back again; but when those that had entered the port, or were in the haven's mouth, began to hasten back, they encountered with others that were yet standing in, so that falling foul of one another, many of the ships received great damage, and were in danger of perishing. At length, in such manner as they could, they drew out; and as fast as they got clear and obtained room, put themselves in order of battle along the shore, with their prows pointing towards the enemy. *Claudius*, who had been in the rear of all his fleet, now placed himself in the left of his line. He had it once in his power (as some report) to sheer off, but was obstinately bent to try an engagement; insomuch that when the sacred chickens were consulted and refused their meat, he threw them cage and all into the sea; *If they wont eat*, said he, *let them drink*, not reflecting that such a contempt of religion might discourage those who were witnesses of it.

Cic. B. 2.
de Nat.
17th. Val.
Max. B. 1
c. 4.
Polyb. B.
1. c. 50

In the mean while *Adherbal*, having with five great vessels passed the left wing of the *Romans*, turned the prow of his own galley upon the enemy, making a signal for the rest of his fleet, which followed, on the same line, to do the like. And now the whole *Cartaginian* fleet being drawn up in front, advanced against the *Romans*, who, as was before said, were drawn up along the shore, a situation than which none could be more dangerous. As soon as the two fleets were near each other, the flags of defiance were hoisted by the two admirals, and the battle began. At first the conflict was equal on both sides, each fleet having on board the hardiest men they could pick out of their land forces. But victory by degrees began to declare for the *Cartaginians*, who indeed had many advantages above the *Romans*, by the lightness of their vessels, the expertness of their rowers, and especially by the wise precaution they had taken to have sea room, wherein to work their vessels as occasion required; for at any time when they were pressed by the enemy, they could at pleasure retire, spread themselves, or draw close together, in which movements the lightness of their gallies greatly availed. Moreover when any of the *Roman* gallies (heavily built and unskilfully managed) chased any of theirs, and thereby separated themselves from their own fleet, those who were chased could tack upon the pursuers, and

Y. R. 504. and intercept them, or rowing round them, come upon their flank with
 Bet. Car. their prows and sink them. All these benefits were wanting to the Ra-
 248.
 203. Conf. mans; but their greatest evil was their situation; because when any of
 their vessels were hard pressed, they could by no means retire for the
 shore; they must either run aground upon the flats, or bulge against
 the rocks.

The Consul at length, observing the distress of his fleet, that some were
 split upon the rocks and others stranded, stood away to the left, and with
 only thirty vessels that were the nearest to him, escaped out of the battle.
 The rest, to the number of ninety three, fell into the enemies hands, to-
 gether with all the men, except a few soldiers who had got ashore, after
 their vessels were run aground or broken to pieces. Eight thousand of
 the Romans are said to have been slain, and 20,000 taken prisoners.

Orosius,
 B. 4. c. 10.
 Polyb. B. 1.
 c. 22.

This was a glorious action for *Adherbal*, to whom the *Carthaginians* did
 very great honour, ascribing the success to his sole virtue and bravery;
 while on the other hand, *Claudius* was recalled to *Rome*, where he was
 reproached with his shameful defeat, and with the loss his country had
 sustained, as entirely owing to his folly and temerity. Neverthe-
 less when he was ordered to name a Dictator, he, to insult the senate,
 nominated to that supreme dignity one *Claudius Glycia*, a mean fellow
 who had been his viator or tipstaff: but this mock dictator did not hold
 the place; *M. Attilius Calatinus* was substituted in his room. After which
 the Consul (now deposed) was brought to a formal trial for his miscon-
 duct, and was loaded with a rigorous sentence.

Suet. life
 of Tib.
 Fast. Cap.

Polyb. B. 1.
 c. 52.

As for the other Consul, *Junius Pullus*, he had been dispatched over
 to *Sicily* with order to supply the camp before *Lilybæum* with provisions
 and all necessary stores; for the safe convoy of which, he had a squa-
 dron of 60 galleys. Being arrived at *Messina*, he there augmented his
 fleet with what ships had been sent thither from *Lilybæum*, and from o-
 ther places in the island, and then set sail for *Syracuse*; his whole fleet
 now consisting of 120 ships of war and 800 storeships. From *Syracuse*
 he dispatched his Quæstors with one half of his vessels of burthen, and
 some of his galleys, that they might without delay furnish the camp with
 necessaries, while he himself staid at this port, waiting the arrival of that
 part of his fleet which had not been able to keep him company, and was
 not yet come up, as also to receive the corn which the Islanders, in the
 alliance of *Rome*, had provided for him.

About this time *Adherbal*, studious to make the best advantage of his
 victory, and having sent away to *Carthage*, the ships and the prisoners
 taken in the battle, delivered 30 of his galleys to *Carthalo*, who had al-
 ready under his own command 70, with which he was lately arrived,
 and sent him to try what mischief might be done to the *Roman* fleet in the
 harbour of *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* suddenly entered the mouth of the haven,
 and finding the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the besieged,

² According to *Liv. Epit.* he was suffered afterwards to wear the prætexta at the publick
 shows.

than

than to the defence of their fleet, without difficulty seized and towed away some of the gallies and set fire to others. The *Roman* camp took the alarm, and the soldiers hastened to the rescue: but *Himilco* governor of the town sallying out at the same time, and putting the *Romans* in great distress, gave *Carthalo* leisure to go through with his enterprize. After this exploit the *Carthaginian* ran all along the south coast of *Sicily*, with a view to obstruct, what in him lay, the succours that were coming to the *Roman* army. And receiving advice by his scouts, that a great fleet of all sorts of vessels was approaching, and was not far off, he advanced with much joy to encounter them; for both he and his men were full of courage by reason of their late victories. The fleet which had been descried was that under the conduct of the *Roman* Quæstors; who when they got notice that the *Carthaginians* were at hand, not conceiving themselves of sufficient strength to hazard an engagement, presently made for the coast, and drew up their vessels under covert of a poor town belonging to their party. Here was indeed no safe harbour, yet they found some sort of shelter in certain coves, and small retreats among the rocks; and the town having furnished them with engines for casting stones and shooting arrows, they waited here, in a posture of defence, the attack of the enemy. But *Carthalo* knowing that they could not long ride under those rocks, but would be forced by any great change of wind either to put out into the deep, or to abandon their ships in order to save the men, he, after he had taken some few of their vessels, would not pursue the assault any further, but retired into the mouth of a neighbouring river, and there lay waiting for an opportunity to seize the rest, without hazard to himself.

In the mean while the Consul *Junius*, having dispatched those affairs which had detained him at *Syracuse*, departed thence, and doubling the cape of *Pachynus*, shaped his course for *Lilybæum*, totally ignorant of what had happened to his Quæstors. The *Carthaginians* perceived his approach, and quitting their station sailed away to attack him before he could join the other part of his fleet. *Junius* was yet a great way off when he first descried the enemy, yet finding himself too near to fly, and too weak to fight, he also, like his Quæstors, ran in close on a part of the coast that was quite harbourless and full of rocks, imagining no danger so great as that of the enemy. *Carthalo* did not care to attack him in a place where it was difficult to work a ship with safety; he betook himself therefore to a station between the two fleets, and there watched to see which of them would first stir, resolving to assault that which should first dare to put out to sea. Thus all the three fleets were on the south coast of *Sicily*, between the cape of *Pachynus* and *Lilybæum*, a tract exceedingly dangerous when the wind stormed at south. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempest and their signs, and who now perhaps observed some swelling billow, or some other such like indication of an approaching storm, immediately weighed anchor, and made all haste to double the cape of *Pachynus*, thereby to cover themselves from the rage they.

V. R. 531
Bel. Chi
248
3031 Cori

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 54.

Y. R. 504. they feared. This, though with great difficulty, they effected, and se-
 Bef. Chr. cured their ships. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than
 248. how to navigate, remaining exposed on that rocky coast, were so terribly
 2031 Conf. assaulted by a boisterous south-wind, that not a single ship of either fleet
 escaped being dashed to pieces.

Polyb. B. thus deprived, she renounced once more the empire of the seas.
 1 c. 55.

Notwithstanding all these disasters the *Romans* were still superior to their enemies by land, and though driven to hard shifts for provisions, they continued the blockade of *Lilybæum*, firmly fixed to abide the utmost extremity rather than abandon their enterprize. As for the Consul *Junius*, who had not lost his men when his ships were destroyed, he repaired with all expedition to the camp, full of anxious thoughts, how to retrieve his honour, by some remarkable service. Between *Panormus* and *Drepanum*, on the side of a mountain, the highest in all *Sicily*, except *Ætna*, stood the city of *Eryx*; and on the top of the mountain was the temple of *Venus Erycina*^a, the fairest and richest temple in the whole island. *Junius* formed a design upon these, and, being assisted by the treason of some of those who had been appointed to defend them, got possession of them by surprize. The city was difficult of access, the only way to it being steep and narrow; and the Consul, the better to secure his conquest, built a fort at the entrance of the passage to it, where he placed a garrison of 800 men. He also posted another body of men on the top of the mountain, not doubting but by these precautions he should keep quiet possession both of the city, and of the whole mountain.

Zon. B. 8.

Zonaras reports, that *Junius*, after this, was taken prisoner by *Carthalo*; but *Cicero* and *Val. Maximus* tell us that he killed himself to avoid an ignominious sentence at *Rome*, for his losing the fleet.

Upon the death or disgrace of the two Consuls, the Dictator *Calatinus* passed into *Sicily* to command the army, the first instance of a Roman Dictator appearing out of *Italy*. He performed no exploit.

V. of R.
 605.

In the following year^b nothing very memorable was done by either party. *Zonaras* relates, that *Carthalo*, to draw one of the Consuls out of the island, made a descent on the *Italian* coast, but without success: for hearing that the Prætor of *Rome* at the head of an army was advancing against him, he presently re-embarked and returned to *Sicily*. Here his troops, (whom he had not been able to satisfy with the plunder of the *Roman* territories) began to murmur for want of their pay. To put a stop to the mutiny he punished the most clamorous with rigour; but this exasperating even those who were more peaceably inclined, a general sedition would probably have ensued, to the ruin of the *Carthaginian* cause.

^a It does not appear at what time the *Carthaginians* made themselves masters of these places; it was probably after the defeat of *Claudius Pulcher*, for according to *Polybius* they had nothing in the island but

Drepanum and *Lilybæum* at the time when the latter was first besieged by the *Romans*.

^b C. *Aurelius Cotta*,
 P. *Servilius Geminus*, } Consuls.

if he had not been seasonably recalled, and a captain of much greater credit and abilities appointed to succeed him. This was *Amilcar Barca*, the father of the famous *Hannibal*.

Y. R. 505.
Bef. Chr.
247.
204 Conf.

C H A P. X.

From the 18th year of the war to the end of it, in the 23d
or 24th year after its commencement.

Amilcar Barca, by his masterly conduct, hinders the Romans, during five years, from making any progress in the conquest of Sicily. They at length provide themselves, once more, with a naval force as the only means to accomplish their enterprize; and this new fleet, under the conduct of Lucatius Catulus, obtaining a complete victory over the fleet of Carthage, (commanded by Hanno) the Carthaginians are constrained to yield to their enemies the whole island, by a treaty of peace.

IT was in the eighteenth year of the war, that *Amilcar Barca* became commander in chief of the *Carthaginian* forces by sea and land. Having quieted the discontents of the army, he began his expeditions by sailing with the fleet to the coast of *Italy*; where making a descent he pillaged and laid waste the territories of the *Locrians* and *Bruttians*. After this he landed his troops in *Sicily*; and, because the *Carthaginians* were not masters there of any walled town so situated, as he could from thence infect the *Romans*, he took possession of a commodious piece of ground near the sea coast, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*. It was a mountain invironed on all sides with rocks and precipices, and on the top of it was a plain of at least twelve miles in compass, the ground yielding both good pasture and good corn. To this mountain the avenues were only three, one from the sea, and two from the land; and being by nature strait and difficult, it required but little fortification to secure them.

Here then the brave *Amilcar* encamped his forces to confront as well those of the enemy, who were in *Panormus*, as those who were posted about *Eryx*, putting himself between the two armies with admirable resolution. And though he was thus in the midst of his enemies, and had no ally from whom he could hope for succour, he nevertheless gave the *Romans* great and frequent alarms, obliging them to a constant exercise of all their courage, vigilance and severest discipline. For, as the place he was in had the command of a port, he made use of the opportunity, with which

^b *Cheur. Felard* understands the words of *Polybius* to mean that *Amilcar* posted himself in the avenue from the sea to the mountain.
Vol. II.

^c *Frontinus* (in lib. 3. *Strat.*) reports, that *Amilcar*, in order to supply *Lilybaeum* with provisions, made use of a stratagem to draw the

that seemed not easy to be surmounted; for the expence would be great, and the public treasury was exhausted. On this pressing occasion the richest of the citizens shewed a laudable zeal for their country's service. They built each of them a *Quinqueremis* at his own cost; and this example had so good an effect, that those, who were not able singly to do the like, yet concurring, two or three of them fitted out a galley at their joint expence. In short, a fleet of 200 *Quinqueremes* was thus put to sea by private citizens, who required no other condition, but to be reimbursed when the state of the public affairs would allow of it. And this armament was vastly better than any of the former, in as much as all the new gallies were built upon the model of that light vessel, which had been taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian*.

Y. R. 511.
Bef. Chr.
741.
210 Conf.
Liv. Epit.
B. 19.

The Consuls chosen for the new year were *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius*. The latter being at the same time High-Priest of *Mars*, the *Pontifex Maximus* declared it unlawful for him to abandon his priestly functions; nay, he absolutely forbid it, accompanying his prohibition with threats, and *Posthumius* was obliged to submit. But this religious scruple occasioned the creation of a new magistracy in the republic. The senate and people, not thinking it advisable to trust the command of their army to one general alone, nor yet to expose themselves to the inconveniences which might arise from the too long absence of the *Prætor of Rome*, to whom it naturally fell to supply the place of *Posthumius* in the field, they created a second *Prætor* for that purpose. This officer they stiled *Prætor Peregrinus*; and he was not only to assist the general abroad, but to judge or appoint judges in all civil causes between *Roman* citizens and strangers. The former *Prætor* took the title of *Prætor Urbanus*; and it was now regulated, that his residence should be at *Rome*, and his jurisdiction confined to the cognizance of causes between *Roman* citizens only. It was also decreed, that the persons who were to fill these offices should be chosen annually in the *comitia by centuries*, but their different provinces be determined by lot.

Valerius Falto, the first *Prætor Peregrinus*, embarked with the Consul *Lutatius*, on board the new fleet for *Sicily*. They began the campaign with the siege of *Drepanum*, and they very soon made a breach in the wall; nevertheless they did not carry the place; for as the Consul at the head of his men was mounting to the assault, he received a dangerous wound in his thigh; whereupon the soldiers quitted the enterprize, to take care of their general, whom they carried back to the camp. After this the siege was discontinued; for *Lutatius* being persuaded, that the *Cartaginians* would soon appear with a fleet upon the coast, and that a victory over them at sea, would contribute much more than any other exploit towards the entire conquest of *Sicily*, turned all his thoughts to discipline his men, and prepare them for a naval engagement.

Of. of. R. 4.
c. 10.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 59.

* Three hundred, according to *Entropius*, B. 2. c. 27.

The *Carthaginians* greatly surprized at the news of a *Roman* navy at sea, had dispatched away a^b fleet, with all expedition, under the conduct of an eminent commander named *Hanno*; of whose character, because of the share he will have in several important events of this history, it may not be improper to give some features: An able pen, on the present occasion, has thus described him.

"—A man wise in picture, exceedingly formal, and skilful in the art of seeming reverend. How his reputation was first bred, I do not find, but it was upheld by a factious contradiction of things undertaken by men more worthy than himself. This Quality procured to him (as it has done to many others) not only approbation among the antient sort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprizes, but an opinion of great foresight, opinion confirmed by every loss received. More particularly he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject provinces; where-by he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithal such hatred, as turned it all to their great loss. He had before this been employed against the *Numidians*, and wild *Africans*, who, in making war, were more like rovers than soldiers. Of those fugitive nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his own great dishonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which lost not more by his bad conduct than by his malicious counsel, when having shewed himself an unworthy captain, he betook himself to the long robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* histories as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserve the league between *Rome* and *Carthage*: In which regard how well he deserved of his own country, it will appear hereafter; how beneficial he was to *Rome*, it will appear hereafter, and in his present voyage, wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miserable necessity of accepting, upon hard conditions, that *P E A C E*, which he thenceforth commended."

Hanno had well furnished his navy with all necessary provisions for the soldiers at *Eryx* (for dexterity in making such preparations, was the best

^b Of 400 sail according to *Eutropius*.

^c It is proper to inform the reader, that though Sir *W. R.* is here followed, in supposing that the *Hannos* who now commanded the *Carthaginian* fleet, was the same with that *Hanno*, who afterwards headed the faction against *Amilcar Barca* and his son *Hannibal*, there is some reason to doubt it. *Polybius*, indeed, says nothing from which we can infer, that they were different persons; and the importance of the present expedition makes it probable, that the *Carthaginians* would not commit the charge of it, but to a man in the highest reputation and esteem, as he, whom Sir *W. R.* charac-

terises, was at this time. Yet by some words which *Livy* (as we shall see hereafter) puts into the mouth of that *Hanno*, who signalized himself by his opposition to *Hannibal's* measures, one would think that the speaker could not be the person who lost the battle at sea against *Lutatius*. For the historian makes the enemy of *Hannibal*, on two several occasions, remind the *Carthaginians* of that shameful and fatal overthrow, as an event which they ought never to forget.

And if we may believe *Zonaras*, the *Hanno* who suffered the defeat at the *Regates*, was crucified at his return home for his misconduct.

Y. R. 511
Bel. Ch.
247.
210 Cons.
P. 55 b. 3. 1.
c. 66.

of his qualities) but he had neglected to man his galleys with able mariners, trained to the practice of sea fights; he had taken the first that presented themselves; and his soldiers were raw men that knew nothing of service. He had been careless in these matters, through a foolish contempt of his enemies; not remembering that it was the restless force of tempests, rather than any other strength of opposition, which had made them forsake the seas. Yet in one thing he judged right, or at least had been well instructed; for his intention was, first of all to sail to *Eryx*, and there to discharge his ships of their loading, and when he had thus lightened them, to take on board the choice of the land-forces together with *Amilcar* himself; and then to offer the enemy battle. This was an excellent course if it could have been performed. But the Consul *Lutatius*, who, on the first notice of *Hanno's* being at sea, had sailed from *Drepanum* to the island of *Aegusa*, (one of the *Ægates**) used all possible diligence to prevent the execution of the enemies design; not that he was informed of their design, but that he knew it was, for them, the best which they could have, and because he feared no danger so greatly as an encounter with *Amilcar*. For these reasons, though he was not yet cured of his wound, and though the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when, the next morning he descried the *Carthaginian* fleet, coming with a flown sheet from the island of *Hiera*†, (where they had put in) he chose rather to fight with the enemy, who had the wind of him, than upon unlikely hope of better opportunity, to suffer their convoy to pass to *Eryx*.

c. 61.

All that *Hanno* should have done, *Lutatius* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in rowing; he had lightened his galleys of all unnecessary burthens, and he had taken on board the best men of his land-forces. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the very first encounter, were utterly broken and defeated: Fifty of their galleys were sunk and seventy taken, the rest by a sudden change of wind escaping to the island of *Hiera*. The Consul after the battle stood away with the fleet for *Lilybæum*, there to dispose of his prizes and prisoners; of which latter the number amounted to near ten thousand.

When, at *Carthage*, they received the news of *Hanno's* defeat, so contrary to all expectation, they were greatly at a loss what measures to take. If, to have their revenge, nothing had been necessary but courage and emulation, they were never better provided than at this juncture, to prosecute the war. But what could they do? *Amilcar*, on whose valour and judgment the honour and safety of the commonwealth depended, was surrounded by his enemies, and could not be relieved. For as the *Romans* were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the *Carthaginians* to send either provisions or reinforcements to their armies in *Sicily*. In this extremity they could fix upon nothing better than to send by an express

* Islands lying off of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*.

† Another of the *Ægates*.

full powers to the General himself, to take what course he should think most proper; and this they did, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole counsel.

V. R. 511
Bef. Ch.
241.
210 Conf

Amilcar, who had done every thing that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom, and whom no adversity, accompanied with the least hope or possibility of recovery, had ever vanquished, but who yet knew when to yield as well as when to resist, began now to turn his thoughts wholly to the preservation of the army under his conduct; for he plainly saw, that *Sicily* was lost. He dispatched therefore an Ambassador to the Consul, with an overture of peace. *Lutatius*, having well considered it, gathered so many arguments from the present poverty of the *Roman* state, exhausted beyond expectation by the war, that he readily listened to the proposal. At first he demanded, that *Amilcar* and his soldiers should deliver up their arms; but this the *Carthaginian* absolutely refused, declaring that he would rather perish than undergo so great an infamy; and the Consul acquiesced. In short, a treaty was concluded on terms to this effect.

Comp. Nep.
in Amilc
c. 1.

"There shall be peace between *Rome* and *Carthage* (provided the *Roman* people approve of it) on the following conditions.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 62.

"The *Carthaginians* shall evacuate all *Sicily*.

"They shall deliver up all the *Roman* prisoners ransom free.

"They shall pay to the *Romans*, within the space of twenty years next following, 2200^b talents of silver, whereof one thousand shall be paid immediately.

"They shall not make war upon King *Hiero*, nor upon any of the allies of *Rome*; nor shall the *Romans* molest any of the allies of *Carthage*.

"Neither of the contracting powers shall raise any fortress, or levy any soldiers in the dominions of the other.

"Nor shall either of them enter into confederacy with the allies of the other."

These articles being brought to *Rome*, and not being entirely approved there, ten commissioners were sent into *Sicily* to terminate the affair.

c. 63.

These added 1000 talents to the former sum, and shortened the time for payment to ten years; and they also required, that the *Carthaginians* should not only leave *Sicily*, but withdraw their troops from all the Islands between *Sicily* and *Italy*. *Amilcar* not thinking it advisable to break off the negotiation for the sake of these new demands, the treaty was ratified in form: but (probably) not in the Consulate of *Gaius Lutatius*, but of his successors *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* in the year *Rome* 512.

Livy, B.
33. c. 44.
Y. R. 512.

Such was the end of the First Punic War, after it had lasted 23^c or

24

^b 437250 l. *Arbutnot*.

^c *Polybius* makes this war to have lasted

24 years, and so do others: But *Entropius* puts a conclusion to it in the 23d year; which

Y. R. 511. 24 years: A war (*says Polybius*) the longest, the least interrupted, and the greatest (that is, the most abounding with great actions and events) of any to be met with in history. The *Romans* in the course of it lost 700 ships of war, and the *Carthaginians* about 500^b; the greatness of which losses sufficiently prove the greatness of the two states, and of the war itself, wherein, (according to the same author) the *Romans* in general shewed themselves the braver nation, and *Amilcar* the ablest Captain.

Polyb. B.
1. c. 64.

Colinus.

AND now the great affair at *Rome* was to determine the fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it should be governed, and the emoluments which the republic should draw from so fine a conquest. The whole island, excepting the little kingdom of *Syracuse*, was declared a *Roman Province*, that is to say, a province that should be ruled by *Roman* laws and *Roman* magistrates. A *Prætor* was to be annually sent thither to be its Governor; and a *Quæstor* to take charge of the revenues. These revenues were either fixed or casual. The fixed were called *tributes*, and were a certain sum, which the province was obliged every year to pay into the publick treasury. The casual were the tenths of the product of the lands, and the duties upon merchandize exported and imported. And these tenths and customs were generally farmed by the publicans^c.

Val. Max.
B. 2. c. 3.

Gaius Lutatius the Consul, and *Q. Valerius* the *Prætor*, had both of them the honour of the triumph at their return to *Rome*. The Consul indeed disputed the pretensions of the latter to it, because *Valerius* had not acted in a post of equal authority with him; and upon a reference to

which reckoning agrees with the *Capitoline Marbles*, since, according to them, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, who began the war, was Consul in the year 489, and *C. Lutatius Catulus*, who made the treaty with *Amilcar*, was Consul in 511.

Livy, towards the close of his 30th book, says, the First Punic War ended when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. These were the successors of *C. Lutatius*; and perhaps their Consulship was begun when the ten Commissioners came into *Sicily* and the peace was ratified.

^b How came it to pass, that in *Polybius's* time, when the *Romans* were arrived at almost universal empire, they could not fit out such fleets, and make such naval preparations, as in the time of the first Punic War? This question is on the present occasion started by *Polybius* himself; who adds, that a plain and satisfactory reason may be assigned for the change, but defers giving it, till he shall come to speak of the form of the *Roman* common-

wealth. His discourse on this latter subject not being transmitted to us, we are at a loss to know how the difficulty may be resolved.

^c Among the advantages which *Rome* gained from her wars in *Sicily*, may be reckoned an improvement of her taste for letters, and juster notions of poetry. *Sicily* abounded with excellent poets. In the first year after her peaceable possession of this island, when *C. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls, appeared *L. Livius Andronicus*, the reformer of the *Latin* theatre. He introduced upon the stage connected fables after the *Greek* manner, instead of the buffooneries, and rambling discourses, with which the people were before entertained.

About this time was born at *Rudus*, a city of *Calabria*, *Ennius*, the famous poet and historian. He was the inventor of *Hexameter* verses among the *Latins*; but his *Life of Scipio Africanus*, which was his master-piece, he wrote in *Choricki*. He is thought to have eclipsed the poet *Nævius*, his contemporary.

the

R. 1. c.
64.

the arbitration of *Atilius Calatinus*, the point was decided against the Pretor; nevertheless, as his conduct in the war had been uncommonly meritorious, he obtained his suit by a decree of the people.

Y. R. 512.
Bef. Chr.
240.
211 Conf.

But the public joy at *Rome*, for the late important conquest, was greatly damped by two misfortunes, which about this time followed close upon one another. The *Tiber* on a sudden overflowed with such violence, as to overturn a great number of houses in the lower grounds; where the water continuing a considerable time, it much damaged also the foundations of many others.

After this there happened a greater calamity by fire, which breaking out in the night destroyed not only numberless houses, but an incredible multitude of people. It consumed all the buildings within the circumference of the forum. *Cæcilius Metellus* the Pontifex Maximus signified his pious zeal on this occasion: For when the fire had seized the temple of *Vesta*, and when the Virgins in a fright had all deserted it, he offered his life to save the *Palladium*: Making his way through the flames, he brought it safely out of the sanctuary. One of his arms was much hurt in the attempt, and he entirely lost his sight. To reward so heroic an action of piety, it was decreed by the people, that he should have the privilege of being carried to the senate house in a chariot, as often as he went thither; a distinction which had never been granted to any man before.

V. J. MAX.
B. 1. c. 4.

It is probable that the *Roman* tribes (by the addition of those called *Velina* and *Quirina*) were about this time augmented to 35, which number was never after increased.

Liv. Epit.
B. 19.

C H A P. XI.

The Falisci in Etruria rebel against the Romans, but are quelled in a few days. Carthage is reduced to great extremities in a war, which for more than three years is carried on against her by her foreign mercenaries, in conjunction with her African subjects. The conduct of the Romans on this occasion.

THE peace between *Rome* and *Carthage* was hardly ratified, when both these states found themselves on a sudden engaged in new and unexpected wars at home, by the rebellion of their own subjects.

The *Falisci* in *Etruria*, through some unaccountable levity or madness, rose up in arms, and declared war against the *Roman* power. This intestine commotion caused a great alarm and terror throughout all *Italy*; and it occasioned no less wonder, by the speedy issue to which it was brought. The Consuls *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius*, at the head of the legions, are said to have quelled the rebels in six days. Two battles were fought. In the first, the success was doubtful; but in the second, the *Romans* obtained a complete victory. The *Falisci* having lost 15,000 men in the action, humbly submitted themselves, and sued for peace. They were despoiled of their arms, horses, household-goods, slaves, and

Y. R. 513.
Eutrop. B.
Liv. Ep.
B. 19. 20.
B. 19.

V. R. 512.
Bef. Chr.
240.
211 Conf.

half their territory. Their city, strongly situated in a steep craggy place, was ordered to be demolished; and the inhabitants to build a new one for themselves in the flat open country. Nay, the people of *Rome* were meditating a more severe revenge against a nation that had so often rebelled; but they restrained their wrath by the advice of a venerable *Roman* named *Papirius*, whom the Consuls had employed to draw up in writing the form of the rebels surrendry. He represented to the multitude, that the *Falisci* had yielded themselves, not to the power but the faith (or honour) of the *Romans*^b; and this sacred name of public faith had such a prevalency on the minds of the people, that they readily acquiesced in what had been agreed upon.

CARTIAGE, not so fortunate as *Rome*, had a much longer and more dangerous conflict to sustain at the very gates of the capital.

The avarice of a republic of merchants, who better understood the value of money, than the merit of brave soldiers, was the source of this intestine mischief. They would needs persuade those foreign troops, who had fought so gallantly under *Amilcar* in *Sicily*, and had endured so steadily all the hardships of war, in the defence of a state, to which they had no tie but their wages; they would needs, I say, persuade these strangers to remit, out of affection to that state, some part of what was due to them from it, by compact, for their services: whereas in truth they ought rather to have rewarded them with rich gratuities beyond their stipulated pay. In the pursuit of this penurious project they fell into strange impudences. It could not be well imagined, that a proposal to foreign mercenaries, to contribute out of their pay to the expences of the war, would be very chearfully received or easily digested. Nevertheless, that they might hear the grave oratory of *Hanno* on this head, the *Carthaginians* suffered these strangers, amounting to 20,000 men, to assemble all in one place, in the neighbourhood of the capital; and this at a time, when *Carthage* had not, on foot, a sufficient body of her own people to resist such an army in case of a mutiny. And they committed a yet greater mistake, as *Polybius* observes, in constraining the soldiers to take with them from the city, to the place of rendezvous, their wives and children; because these, had they remained in *Carthage*, would have served as hostages for the good behaviour of the fathers and husbands.

In a word, the rhetoric of *Hanno* had no effect but to kindle the highest resentment. The mercenaries turned their arms with fury against their late masters; the *African* subjects of *Carthage*, easily drawn into rebellion, because greatly oppressed, took this opportunity to attempt the recovery of their freedom; and the *Numidians*, the old enemies of the republic, and greedy of her destruction, joined their forces to the rebels.

^b Faliscos non potestati, sed fidei se Romanorum commississe. Val. Max. B. 6. ch. 5.

In this war*, which lasted three years and almost four months, it was not with the *Carthaginians*, as in former times, when they fought for glory, or to give a wider extent to their empire; it was no sportive enterprize of ambition; all was at stake; the very being of their government, their estates, their lives, were all in the utmost peril, from the desperate fury and close attacks of the most cruel and implacable enemies they had ever contended with. *Amilcar* saved his country. Superior by his skill and courage, not only to the impetuous force of multitudes, but to the cautious bravery of an army, which he himself had trained, and disciplined, it was through his abilities, that his republic remained victorious in the conclusion of this *inexpiable* war; a war that was never to be ended but by the total destruction of one of the contending parties.

Y. R. 512.
Bel. Chi.
240.
111 Conf.

The African War, or War of the Carthaginians with their Mercenaries.

* This war being a very curious part of history, and serving greatly to give us a more perfect knowledge of the character of that Rival State, whose destruction alone could establish the *Roman* greatness, it may neither be unreasonable, nor disagreeable to the reader, if the substance of *Polybius's* account of it be here inserted.

‘ **W**HEN *Amilcar* had finished the treaty, which put an end to the *First Punic War*, he led his troops from *Eryx* to *Lilybæum*, and there committed to *Gisco* (Governor of the place) the care of transporting them into *Africa*. *Gisco*, as foreseeing what might happen, acted in this affair with great caution. For, instead of embarking the forces all at once, he shipped them off successively, and in small parties, allotting so much time between the embarkations, as might suffice for his prudent purpose; which was; that those who were first sent might be paid off and dismissed to their own countries, before the others should arrive. The *Carthaginians*, however, whose treasury was much exhausted, did not correspond to the intention of *Gisco*, but hoping they should be able to obtain from the whole army, when assembled, a remission of some part of what was due to them, detained at *Carthage* the several divisions as they came.’

Polyb. B.
1. c. 66, &
seq. and Sir
W. R. B. 5.
ch. 2.

Polybius does not assign any reason, nor does any reason readily occur, why it should have seemed more easy to obtain this remission from the whole army together, than from the parts when disjoined. “ One would think, (as a judicious historian* observes,) that to persuade any small number of men, lodged in so great a city as *Carthage*, to have some consideration of the distress and poverty of the state, would have been no hard matter; and if the first comers had been thus persuaded, and had been friendly discharged, it would have left a good precedent to

* Sir W. R.

"the second and third, whilst their disjunction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force." Perhaps the best conjecture towards accounting for the conduct of the *Carthaginians* in this particular, is, That they had really no intention to disband these troops, and yet were unwilling, for good reasons, to let their design of keeping them on foot be known, before they were all safely arrived in *Africa*. And though avarice had determined the senate to try whether the soldiers could be persuaded to remit some part of what was due to them, there was no design to refuse them their full payment in case they insisted upon it. They never dreamt that the bare proposal of such a remission as they desired would have the sudden and fatal consequences, which it had.

Polyb. l. 3.
c. 9.

Corn. Nep.
Amilc. c. 1.

That the leading men at *Carthage* had resolved to continue these troops in the service, may, I think, be fairly collected from *Polybius*, who assures us that *Amilcar* left *Sicily* with firm resolution to renew the war against *Rome* without delay; and that he would have executed his purpose, if it had not been hindered by the revolt of the mercenaries. Now is it in the least probable, that the *Carthaginian* General, with this project of speedy revenge at his heart, would consent to break a veteran army, which he himself had disciplined, legions animated with the same spirit as himself?

' Be this as it will, the *Carthaginians* did not follow the scheme of *Gisco*.
' They detained the first and second cohorts, telling them, that they
' would make a fair reckoning with all together. Thus every day the
' number increased, and many disorders (incident among soldiers) were
' committed, which much disquieted the city, not accustomed to the like.
' It was thought fit therefore to remove them all to some other place,
' where they might be less troublesome; and *Sicca*, a little town at no
' great distance, being pitched upon for this rendezvous, the officers
' were civilly requested to conduct all their men thither, who, while they
' there waited the coming of their fellow soldiers from *Sicily*, should receive, each of them, a piece of gold to bear his charges.

' This motion was accepted, and the soldiers began to dislodge; leaving behind them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as intending very soon to fetch all away when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians*, who wanted to rid the city entirely of these ungovernable guests, and who feared, that if the women and children remained there, it would be difficult to hinder some of the soldiers from staying behind, and others from returning, which would frustrate the intention of the measure now taken, they prevailed with them to march away with all that belonged to them, wives and children, bag and baggage.

' To *Sicca* then they all removed, and there lay waiting for news of their fellows arrival, and their own pay. Business they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawn to mutiny, the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talk was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much
' would

would fall to every single share, and for how long a time the city was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all grown Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, who could find most reason to encrease their demands to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the encouraging words and promises of their Captains leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind as so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some extraordinary bounty.

In this manner passed the time away, till at length, the whole army, being arrived and united, *Hanno* (chief magistrate of *Carthage*) appeared at *Sicca* to clear the accompt. Now was the day come, when they were all to be made rich, especially if they could hold together, in maintaining resolutely the common cause. Full of their thoughts and expectations they assembled themselves to hear what good news this messenger had brought; with firm purpose to help his memory in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them, which were all to be considered in the reckoning.

Hanno begins a very formal oration, wherein he bewails the poverty of *Carthage*; tells them how great a sum of money is to be paid to the *Romans*; reckons up the excessive charges the commonwealth had been at, in the late war, and in conclusion desires them to be contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bore to the city, to remit the rest.

Few of the hearers understood this Orator's discourse: For the *Carthaginian* army was composed of sundry nations, as *Greeks*, *Africans*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others, all of different languages. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech had informed the rest what message he brought, they all broke out into such a storm of rage, that nothing would serve to appease them. The insurrection and revolt were universal, each nation at first caballing apart, and then all the several nations joining together in a general sedition; of which the difference of languages greatly encreased the tumult and confusion.

Hanno would fain have asswaged their fury, but he knew not how: for he less understood their dissonant loud noises, than they did his oration. An army, collected out of so many countries, that have no one language common to all, is neither easily stirred up to mutiny, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* could do, was to use the help of their own officers as his interpreters and messengers; but these interpreters mistook his meaning, some for want of skill, others on purpose; and such as delivered his errands in the worst sense were the best believed. In short, nothing was to be seen but fluctuation of mind, jealousies, distrusts and caballing. Among the other causes of the soldiers anger, was this also, that the *Carthaginians*, instead of sending to them some one of those officers, under whom they had served in *Sicily*, who knew their merits, and who so often had promised them rewards, had sent a man who had not been present in any of those actions where they had signalized their courage. In short, they

' they considered themselves as not only wronged, but insulted. Full
 ' of indignation therefore they hastily left *Sicca*, and to the number of
 ' 20,000 men advanced towards *Carthage*, as far as *Tunes*, where they took
 ' up their quarters, about 15 miles from the capital. And now when it
 ' was too late, the *Carthaginians* became convinced of their mistakes; for
 ' it was a mighty fault in them to permit such a body of strangers to as-
 ' semble all in one place; and it was yet a greater error to turn out of
 ' their city the wives, children, and goods of these poor soldiers,
 ' which had they retained them in shew of kindness, they might have used
 ' as hostages for their own safety, and as means to bring the army
 ' to their own terms: But now the terror they were in from the neigh-
 ' bourhood of these mutineers carried them to yield to every demand,
 ' though never so unreasonable. They furnished a market at *Tunes* for
 ' the soldiers, whom they suffered to buy what they pleased, and at what
 ' price they pleased. Deputies out of the body of the senate were from
 ' time to time dispatched to them, to assure them, that all their demands,
 ' if possible to be performed, should be satisfied. The soldiers easily
 ' perceived the cause of this change; and taking advantage of the fright
 ' the city was in, they every day invented some new article to insist upon;
 ' and their insolence was the greater from the persuasion, that having ser-
 ' ved with honour against the *Romans* in *Sicily*, neither the *Carthaginians*
 ' nor any other people would have the courage to face them in the field.
 ' No sooner therefore had they adjusted their demands of pay, but they
 ' proceeded further to exact satisfaction for the horses they had lost in the
 ' service. When that was agreed to, the next demand was on ac-
 ' count of short allowance of provisions for many years. They would be
 ' paid for the deficiency; and, in this reckoning, the corn should be va-
 ' lued at the highest price it had at any time born during the whole
 ' war.

' In short, as there were many factious and seditious spirits in the ar-
 ' my, these incited the multitude to make new and exorbitant demands,
 ' such as it was impossible for the republic to comply with; nevertheless,
 ' as the *Carthaginians* promised to do every thing in their power to satisfy
 ' them, it was at length agreed, that the difference should be referred to
 ' some one of the Generals who had been in *Sicily*, and that the soldiers
 ' should chuse the arbitrator. Accordingly they pitched upon *Gisco*, part-
 ' ly out of affection to him, who had shewn himself at all times a friend-
 ' ly man to them, and careful of their good, especially when they were
 ' to be transported into *Africa*; and partly out of a dislike they had con-
 ' ceived of *Amilcar*, because he had not visited them in all this busy time.

Sir W. R. [It is probable that *Amilcar* had no desire to be used as an instrument
 ' in defrauding his own soldiers of their wages; especially considering,
 ' that as he could best bear witness of their merits, so was he not ignorant,
 ' that means to content them were not wanting, had the citizens been
 ' willing to do it.]

' *Gisco* then embarks and comes among them, and to please them the
 ' better brings money with him. He calls to him first of all the princi-
 '

pal officers, and then the several nations apart, rebuking them gently for what had passed; advising them calmly concerning the present, and exhorting them to continue their affection to a state, which had long entertained them in its pay, and would be always mindful of their good services. He then offered to give them their whole pay in hand, proposing to defer the consideration of other reckonings to a more convenient time. This might have been well accepted, and might have served to restore things to quiet, if two seditious ringleaders of the multitude had not opposed it.

Among the mutineers there happened to be one *Spendius* a Campanian, who had been a slave to a Roman master. He was strong of body, and in all occasions of danger very forward; this fellow fearing to fall into the hands of his master, (for by the custom of Rome his fault was punished with death) laboured both with words and actions, to trouble and perplex the treaty they were upon; and to hinder by all means possible their agreement with the *Cartaginians*. Another there was, whose name was *Matbo*, an *African*, of free condition, and a soldier among them, who having been an active stirrer in this conspiracy, and fearing punishment, joined with *Spendius* to obstruct the accommodation, possessing the *Africans* with the belief, that as soon as the strangers should be paid, and dispatched to their own countries, it would be their lot to pay for all; and that the *Cartaginians* would take such revenge on them, for what they had done, that all *Africa* should tremble at it. The soldiers grew hereupon enraged anew, and in regard they were not likely to receive of *Gisco* any other satisfaction than their arrears of pay, what was due for their horses and bread being respited to another time, they therefore took thence occasion of fresh disorders, and ran together in a mutinous manner. To *Spendius* and *Matbo* they lent a willing ear, who railed both against *Gisco* and the *Cartaginians*, and if any one presumed to offer them temperate counsel, he was forthwith stoned to death, even before it could be understood what the purport of his discourse was, whether for or against *Spendius*; and now great slaughter was made both of officers and private soldiers, and nothing was heard during the tumult but *throw, throw, down with him*; and what greatly augmented the rage of those people, was the excess of wine they had drank, having newly risen from their repast. So that the word *throw* was no sooner heard, but the person against whom it was designed, was immediately slain. At length there appearing no one who presumed to open his mouth to divert their determinations, they chose *Spendius* and *Matbo* for their Leaders and Commanders in chief.

Gisco was not without a due sense of the danger he was in among these people, but he let that consideration give place to the duty he owed his country. He foresaw that if this mutiny once came to a head, the commonwealth would be driven to great straits; to prevent which, he was willing to be exposed to any hazard. He therefore with great constancy of mind pursued his purpose of reducing them to their duty

duty by all means possible: Sometimes treating with the officers, sometimes with the sundry nations apart. It happened, that the *Africans* coming rudely to *Gisco* to demand the corn-money, which they pretended was due to them; he to reprove their insolence, bid them in a contemptuous manner go ask their captain *Matbo* for it. This answer put all into a flame. Without any hesitation they tumultuously ran, and seized on the money, which had been brought in order to their payment.

Matbo and *Spendius* fomented with all their art and industry this audacious proceeding of the multitude, being persuaded, that so some outrageous act, in violation of the treaty they were upon, and contrary to the law of nations, would be the surest way to put things past accommodation, and to kindle the war they so much desired. Thus therefore, not only the money and baggage of the *Carthaginians* were seized by the mutineers, but *Gisco* and all the *Carthaginians* who accompanied him were arrested, put in irons, and thrown into prison; and these violences were immediately followed by an open declaration of war against *Carthage*.

AND now *Matbo* dispatched deputies to the cities round about, exhorting them to lend him succours, enter into confederacy with him, and bravely recover their liberty. It was not needful for the deputies to use much persuasion, the very fame of this rebellion sufficing to draw the whole country into it. The merciless impositions of the *Carthaginians* upon their *African* subjects, were the cause of this universal proneness to a revolt. They had taken from the country people during the late war one half of their corn, and had doubled the tributes paid by the inhabitants of the cities, not exempting even the poorest from these exactions. When new magistrates were to be elected for the provinces, the choice never fell on those who were likely to govern the people with lenity and moderation, but on such whose rigour promised the Electors the richest fruits of oppression. *Hanno*, for example, was of this sort, and therefore a great favourite at *Carthage*.

All these things considered, it is no wonder that the *Africans* were not backward to rebel. Not only such as could bear arms readily tendered their service in this commotion, but the very women (who had seen their husbands and fathers dragged to prison by the tax-gatherers) brought forth their jewels and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so just a quarrel. And by this great forwardness, and liberal contribution, *Matbo* and *Spendius* were supplied with a strong reinforcement of 70,000 *Africans*, and were moreover furnished with money, not only to give the soldiers the arrears of their pay, (which to engage them in the revolt they had promised) but sufficient to carry on the war begun, though it should be of long continuance.

The Mercenaries using the advantage of their present strength, laid siege to *Utica* and *Hippo*, two maritime cities of great importance, lying to the west of *Carthage*, and not far from it; nor did they abandon their

Chap. XI. *The ROMAN HISTORY.*

‘ their camp at *Tunes*, which on the other side, lay commodiously to hinder the *Carthaginians* from passing up into the country that way.

‘ *Carthage* was situate on a Peninsula, which is bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by a lake. The *Isthmus* that joins this Peninsula to the continent is about three miles broad. *Utica* stood on that side of *Carthage* which regards the sea, *Tunes* on the other side, upon the lake: so that the enemy, from those two posts, marching sometimes by day, and sometimes by night, to the very walls of the capital, filled the inhabitants with extreme terror. The *Carthaginians*, in this distress, appointed *Hanno* to be their General. He had gained some reputation in that capacity, when employed to conquer that part of *Africa* which lay towards *Hecatompolis*. *Hanno* did not fail to make with diligence all needful preparations (for that was his talent:) He got together whatever was necessary, as well to relieve a town besieged, as to batter and assail any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with a hundred elephants he came to *Utica* so suddenly, that the mercenaries, as men surprized, forsook their trenches and retired to a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe against the violence of his huge beasts.

‘ *Hanno*, having been accustomed to make war with the *Africans* and *Numidians*, who upon any defeat were wont to fly for two or three days together, imagined that the enemy he had only routed, were utterly ruined even beyond a possibility of recovery; neglecting therefore to keep guard, and leaving his men at liberty, he immediately entered the town, there to recreate and divert himself. But those old soldiers, with whom he was now at war, had learned of *Amilcar* to sustain such shocks as they had just suffered, without being discouraged, and to retire and to fight again many times in one day, as occasion required. Wherefore as soon as they perceived that *Hanno* knew not how to make use of a victory, they instantly rushed down from their retreat, assailed their own camp, and with great slaughter drove the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within the walls of *Utica*; and they also got possession of all the stores that *Hanno* had brought for the relief of the town. Nor was this the only occasion wherein *Hanno* gave marks of his insufficiency. Twice he might have defeated the enemy in pitched battle, and twice by surprize, yet he unaccountably neglected these opportunities, and even suffered the enemy to take possession of all the passes in the *Isthmus*, which joins the Peninsula, whereon *Carthage* stood, to the firm land.

‘ The *Carthaginians*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Hanno*, had now recourse to the undisputed abilities of *Amilcar*, whom they sent into the field with 10,000 men and 70 elephants. *Amilcar* was for some time at a loss how to meet with the enemy upon equal ground. For, beside the other places of advantage, which the mercenaries had seized, *Hanno* had suffered them to get possession of the only bridge by which the river *Nilus* or *Bagradas* was passable to those who were to travel from *Carthage* into the Continent. This river had not many fords, and the

few it had were so well watched, that it was not easy for even a single man to get over without being seen. As for the bridge itself, the enemy guarded it with the utmost vigilance, and had built a town close by it, for the more commodious lodging of the troops that were appointed to that service. *Amilcar*, having in vain tried all means possible to force a passage, at length bethought himself of an expedient to gain one by stealth. He had observed that upon the blowing of certain winds, the mouth of the *Macar* used to be choaked up with sand and gravel, which formed a kind of bar across it. Marching therefore to the mouth of the river, he there waited, without communicating his design to any body, the blowing of those favourable winds; which no sooner happened, but he passed the stream with his army by night unperceived, and the next morning appeared in the plain, to the great astonishment both of the *Carthaginians* and of the enemy.

Spendius and his followers were extremely troubled as well as amazed at this news, as knowing that they had no longer to deal with the provident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able captain, even their own master in the art of war, whom they still admired though they hated him. *Amilcar* marched directly towards those of the enemy, who guarded the bridge. *Spendius* advanced to meet him with 10,000 men, whom he drew out of the town that was near it. He had ordered 15,000 to come from before *Utica* and join him. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement, the fear with which the mercenaries had been struck was changed into presumption. They thought to surround *Amilcar*, and bear him down by numbers. *Amilcar* had disposed his elephants in the front, his cavalry and light armed infantry in the second line, and his heavy armed foot in the rear of all. He had || probably expected that the 15,000 men from *Utica* would have fallen upon his rear, instead of joining the forces with *Spendius*; and this expectation was the reason of his placing his main strength in the rear. But when he saw, that the enemy, neglecting their advantage, had joined their two bodies of troops together, he immediately changed the order of his battle, making his horse wheel about and go to the rear, and his infantry advance. This sudden retreat of the *Carthaginian* cavalry was mistaken by the mercenaries for a real flight and a mark of fear. They advanced therefore briskly to the attack without observing any order, and in full confidence of victory. But no sooner did they perceive that cavalry, which they had thought routed, appear again in good array, covering the whole body of the *Carthaginian* foot, (for by the general's order, the horse wheeling from the rear to the right and left, had now placed themselves in the same line with the infantry) than their astonishment at this movement quite took away their courage. They instantly turned their backs and fled, and being warmly pursued by the horse and elephants of *Amilcar*, suffered a very great slaughter. In this overthrow, 6000 of the mercenaries were slain, and 2000 taken prisoners; the rest escaped, some to the camp before *Utica*, others to the town by the bridge, whither *Amilcar* followed them so fast, that he easily possessed himself of that place, the enemy not having sufficient-

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ly recovered their spirits to make a defence, but flying thence to *Tunes* at his approach. After this he speedily reduced several other towns, partly by force, partly by composition, and by this happy progress gave the *Carthaginians* some better hopes of their affairs.

As for *Matbo*, he still continued the siege of *Ilippo*, advising *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, chief captain of the *Gauls*, to follow *Amilcar* so as never to lose sight of him, yet always to keep the higher grounds, or the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the horse and elephants of the *Carthaginians*. He also sent into *Numidia* and *Africa*, admonishing the people to furnish those two commanders with supplies, and to exert themselves on this occasion for the recovery of their freedom. *Spendius* with six thousand men, chosen out of the several nations encamped at *Tunes*, and with 2000 *Gauls*, that followed *Autaritus*, (these being all that remained of those who had served under this captain in *Sicily*, the rest having deserted to the *Romans* at *Eryx*) pursuant to the counsel of *Matbo*, continually coasted the *Carthaginians*, but always keeping the foot of the hills. One day, when *Amilcar* was encamped in a plain encompassed on all sides with hills, the succours which *Spendius* had waited for arrived, and the *Carthaginian* general was not a little embarrassed thereby; for he had now to deal with a body of *Africans* in front, and another of *Numidians* behind him, while the army of *Spendius* lay on his flank. In this difficulty the fame of *Amilcar's* personal worth was of great benefit to his country. In the enemies troops there happened to be a certain *Numidian*, named *Naravasus*, a man of distinction both for his birth and courage. He had inherited from his father an inclination to the *Carthaginians*, and it was much increased by what he had heard of *Amilcar's* merit. Thinking that he had now an opportunity of gaining the friendship of this people, he came to the camp attended by about 100 *Numidian* horse. Having halted near the lines without any shew of fear, he there made a sign with his hand. *Amilcar* not a little wondering at the hardness of the action, sent out to him a horseman; to whom *Naravasus* signified, that he desired a conference with the general. The latter not readily complying with the motion, the *Numidian* no sooner perceived his distrust, but dismounting, he gave his horse and arms to those who were with him; and with a noble confidence, entered the camp alone. Every body wondered at the bravery of the man, but received him amicably. Being conducted to *Amilcar*, he told him, he wanted not good inclinations for the *Carthaginians* in general; but that his principal motive of coming there was to engage in a friendship with him; which if he approved, he should find him for the future a faithful friend, both in counsel and in action. This discourse, together with the manly assurance and ingenuous simplicity with which it was spoken, filled *Amilcar* with unspeakable joy; insomuch, that he not only consented to make him his companion in all his enterprizes; but, to purchase his fidelity to the *Carthaginians*, promised him his daughter in marriage.

After this conference and treaty, *Naravafus* brought to the camp 2000-
Numidians, that were under his command; with which reinforcement *Amilcar* offered the enemy battle. *Spendius*, on his part being strengthened
 by the *Africans*, advanced boldly into the plain, where the battle was ob-
 stinately fought. *Amilcar*, in the end, had the day: the elephants did
 great service; and *Naravafus* signalized himself most eminently. *Spendius*
 and *Autaritus* escaped by flight, about 10,000 of their men being slain, and
 4000 taken prisoners. *Amilcar* received kindly all those of the prisoners;
 that were willing to take his pay, and serve under him, and he armed them
 with the spoils of the dead. As for those that were not willing to serve,
 he assembled them all, and then told them, that he freely pardoned their
 past fault, and gave them their liberty; but bid them remember, that if
 ever they were taken again in arms against the *Carthaginians*, they were to
 expect no mercy.

During these transactions, the mercenaries that were in garrison in *Sar-*
dinia mutinied, after the example of *Matbo* and *Spendius*; and having shut
 up *Boftar* their chief commander in the citadel, they at length murdered
 both him and all the *Carthaginians* with him. Hereupon the republic, in
 order to quell these mercenaries, dispatched from *Carthage* into that island
 a body of troops, which, if we may judge from their proceedings, were
 also mercenaries (a strange policy of the magistrates) These soldiers no
 sooner arrived, but they entered into the views of the mutineers, and
 joined the revolt. The united forces seized on the leader of the new
 comers and crucified him; they likewise in the most cruel manner mur-
 dered all the *Carthaginians* they could meet with, possessed themselves of
 the towns, and remained masters of the whole island; until at length a
 quarrel happened between them and the natives, who prevailing, con-
 strained them to leave the country, and fly for refuge into *Italy*. But
 thus *Sardinia* became entirely lost to the *Carthaginians*.

To return to the mercenaries in *Africa*.

Matbo, *Spendius* and *Autaritus* having advice of the clemency which
Amilcar exercised towards the prisoners, and fearing the effect it might
 have upon the *Africans*, and their other troops, resolved to engage them
 in some new act of villainy, such as should put them past all hopes of in-
 demnity. With this view they assembled the whole army. A messenger
 presently arrives with a pretended letter from those who had followed
 their steps in *Sardinia*. This letter admonishes them to be careful in
 guarding *Gisco*, and the rest of the prisoners (whom they had seized at
 the treaty of *Tunes*), there being some prisoners in the army, who held se-
 cret intelligence with the *Carthaginians* for their release. *Spendius* took oc-
 casion from this letter to warn the soldiers not to rely on the specious hu-
 manity of *Amilcar* towards those who had fallen into his hands; whose
 real intention, he said, was not to spare them, but by a feigned clemency
 to draw the rest to submission; to the end, that having all at his mercy,
 he might at once take vengeance upon all. He likewise counselled them,
 to be especially watchful not to suffer *Gisco* to escape; who being a prin-
 cipal leader, and in great authority, would prove one of their most dan-

gerous

gerous enemies. *Spendius* had hardly ended his discourse, when a second courier, pretending to come from *Tunes*, arrived with a letter pressing the same matter that was contained in the other. Upon this *Autaritus*, the *Gaul*, immediately stepped forth and declared to the assembly, that their safety and success could only be found in renouncing all hopes of reconciliation with the *Carthaginians*; and that whoever should appear to have turned his thoughts that way, ought to be distrusted as a traitor to the common cause, and as being in secret correspondence with the enemy; and he advised them to be guided wholly by those, who were for carrying things to the utmost extremity against the *Carthaginians*. After this he gave it as his opinion, that they ought to put to death by torments, not only *Gisco* and all the *Carthaginians* then in their custody, but all those that should hereafter fall alive into their hands. *Autaritus* was always in these assemblies of the soldiers a leading man, having the advantage, by his knowledge of several languages, of being able to make himself understood by the greatest part of his hearers. His proposal was received with almost universal applause; nevertheless there were some of every nation, who joined in one common request, that in regard to the many benefits they had received from *Gisco*, he might at least have the favour to suffer only death, and not be put to torment. As they spoke in several languages, and all at once, it was not presently understood what they demanded; but no sooner was their intention known, and some one in the assembly had cried out, *down with them, knock them all on the head*, but these intercessors were stoned to death by the multitude. Then, by order of *Spendius*, was *Gisco* with the other *Carthaginian* prisoners, to the number of 700 persons, brought out to suffer the sentence pronounced against them. The executioners (beginning with *Gisco*, that same *Gisco*, whom but a little before the whole army had owned for their benefactor, and whom they had made choice of to be arbitrator of their differences with the republic) cut off their hands, broke their legs, and then threw them alive into a ditch, there to expire in misery. The *Carthaginians* receiving intelligence of this cruelty, and being deeply affected with the sad fate of so many of their citizens, sent orders to *Amilcar* and *Hanno*, to use their utmost diligence to revenge it. They likewise dispatched heralds to the mercenaries, to demand the bodies of the dead; but the villains were so far from complying with this demand, that they threatened to treat whatever messengers should hereafter be sent to them, in the same manner they had treated *Gisco*. And in fact it became an established law among them, that all *Carthaginian* prisoners they took should be tormented to death; and that those who were allies of the *Carthaginians* should have their hands cut off, and in that condition be sent back to them; and this law was afterwards rigorously executed.

Amilcar, seeing no means left to put an end to the unbounded audaciousness of the enemy, but by utterly exterminating them, sent to *Hanno* to come and join him with the forces, which, without performing any thing worthy of notice, he had hitherto separately commanded. It was hoped that with their united strength they might be able to give a happy issue to
“ the

the war. And in the mean time it was resolved, that in return for the barbarity practised by the enemy, all those of them, who should fall alive into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, should be thrown to wild beasts to be devoured.

But now when affairs began to have a promising aspect, a dispute, that arose on a sudden between the two generals, was carried so far, that by it they lost many fair occasions of beating the enemy, and even gave them frequent advantages in the war. Upon the news of this division, the magistrates of *Carthage* came to a resolution, that one of the two should quit his command, and that the option should be left to the army.

This quarrel so unseasonable, and its consequences above-mentioned, were not the only misfortunes that befel the *Carthaginians* at this time. A convoy from *Emporium* with provisions, and other stores, much wanted for the army, was lost by tempest at sea: and to fill the measure of their adversity, the towns of *Utica* and *Hippo*, that had hitherto stood firm to the *Carthaginian* party, not only in this war, but even in the time of *Agathocles*, and when the *Romans* made their descent on *Africa*, now abandoned them on a sudden, without any plausible motive; and not only entered into a league of fast friendship with the *Africans*, but conceived an implacable hatred against the *Carthaginians*; which they sufficiently testified by murdering all those they had of that nation in garrison, and throwing their bodies over the walls, without suffering them to be buried. These events encouraged *Matho* and *Spendius* to think of laying siege even to *Carthage* itself.

The *Carthaginian* army having declared in favour of *Amilcar*, *Hannibal* was constrained to relinquish his authority, and was succeeded by *Hannibal*, whom the Senate appointed to command in his stead. Assisted by this new colleague, and especially by *Naravasus*, who was eminently useful in all expeditions, *Amilcar* scoured the country, and endeavoured to cut off all means of subsistence from the enemy, who now invested *Carthage*.

The city, blocked up on all sides by land, was forced to have recourse to her allies. *Hiero* king of *Syracuse*, who had all along had a watchful eye upon the events of this war, and had supplied the republic with every thing she had desired of him, was now, in her greatest distress, more than ever diligent to assist her; as being well aware, that to maintain his own authority in *Sicily*, and his alliance of friendship with the *Romans*, it was necessary that *Carthage* should be preserved in a condition to balance their power; otherwise he himself might soon be at their mercy, and instead of their friend become their subject.

In this, says *Polybius*, he acted wisely, for it greatly behoves a Prince not to neglect a mischief of this kind, in the beginning, nor to suffer the exorbitant growth of a neighbouring power, till he is no longer able to contest with it for his own indisputable right.

Not only king *Hiero*, but the *Romans* also, (faithfully observing their treaty of peace) supplied the *Carthaginians* with such provisions and stores as they wanted; so that the city, being thus succoured, was in a condition to defend itself against the efforts of the besiegers.

In the mean time *Amilcar* was so active and diligent in preventing any supplies from going to the camp of *Matbo* and *Spendius*, that he at length reduced them to great straits for provisions, and in the end constrained them to raise the siege. And now *Spendius*, assisted by one *Zarxas* an African leader, and by *Antaritus* the Gaul, issued into the field, at the head of 50,000 chosen men, to try the fortune of war against *Amilcar*. (*Matbo* was left at *Tunes*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a general care of the business.) The elephants of *Carthage* and the horse of *Naravasus* made *Spendius* afraid of descending into the plains, so that he betook himself to his former method of keeping the hills and rough grounds, or occupying the streight passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew itself with little disadvantage. But *Amilcar*, having more skill than he in the trade of war, artfully contrived to draw him to many skirmishes; in all which the success was such, as added courage to the *Carthaginians*, and abated the strength and spirit of their enemies. Thus he continued alarming and provoking them by night and by day; and, through his skill in laying ambushes, never failed to entrap some of them, when they engaged in small parties, nor to cut off great numbers, when the action was more general; and those who fell alive into his hands he gave to be devoured by wild beasts.

At length he surprized them in a place that was very commodious for his own army, and very disadvantageous to theirs. They presently saw their disadvantage, and therefore had not heart to fight. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing that necessity might draw them to attempt the most desperate enterprizes, took the opportunity of their present fear, and shut them close up with a trench and rampart. There they waited miserably and in vain for succour from *Tunes*; and having spent all their provisions were so pressed with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffered patiently, as knowing they had not deserved any favour from *Carthage*; and hoping still that their friends at *Tunes* would not neglect them. But when at length they were driven to such extremity, as to be forced to devour their own companions, and yet saw no appearance of relief, then was their obstinacy quite broken, and they began to threaten their captains. *Spendius*, *Zarxas* and *Antaritus* having therefore consulted together, came to a resolution to yield themselves to *Amilcar*, if required, as the condition of peace. They sent a herald to demand a pass, which being granted them, they came in person to the *Carthaginian* general. What they could say to him is hard to conjecture; yet by the conditions that *Amilcar* granted, it would seem that they took the blame upon themselves, and begged pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, *That the Carthaginians should chuse out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remain at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in one single coat.* When the treaty was thus concluded, *Amilcar* told *Spendius*, and those who were with him, that he chose them as part of the ten; and then immediately ordered them to be seized and secured. The army receiving intelligence that their leaders were detained, and not knowing that a treaty was concluded for them

‘ them upon such gentle terms, presently imagined they were betrayed. In
 ‘ amazement therefore they all ran to arms. But now they wanted cap-
 ‘ tains to order and conduct them; and the same astonishment that made
 ‘ them break the covenants of peace, of which they were ignorant, gave
 ‘ *Amilcar* both colour of justice in accomplishing revenge, and facility in
 ‘ doing the execution. They were all slain, being 40,000 or more in number.

‘ The news of this exploit, (as may well be supposed) gave new life and
 ‘ spirit to the people at *Carthage*, and was terrible to the revolted cities.
 ‘ *Amilcar*, with *Narvesus* and *Hannibal*, carried the war from town to town,
 ‘ and found all places ready to yield, except *Utica*, *Hippo*, and *Tunes*,
 ‘ the two first standing out through fear of deserved vengeance, and the
 ‘ last being held by *Matbo*, with the remainder of the rebel army. It was
 ‘ thought fit to begin with *Tunes*, where lay the chief strength of the ene-
 ‘ my. Coming before this town, they brought forth *Spendius* with his fel-
 ‘ lows, and, in view of the garrison, crucified them under the walls, to
 ‘ terrify those of his old companions, that were still in arms. With this
 ‘ rigour the siege began, as if speedy victory had been assured. *Hanni-
 ‘ bal* quartered upon that side of *Tunes*, which lay toward *Carthage*;
 ‘ *Amilcar* on the opposite side; too far asunder to help one another in
 ‘ sudden accidents. It behoved them therefore to be more circumspect.
 ‘ Nevertheless, *Hannibal* secure, as if all danger were past, neglected to
 ‘ keep good guard. *Matbo* perceived it, and, using his advantage, sal-
 ‘ lied out with unexpected fury against that part of the *Carthaginian*
 ‘ army, and so successfully, that, after a great slaughter of the enemy,
 ‘ he put the rest to flight, forced their camp, pillaged it, and took *Han-
 ‘ nibal* himself prisoner. After the victory, having caused the dead body
 ‘ of *Spendius* to be taken down from the cross, he ordered *Hannibal* to be
 ‘ fixed alive in his place, and executed him with unspeakable torments.
 ‘ The rest also of the noblest of the *Carthaginians*, who had fallen into his
 ‘ hands, were by his command slain round the body of *Spendius*. Of all
 ‘ this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he strength
 ‘ enough remaining, after this great loss, to continue the siege; but was
 ‘ obliged to break it up, and remove to the mouth of the river *Bagradas*,
 ‘ where he encamped.

‘ The terror in *Carthage*, upon the news of this disaster, was not less
 ‘ than had been the joy for the late important victory. All that could
 ‘ bear arms were sent into the field under *Hanno*; and the Senate com-
 ‘ missioned thirty principal men of their body to labour with all the force
 ‘ of persuasion, to bring *Amilcar* and him to a reconciliation. This could
 ‘ not be effected presently. *Amilcar* was perhaps nearly touched in his
 ‘ honour, that the carelessness of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed to him;
 ‘ by sending his enemy to share with him the conduct of affairs, and be
 ‘ a check upon his proceedings. Nevertheless, after many conferences,
 ‘ the authority of the Senators prevailed; and the two Generals passed
 ‘ their words to live in friendship, and act in concert for the public good.
 ‘ And thenceforward all affairs were successfully managed to the satisfac-
 ‘ tion of their fellow citizens.

‘ *Matbo*

Matbo, during these transactions, was come abroad into the field, wisely purposing to make advantage of the reputation of his late success, while it gave some life to his cause. But this *African* Leader wanted the necessary skill to cope with *Amilcar*, who in all skirmishes and encounters between parties never failed to worst him, and thereby to diminish both his strength and his credit. *Matbo*, sensible of this growing mischief to his affairs, resolved therefore to try the fortune of one battle, whereby either his ambition should be accomplished, or his cares at an end. The *Carthaginians* were no less disposed to a general action, having many advantages above their enemies, and especially (which was worth all the rest) such a commander, as was not easily to be matched in that age. Both parties being thus agreed, the confederates and friends of both were called together, and the towns drained of their garrisons to augment the armies. At length with joint consent, in time and place, the battle was fought. The *Carthaginians* won the day. The greatest part of the *African* army was slain upon the spot; the rest fled to a town, that not being defensible quickly surrendered; *Matbo* himself was there taken alive. Immediately upon this victory all the *African* cities which had been in the rebellion, submitted to their old masters, *Utica* and *Hippo* only excepted, these, by their treacherous and outrageous proceedings, having cut off from themselves all hopes of pardon. However, these also were constrained to surrender at mercy. *Matbo* and his companions, being led in triumph to *Carthage*, were put to death by all the torments that revenge could devise. Thus was a period given to this *inexpiable* war, which had lasted three years and near four months, and had abounded with more acts of wickedness and cruelty, than any other to be met with in story.

ROME during all this time took no advantage of her rival's distress to promote her ruin, but continued faithfully to observe the treaty of peace with her; and even assisted her as a friend in many instances. Once indeed there seemed to be some danger of a rupture. For as the *Carthaginians* at the beginning of this war, made prize of all vessels that came on the coast of *Africa* to supply the rebels with provisions, it happened that they had at one time in custody 500 *Italians*, whom they had taken carrying on this traffic for the profit of private merchants. The *Romans*, offended at the detaining of these traders in prison, began to turn their thoughts to revenge; but they were soon appeased by a respectful embassy from *Carthage*, who restored the prisoners in so frank a manner, that the *Romans*, not to be behind her in courtesy, enlarged, without ransom, all the *Carthaginian* captives, that yet remained of those who had been taken during the *Sicilian* war.

Y. R. 515
Bef. Chr.
237.
244 Conf.

Part of the Y. of R. 512. Q. Lutatius, and A. Manlius.

Y. of R. 513. C. Claudius, and M. Sempronius.

Y. of R. 514. C. Mamilius, and Q. Valerius.

Part of the Y. of R. 515. Tib. Sempronius, and P. Valerius.

Y. R. 515. They also permitted their merchants to supply *Carthage* with whatsoever she stood in need of, and prohibited all commerce with her enemies. *Bel. Chr.* 237. Nay, more than this, when the people of *Utica*, having revolted from the *Carthaginians*, would have put that city into the hands of the *Romans*, the latter rejected the overture; as they also did an offer made them of the Island of *Sardinia* by the mercenaries there, who, following the example of those in *Africa*, had turned their arms against the masters in whose pay they were, and had forcibly seized upon that Island.

S. V. R. This behaviour towards a rival power (says a learned writer) might have served as a notable example of *Roman* faith to all posterity, had not the issue proved that it proceeded wholly from the hope of greater profit thereby, than could reasonably be expected from an open violation of the treaty of peace. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended, at that time, upon the virtue of *Amilcar*, and had he been overthrown by the rebels in one main battle, that mighty city must either have fallen into the hands of merciless villains, or have humbled herself under the protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately contended for superiority. She was once, during the war, reduced by the rebels to so great extremity as not to be far from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindness, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but sinking ship, to run herself aground upon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*, then did ambition put off her goodly vizour. Though the *Romans* had formerly refused this Island, when offered them by the mercenaries, (who were afterwards driven thence by the natives) they now resolved to take possession of it by force of arms. One of the Consuls passed thither with an army, and denounced war against *Carthage*, under the shameless pretence, *That the preparations made* (by that enfeebled and impoverished city) *to reduce Sardinia, were indeed designed against Rome.* The *Carthaginians* were in no condition at this time to enter upon a new war with so potent an enemy: yielding therefore to necessity, they relinquished all pretensions to the Island for ever; and not only so, but submitted to the exactions of the Consul, who further demanded of them, as the price of a peace, the sum of * 1200 talents: Detestable injustice and extortion, which, as *Polybius* assures us, were the chief cause of that bloody war, in which *Hannibal* afterwards, with hereditary hatred and an implacable spirit of revenge, pushed the *Romans* to the very brink of destruction.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 88.

Simmius
Capito a-
pid Pomp.
Fest. in vo-
ce Sardi-
Vinales.

* 232500 l.
A. buth-
not

C H A P. XII.

Wars of the Romans with the Boian Gauls, Ligurians, Sardinians and Corsicans.

DURING the three years and some months that the war of *Carthage* with her mercenaries had lasted, the *Roman* Consuls had no affairs abroad, and seem to have chiefly employed their thoughts to establish

with good order in *Italy*, and to secure the frontiers against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting colonies in their neighbourhood. The Republic however would gladly have engaged in some quarrel, if she could have found a plausible pretence for it. *Eutropius* tells us that after the conclusion of the war in *Sicily*, she sent Ambassadors to *Ptolemy Evergetes*, King of *Egypt*, to offer him her assistance against *Antiochus* of *Syria*, surnamed *the God*: but the *Egyptian* having got rid of his enemy before the Ambassadors arrived, his answer was only a compliment of thanks. And we have seen, that after the conclusion of the *African* war, in which *Carthage* was triumphant, the *Romans* would have renewed hostilities against that hated rival, on account of *Sardinia*, if they had not been prevented in this project, by an unwilling cession of that Island to them.

Y. R. 515.
Bef. Chr.
237.
214 Conf.
Eutrop. l.
3. c. 1.

But about the same time these ambitious and restless spirits found sufficient opportunity to keep their hardy legions in exercise. In the Consulate of *Tib. Sempronius*, and *P. Valerius*, those *Italic Gauls* who were called *Boii*, and who, after infinite losses and calamities sustained in their struggles with the *Romans*, had continued quiet 45 years, resolved at length, upon some very trivial pretences, to break the peace, which had been so long maintained with the republic. The old men, all those who had felt the hardships and sufferings of the former wars, being extinct, the young men, their successors, who had experienced nothing of those miseries, and feared nothing from fortune, began, according to the nature of man, to grow turbulent and desirous of some change in their condition; and this was the true source of their rash enterprise.

See B. 1.
ch. 25. §.
1, 2. Polyb.
l. 2. c. 21.

The *Ligurians* also (whom *Rome* had not yet begun to subdue,) being in motion, and seeming to threaten her with war, the Consuls for the year were obliged to divide their forces.

Liv. Epit.
20.

Valerius led a consular army against the *Gauls*, and was vanquished in his first battle with them, in which he lost 3500 men. Upon the news of this defeat, the *Romans* immediately dispatched *M. Genucius Cippus*, one of the *Prætors*, from the city, with a reinforcement for the Consul. *Valerius* looking on this precaution as a personal affront, and believing that he was still strong enough to cope with the enemy, notwithstanding the blow he had received, hastened to attack them again, before *Cippus* could arrive. His soldiers were no less zealous than himself to recover their honour; and being animated by this motive behaved themselves so gallantly that they slew 14,000 of the *Gauls* and took 2000 prisoners. However, this victory did not obtain the consul a triumph, because he had been rash in the attempt, and had not paid sufficient deference to the sentiments of the senate and people.

Orat. B.
4. c. 12.
Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 6.

In the mean time *Sempronius*, the other Consul, gained a battle, (though not a decisive one) against the *Ligurians*.

These wars were continued by the next year's Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. *Fulvius* acquired no honour by the

Y. R. 516.

* *Liguria* comprehended, at this time the whole extent of country between the *Arno*, the *Apennines*, the country of the *Assues*, the *Po*, the maritime *Alps*, and the *Ligurian sea* (now the sea of *Genoa*.)

Y. R. § 16.
Bct. Chr.
236.

215 Conf.

Zon. B. 8.

Eutrop. B.
3. c. 1.

Kon. An-
tiq. Part
2. B. 5. c. 7.
Lib. II.
cap. 4.
Mücel.
cap. 58.

*D. Die
Natali,
cap. 17.

campaign. It was with great difficulty that he preserved his camp from being forced by the *Gauls*, whose country on this side of the *Po* he had entered; he was obliged to keep within his intrenchments, and to act entirely on the defensive.

Cornelius had better success against the *Ligurians* near *Hetruria*. He obtained a victory, for which he was rewarded with a triumph.

During these wars, preparations were made at *Rome* to celebrate the 'secular games: *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* came to see the show, and brought with him 200,000 *Modii* (measures containing a peck and a half) of wheat, that the vast concourse of people might not cause a scarcity of provisions. The

* *Ludi Seculares*, the most remarkable games that we meet with in the *Roman* story. The common opinion makes them to have had a very odd original, of which we have a tedious relation in *Valerius Maximus*, of the Antients, and *Angelus Politianus* of the Moderns. Monsieur *Dacier*, in his excellent remarks on the secular poem of *Horace*, passes by this old conceit as trivial and fabulous, and assures us, that we need go no farther for the rise of the custom, than to the *Sybilline* oracles, for which the *Romans* had so great an esteem and veneration.

In these sacred writings, there was one famous prophecy to this effect; that if the *Romans*, at the beginning of every age, should hold solemn games in the *Campus Martius* to the honour of *Pluto*, *Proserpine*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Ceres*, and the *Parceæ*, or three fatal sisters, their city should ever flourish, and all nations be subjected to their dominion. They were very ready to obey the oracle, and, in all the ceremonies used on that occasion, conformed themselves to its directions. The whole manner of the solemnity was as follows: In the first place, the heralds received orders to make an invitation of the whole world to come to a feast which they had never seen already, and should never see again. Some few days before the beginning of the games, the *Quindecimviri*, taking their seats in the capitol, and in the *Palatine* temple, distributed among the people, glorifying compositions, as flambeaux, brimstone and sulphur. From hence the people passed on to *Diana's* temple on the *Aventine* mountain, carrying wheat, barley, and beans, as an offering; and after this they spent whole lengths in devotion to the destinies. At length, when the time of the games was actually come, which continued three days and three nights, the people assembled in

the *Campus Martius*, and sacrificed to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Lutona*, *Diana*, the *Parceæ*, *Ceres*, *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*. On the first night of the feast, the Emperor accompanied by the *Quindecimviri*, commanded three altars to be raised on the bank of *Tiber*, which they sprinkled with the blood of three lambs, and then proceeded to burn the offerings and the victims. After this they marked out a space which served for a Theatre, being illuminated by an innumerable multitude of flambeaux and fires: here they sung some certain hymns composed on this occasion, and celebrated all kinds of sports. On the day after, when they had been at the capitol to offer the victims, they returned to the *Campus Martius*, and held sports to the honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. These lasted till the next day, when the noble matrons, at the hour appointed by the oracle, went to the capitol to sing hymns to *Jupiter*. On the third day, which concluded the feast, twenty-seven young boys, and as many girls, sung in the temple of *Palatine Apollo* hymns and verses in *Greek* and *Latin*, to recommend the city to the protection of those deities whom they designed particularly to honour by their sacrifices.

The famous secular poem of *Horace* was composed for this last day, in the secular game held by *Augustus*. *Dacier* has given his judgment on this poem, as the masterpiece of *Horace*; and believes that all antiquity cannot furnish us with any thing more happily complete.

There has been much controversy, whether these games were celebrated every hundred or every hundred and ten years. For the former opinion, *Censorinus** alleges the testimony of *Valerius Antias*, *Varro* and *Livy*; and this was certainly the space of time which the *Romans* called *seculum*, or an age. For the latter he produceth the authority

The year of the *secular games* was not a year of tranquillity. The new Consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varus*, were obliged to take the field to oppose the *Gauls*. The confidence of their leaders being raised by the multitudes of men they had assembled, and by the expectation of a strong reinforcement of their countrymen from the other side the *Alps*, they demanded the restitution of *Ariminum*, formerly taken from them by the *Romans*. *Lentulus* and *Varus*, to gain time (not having their troops compleat) referred the matter to the determination of the senate, and in the interim agreed upon a truce with the enemy, whose commanders were very ready to consent to a cessation of arms till they should be joined by the forces they expected from *Transalpine Gaul*. When these forces arrived, their number proved so great as to give umbrage to those whom they came to assist. The *Cisalpine Gauls*, more afraid of the new comers than of the *Romans*, turned their arms against them and put them to flight, but first slew their own two Generals (or Kings) *Alies* and *Galatus*, for having of their own head, and without consulting the nation, invited such dangerous allies to cross the *Alps*. The enemy being thus defeated by themselves, two consular armies were no longer necessary to repress them. *Lentulus* with his legions alone, not only reduced the *Boii* to yield a part of their country as the condition of a peace; but took a great number of forts from the *Ligurians*, partly by force and partly by composition.

Y. R. 517.
Bef. Chr.
235.
216 Conf.

Polib. B.
2. c. 21.

In the mean time, *Varus* made preparations for going to the Island of *Zon. B. 8.*
Corfica, which, by the secret intrigues of the *Carthaginians*, had been in-

thority of the registers, or commentaries of the *Quintilianus*, and the edicts of *Augustus*, besides the plain evidence of *Horace* in his secular poem; 21.

Certus undenos decies per annos, &c.

This last space is expressly enjoined by the *Sybilline* oracle itself; the verses of which, relating to this purpose, are transcribed by *Zosimus* in the second book of his history.

Ἀλλ' ὅπῃ δὲ μῆνις ἴκη χρεὼν δὲ ἀν-
θρώποις
Ζεὺς, εἰς ἐτέων ἑκατὸν δέκα κύκλου
διδύμων, &c.

Yet according to the ancient accounts we have of their celebration in the several ages, neither of these periods are much regarded.

- The first were held *A. U. C.* 245, or 298.
- The second *A.* 330, or 408.
- The third *A.* 518.
- The fourth either *A.* 605, or 608, or 628.
- The fifth by *Augustus*, *A.* 736.
- The sixth by *Claudius*, *A.* 800.
- The seventh by *Domitian*, 841.
- The eighth by *Severus*, *A.* 957.

The ninth by *Philip*, 1000.

The tenth by *Honorius*, *A.* 1157.

The disorder, without question, was owing to the ambition of the Emperors, who were extremely desirous to have the honour of celebrating these games in their reign; and therefore upon the slightest pretence, many times made them return before their ordinary course. Thus *Claudius* pretended that *Augustus* had held the games before their due time, that he might have the least excuse to keep them within sixty-four years afterwards. On which account, *Suetonius* tells us, that the people scoffed at his cryers, when they went about proclaiming games that nobody had ever seen, nor would see again; whereas there were not only many persons alive who remembered the games of *Augustus*, but several players, who had acted in those games, were now again brought on the stage by *Claudius*. *Sueton. Claud. 21.*

What part of the year the secular games were celebrated in, is uncertain; probably in the times of the commonwealth on the days of the nativity of the city, i. e. the 9, 10, 11, *Kal. Marti*, but under the Emperors, on the day when they came to their power.

Mr. Wal-
ker of
Coint, p.
168.

duced

duced to throw off the *Roman* yoke. The Consul, not finding a fleet ready to transport his whole army, sent away before him a small number of ships with a detachment under the command of that *Claudius Glycias*, who had formerly been named to the Dictatorship in derision. *Claudius* had served, since that time, with good reputation, in several posts of a lower order, but had never commanded in chief. Seeing himself now at the head of a part of the Consular army, his ambition was raised, and fancying it would be much for his honour to gain this Island to the republic without bloodshed; he, without the consent of Consul or Senate, made a shameful peace with the *Corficans*. The Consul, at his arrival, annulled the treaty, renewed the war, and subdued the Island by force of arms. As for *Claudius*, by a decree of the senate, he was delivered up to the resentment of the *Corficans*, for having drawn them (as it was alleged) into a bloody war by a fallacious peace: In which sentence the republic, beside the punishing a breach of duty and order, had the further view of preventing the reproach that might have been cast upon the Consul, for having made war on a people who depended on the faith of a treaty. However, the *Corficans* disdained this reparation, and sent *Claudius* back to *Rome*. There he was put to death in prison, and then his body, being first carried to the top of the steps called *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, on which the bodies of the greatest malefactors used to be exposed, was thence dragged away with an iron crook and thrown into the *Tiber*.

This execution of *Claudius* did not satisfy the *Corficans*, who had been amused by a treaty of peace, only to give their enemies the better opportunity to subdue them by a war. The near neighbourhood of *Sardinia* made it easy for them to communicate their discontent to the people of that Island; and it is said, that *Carthage* under-hand excited the *Sardinians* to revolt from the *Romans*; and that *Rome*, for this reason, made preparations for a new war with the *African* Republic. Alarmed at this news the *Carthaginians* sent ambassador after ambassador to negotiate an accommodation; but all in vain. At length they dispatched to *Rome*, for the same end, ten of the principal members of their state, among whom was one *Hanno*, a young man of great spirit and vivacity. When these new deputies had for a while employed the lowest submissions and the humblest entreaties to procure a reconciliation, and all to no effect, *Hanno*, weary of so much cringing, and full of indignation at the rough and haughty answers of the Senate, cried out, with an air of confidence and dignity, "Well then, if you are resolved to break the treaty, reinstate us in the condition we were in before it was concluded. Restore to us *SICILY* and *SARDINIA*. With these we bought of you, not a Short Truce, but a Peace that was to be perpetual." The Senators, ashamed, dismissed the Deputies with a milder answer.

After this the Consuls for the new year, *C. Attilius Balbus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, drew lots for their provinces; the former continued in *Italy*, while the latter easily recovered *Sardinia*, and settled peace there, but without reducing it to a *Roman* province.

And now the temple of *Janus* was shut up for the first time since the reign of *Numa Pompilius*. For near 450 years the *Romans* had been almost continually in arms: And so steady was their ambition, and so unwearied their constancy in pursuing its dictates, that in the succeeding parts of this history we shall see them, in spite of numberless misfortunes, still forming new enterprizes upon the neighbouring nations, and never ceasing to push their conquests till they have attained to universal empire.

The present tranquillity lasted but a few months. In the following Consuls of *L. Posthumius Albinus*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, three armies were raised to act against the *Sardinians*, *Corficans* and *Ligurians*, who had (probably) engaged themselves, by secret treaties, mutually to assist one another. *Posthumius* succeeded against the *Ligurians*; but the *Prætor Cornelius*, who commanded in *Sardinia*, was, with many of his soldiers, carried off by distemper. *Carvilius* (from *Corfica*) transported his *Legions* thither, gained a victory over the *Sardinians*, and then returned to *Rome* in triumph.

In this Consulship, the *Censors*, observing the number of the *Citizens* ^{multiplied} to be considerably lessened, and imputing it to men's marrying only with a view to interest, deserting their own wives for fear of having many children to maintain, and carrying on unlawful intrigues with other women, they obliged all the citizens to swear, that they would not marry with any other view, than that of increasing the subjects of the republic. This oath raised many scruples; and caused many ruptures between husbands and wives. Among the rest, one *Carvilius Ruga*, a considerable man, thought himself bound by his oath to divorce his wife whom he passionately loved, because she was barren; and accordingly he put her away, contrary to his inclination, and married another; the first instance of divorce at *Rome* in 519 years, notwithstanding that the laws had always allowed it. And it was on this occasion that marriage-contracts were first introduced, to secure women's portions in case of divorces, which we shall see hereafter grow scandalously frequent, as a corruption of manners prevailed in the republic.

The fresh revolts of the *Sardinians* and *Ligurians* obliged the new Consul, *M. Pomponius Matko* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, (the same *Fabius* who afterwards acquired so much glory in the wars of *Hannibal*) to divide the *Roman* forces. It now falling to *Fabius's* lot to make war with the *Ligurians*, he drove them out of the flat country, and forced them to take shelter under the *Alps*. In the mean time, his colleague *Pomponius* sailed for *Sardinia*, and gained some victories there, for which a triumph was granted him at his return home.

It is conjectured, that about this time the *Abitution Law* (so called from the two *Abituii*, Tribunes of the people, who proposed it and got it passed) was promulgated. It retrenched many frivolous customs, ordained by *the twelve tables* to be observed in processes relating to civil affairs, and it also directed that three able and judicious men should be chosen.

A. G. L. B.
XVI. C. 19.

Pomponius de
orig. Juris.

Y. R. 521.
Bef. Chr.
231.
220 Conf.

Cic. in
Bruto, c.
14.
Polyb. B. 2.
c. 21.

Val. Max.
B. 5. c. 4.
§. 5.
Cic. de Inv.
Rhet. B. 2.
c. 17.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 21.

Y. R. 522.
Bef. Chr.
230.
221 Conf.

Zon. B. 8.

Fast. Cap.

Plin. Jun.
B. 5. Epist.
1.
Cicero de
Orat. B. 1.
c. 18.

chosen out of each *tribe*, to form a new *tribunal*, which subordinate to the *Prætors*, might assist them, and remedy the inconveniencies often occasioned by their absence from *Rome*. These new judges were called, for brevity's sake, *Centumvirs*^b, though they were 105 in number; and when they were afterwards augmented to 180, they still kept the same name.

The establishment of this new *tribunal* made no change as to the direction of state affairs, which continued wholly in the Senate and *Comitia*. *Flaminius*, one of the *Tribunes*, made a motion to the Commons, at this time, to distribute a fruitful country lately taken from the *Gauls*, among the poor citizens of *Rome*. All motions of this kind had ever been opposed by the Senators, out of private interest; and now they had indeed a better reason to unite their strength, in order to hinder *Flaminius's* motion from passing into a law. They foresaw that the *Gauls*, on both sides the *Po*, would impatiently bear the distribution proposed of those lands. Neither the threats of the present Consuls, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *M. Publicius Malleolus*, nor the entreaties of the Senate, nor yet the tears of his own father, whom the *Patricians* had gained over to them, could prevail with *Flaminius* to desist. On the day appointed for proposing the law to the *Comitia*, he mounted the *Rostra* and spoke to the people in favour of it; but in the midst of his harangue, his father appearing on a sudden, ascended the *Rostra*, took him by the arm, and commanded him to follow him home; and then *Flaminius* immediately obeyed without reply; and, what is most extraordinary, not the least noise nor murmur was heard in the assembly. Nevertheless, the affair was now only postponed; it was afterwards carried into execution; and what the Senators had apprehended came to pass; a dangerous war from the angry *Gauls*.

In the following year the new Consuls, *M. Pomponius Matbo*, and *C. Papirius Maso*, entirely finished the conquest of the two islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, which were then reduced to the state of a *Roman Province*, upon the same foot as *Sicily*. It is probable, that after this regulation *Pomponius* continued in the new province to govern it in quality of *Pro-Consul*, or *Prætor*, when the year of his Consulship, which was not far from a conclusion, should expire; but *Papirius* returned to *Rome*. At his arrival he found the grand elections over; a Dictator had been created to hold the *Comitia*, so that during the few remaining days of his magistracy, he had nothing to do, and he also quickly perceived, upon trial, that he had no more credit than business. The senate, dissatisfied with him for some reason unknown, refused him a triumph. This provoked him to take a method entirely new, to do himself honour. At the

^b They were divided into four courts or chambers. The causes, which fell under their cognizance, were such as related to prescriptions, guardianships, degrees of consanguinity, or affinity, damages occasioned by inundations, contests about building or

repairing middle walls, the windows a man might open upon his neighbour, with an infinite number of other matters, that often raised disputes between the inhabitants of the same city.

head



and of his army he marched to the temple of *Jupiter Latialis* on the hill of *Palatium*, with all the pomp with which triumphant victors were wont to march to the Capitol; he made no alteration in the ceremony, except that instead of a crown of laurel, he wore a crown of myrtle, on account of his having defeated the *Corficans* in a place where was a grove of myrtles. This example of *Papirius*, was afterwards followed by many Generals to whom the senate refused the honour of a *Triumph*.

Val. Max.
B. 3. c. 6.
Pliny, B.
15. c. 29.
Festus in
voce Myr-
tea.

C H A P. XIII.

The first Illyrian War.

THE next year *M. Aemilius Barbula*, and *M. Junius Pera*, being Consuls, the republic engaged in a new war out of *Italy*. *Illyria*, or rather that part of the country so called, which lies upon the *Adriatic*, and confines upon *Macedon* and *Epirus*, was at this time governed by a woman, named *Teuta*, the widow of King *Agroen*, and guardian to her son, *Pineus*, under age. The success of her late husband's arms, who had vanquished the *Aetolians*, made her vain and presumptuous; and being governed by evil councils, she, instead of prudently managing the affairs of her ward in peace, commissioned her subjects to practise piracy on the sea coast, and seize all the places they could; which was, in a manner, declaring herself a common enemy to all nations. Her pirates had taken many ships belonging to the *Roman* merchants, and she was now besieging the island of *Issa* in the *Adriatic*; the inhabitants of which, had put themselves under the protection of the republic. Upon the complaints of those merchants, and to protect the people of *Issa*, the senate dispatched two ambassadors, *Caius* and *Lucius Coruncanius*, to the *Illyrian* Queen, to require of her that she would restrain her subjects from infesting the seas with their piracies. To this demand the Queen answered, that she would take care, that no injury should be done to the *Romans* by the *Illyrian* NATION, but that she thought it was never the custom of Princes to hinder private subjects from making what advantages they could from the sea. But the *Romans*, (replied the younger of the ambassadors), have an excellent custom, which is, to punish private injuries by a public revenge, and to relieve the oppressed. *Teuta*, by the help of the Gods, we shall find means to make you speedily reform your royal institutions. The proud Queen, angry to excess at these words, secretly contrived to have the ambassadors murdered in their return homeward. Upon the news of this cruel breach of the law of nations, the senate, having first done honour to the *manes* of the ambassadors, by erecting, as was usual in such cases, statues, three feet high, to their memory, equipped a fleet with all expedition to begin the war. *Teuta*, alarmed with these preparations, dispatched an embassy to *Rome*, to disown her having

Y. R. 523;
Bef. Chr.
229.
222d Conf.

Polyb. B. 2.
c. 2.
Appian in
Illyr.

Zon. B. 8.
Dion. in Ex-
cerpt. XII.

Polyb. B.
2. c. 8.

Pliny, B.
34. c. 6.

Dion. in Ex-
cerpt. XII.

Ann. B. 8. having had any share in the murder: Yet, when the *Romans* demanded that the murderers should be delivered up, she peremptorily refused it.

C. R. 574. The Consuls therefore for the new year, *P. Posthumius Albinus*, and
 Hist. Chr. 202. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, both embarked for *Illyricum*. *Fulvius* had the
 133d Conf. command of the fleet, consisting of 200 galleys, and *Posthumius* of the
 Polyb. B. 2. 7. 11. land-forces, which were 20,000 foot, and a small body of horse. The
 * Nov. Cui. Queen, in the beginning of the spring, had augmented her fleet, and
 631 sent it to plunder the coasts of *Greece*. One part sailed to *Corcyra*, (a small island lying near *Pharos* in the *Adriatic*) the rest anchored before *Epidamnium*. These, who had thought to surprize the town, having failed of their hope, rejoined the squadron that lay before *Corcyra*: the people of which place had called in the *Aetolians* and *Achæans* to their assistance. Nevertheless, the *Illyrians*, being assisted by the *Acar-naniens*, had the victory in a brisk action by sea: so that *Corcyra*, being no longer in a condition to defend itself, capitulated; and received an *Illyrian* garrison, commanded by *Demetrius* of *Pharos*: after which, the conquerors sailed to *Epidamnium*, and renewed the siege of that Place.

Fulvius sailed directly for *Corcyra*; and tho' he learnt by the way that the city had surrendered, he pursued his course, having a secret intelligence with *Demetrius*; who, knowing that some ill offices had been done him with *Tenta*, and fearing her resentment, had promised the Consul to deliver up the Place to him; and this he did with the consent of the *Cor-cyrans*, who thought it the only means of getting a protection from the insults of the *Illyrians*.

By the advice and assistance of the same *Demetrius*, the *Romans* (after *Posthumius* had landed his forces) made themselves masters of *Apollonia* a great city, and one of the keys of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*) and of many other places; of which, to reward his services, they appointed him governor. *Tenta* was quickly constrained by *Posthumius's* army to retire for safety to the inner Part of *Illyricum*; while *Fulvius*, with his naval forces, cleared the sea of her pirates.

A. R. 575. Upon the election of *Sp. Carvilius*, and *G. Fabius Verrucosus*, to the
 Hist. Chr. 207. Consulate, *Fulvius* was recalled from *Illyricum* with the greater part
 214 Conf. of the fleet, and of the land-forces; and *Posthumius* received orders to stay there with the remainder, in quality of Pro consul. *Tenta*, who perhaps had built some hopes on a change of the *Roman* magistrate, finding that *Posthumius* not only wintered in *Illyricum*, but was raising fresh troops to pursue the war, sent, early in the spring, from *Rhizon*, (whither she had retired) an embassy to *Rome* to divert the storm. The
 Polyb. B. 2. 12. Senate granted her a peace on these conditions. That she should pay an
 214 Polyb. annual tribute to the *Romans*. Surrender to them all *Illyricum*, a few places excepted. (*Appian* mentions *Corcyra*, *Pharos*, *Issa*, *Epidamnium* (or *Dyrrachium*.) and the country of the *Antianes* as yielded to the *Romans*.)

man) And (which principally concerned the Greeks) that not more than two of her ships, and these unarmed, should be permitted to sail beyond Lissos, a sea-port on the confines of Illyricum and Macedon. Thus ended the first Illyrian war, which had not lasted quite two years. As for Teuta, whether out of shame, or compelled to it by a secret article of the treaty, she abdicated the Regency, and Demetrius took her place.

Posthumius, after this, sent ambassadors to the Aetolians and Achaean, to lay before them the reasons for which the Romans had undertaken the war, what had been the events of it, and upon what terms a peace had been concluded. The ambassadors, having performed their commission, returned to Corcyra, much pleased with the courteous reception they had met with from those states. In reality, the treaty was of great benefit to the Greeks, and delivered them from vexations and perpetual fears: for all Greece had been plagued and infested with the Illyrian pyracies.

Polybius remarks, that this was the first time that any Roman troops cross the sea into Illyricum; and the first time that there was any intercourse by ambassadors between the Greeks and the Romans. The latter, about the same time, sent ambassadors to Corinth and to Athens. They were honourably received. The Corinthians, by a public act, decreed that the Romans should be admitted to the celebration of the Isthmian games. And Zonaras tells us, that the Athenians declared the Romans Citizens of Athens, and decreed them the privilege of being admitted to the mysteries of Eleusis; that is, of the festival of Ceres celebrated at Eleusis, a city of Attica.

Y. R. 525.
Bef. Chr.
227.
224 Conf.

Polyb. B.
2. c. 12.
Zon. B. 8.

C H A P. XIV.

The Romans vanquish the Gauls on both sides the Po.

BEFORE the Illyrian war was well ended, the Italic Gauls on both sides the Po began to be in motion. Nevertheless it does not appear, that P. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Attilius Regulus, the Consuls for the new year, took the field against them, or performed any military exploit.

The Romans had the extreme dread of those enemies, who had formerly reduced their state to the very brink of total destruction. There was a prophecy, at this time current at Rome, That the Gauls and Greeks should one day be in possession of it. This prophecy is said to have been found in

Y. R. 526.
Bef. Chr.
276.
225 Conf.

* Some authors say, that the first establishment of two Provincial Prætors, one for the government of Sicily, and one for that of Sardinia and Corsica, was in this Consulate, and not at the time before mentioned. Be that as it will, it was in this year that, at the motion of two Tribunes, Villius, and Titius, a law passed, empowering the Roman Prætors to appoint, as well in the provinces belonging to the republic, as at Rome, guardians to those women and children who had none. This law was called Villia-Titia. Catron.

Pomp. de Orig. Juris.
Ind. B. 1.
Ulpian.
c. 11. de tutelis.

Y. R. 517.
Bel. Cnr.
225
116 Conf.

Zon. B. 8.
Oros. B. 4.
C. 1.

Polyb. B.
2 C. 24.

the *Sybilline* books. The completion of it seemed now to approach, when the states of the republic were bounded on one side by the *Greeks*, and on the other by the *Gauls*. The succeeding Consuls therefore, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *L. Apustius Fullo*, consulted with the *Pontifices*, how to quiet the apprehensions of the people; and immediately an edict was published by the *Decemvirs*, who had the care of the *Sybilline* books, commanding that two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and two *Gauls*, a man and a woman, should be buried alive in the Ox-Market; and by this they persuaded the people, that the prophecy was fulfilled, and that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* had taken possession of *Rome*.

The difficulties raised by superstition being thus surmounted, the *Romans* applied themselves to create divisions among the *Gauls*, and to levy a prodigious force; which (according to *Polybius*^b) amounted to near

700,000

| | Foot. | Horse. |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| <p> ^a The numbers found upon the muster, as recorded by <i>Polybius</i>, are as follow. With the Consuls marched four legions of <i>Romans</i>, each legion consisting of 5,200 foot, and 300 horse. </p> | 20,800 | 1,200 |
| They had also with them, of the allies, | 30,000 | 2,000 |
| Of the <i>Sabines</i> and <i>Utrurians</i> were sent, under the command of a Prætor, to the frontiers of <i>Utruria</i> , | 50,000 | 4,000 |
| Of the <i>Umbrians</i> and <i>Sarcinates</i> (from the <i>Apennines</i>) 20,000, and as many of the <i>Veneti</i> and <i>Cenomani</i> were appointed to invade the <i>Bori</i> , in order to oblige them to keep a part of their forces at home, for their own defence, | 40,000 | |
| At <i>Rome</i> were kept ready to march, (on any exigence) of the citizens, These were strengthened by a body of the allies, amounting to | 20,000 30,000 | 1,500 2,000 |
| On the muster rolls sent to the senate, from the allies were, | | |
| Of the <i>Latins</i> , | 80,000 | 5,000 |
| Of the <i>Samnites</i> , | 70,000 | 7,000 |
| Of the <i>Lepiges</i> , and <i>Messapiges</i> , | 50,000 | 16,000 |
| Of the people of <i>Lucania</i> , | 30,000 | 3,000 |
| Of the <i>Marsi</i> , <i>Marrucini</i> , <i>Ferentini</i> , and <i>Vestini</i> , | 20,000 | 4,000 |
| The <i>Romans</i> had also in <i>Sicily</i> and <i>Tarentum</i> two legions, consisting each of 4,000 foot and 200 horse, | 8,400 | 400 |
| Beside all these, of the common people, in <i>Rome</i> and in <i>Campania</i> , were mustered, as fit to bear arms, | 250,000 | 23,000 |
| | 699,200 | 69,100 |

Plinius, on occasion of this muster, expresses his admiration of the hardy enterprise of *Hannibal*, to attack an empire of such prodigious strength with an army of scarcely 20,000 men.

But Sir *Walter Raleigh* observes, that this muster seems to have been like to that which *Lodovico Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the XIII. invaded *Milan*; at which time, the better to encourage himself and his subjects, he took a roll of all persons able

to bear arms within the Dutchy, though indeed he was never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certain it is, (adds our historian) that the battles of *Trebia*, *Thrasimene*, and *Cannæ*, did not consume any such proportion as was answerable to this large account. Yet were the *Romans* fain to arm their slaves, even for want of other soldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvel is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified

700,000 foot; and near 70,000 horse, so great was the terror which the threatened invasion from these Barbarians spread over all *Italy*. The *Gauls* nevertheless, with only fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, began the hostilities, entered *Hetruria*, pillaging and laying waste the country, without opposition. Polyb. B. 2. c. 23.

The republic had promoted *L. Æmilius Papus*, and *C. Attilius Regulus*, to the Consulship. The latter went into *Sardinia*, to quiet some commotion there; while *Æmilius* took upon him the conduct of the war with the *Insubrian* and *Boian Gauls*, joined by a numerous army, from the other side of the *Alps*, of the *Gætulæ*, so called (says *Polybius*) because they served for pay, the word having that signification. They were commanded by two kings, *Concolitanus*, and *Aneroestus*. Y. R. 528. B. 2. c. 224. 227 Conf. B. 2. c. 22.

Æmilius being uncertain what rout the *Gætulæ* would take after they had passed the *Alps*, had led his troops to *Ariminum*, to hinder the enemy from entering upon the *Roman* lands by the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. At the same time a Prætor, with a body of 50,000 foot, and 4000 horse, had been ordered into *Hetruria*, to defend the frontiers of that country. But in his march he missed of the enemy; who were advanced to the neighbourhood of *Clusium* (within three days march of *Rome*) when they heard that a *Roman* army was behind them, and would soon be at their heels. They immediately turned back to meet the Prætor and give him battle. It being about the close of day, when the two armies came in sight of each other, they both encamped. But in the night, the leaders of the *Gauls*, having meditated a stratagem, marched away with their infantry towards *Fæsula*^d, leaving only their cavalry to appear in the field, when day should return. In the morning, the Prætor seeing nothing but horse to oppose him, sallied out of his entrenchments and attacked them. The *Gaulic* cavalry, according to their instructions, instantly gave ground, and took the road to *Fæsula*. Their flight drew the *Romans* B. 2. c. 26. c. 25.

terrified with the report of such a multitude: For, all heads are not fit for helmets; though the *Roman* citizens were, in general, as good fighting men as elsewhere might be found.

Another reason may be also assigned why *Hannibal* should not be much frightened at these muster rolls, even supposing the far greater part of the men, there registered, to be fit to bear arms. *Polybius* tells us, that the people of *Italy*, terrified at the approach of the *Gauls*, did not consider themselves now as being to fight only as allies of *Rome*, and for the preservation of her empire, but for their own proper safety, their families, their fortunes, all that was dear to them; and that it was for this reason they so readily executed the orders that were sent to them from the senate. The contest with the

Gauls was looked upon as the common cause of all *Italy*.

But when *Hannibal* passed the *Alps*, the case was widely different; for we may well conclude from the neutrality and cold behaviour generally observed by the allies of *Rome*, on that occasion, that they looked upon this war as regarding her only, and in which they themselves had little concern. According to the *Jesuits*, the *Gætulæ* were not a particular people of *Transalpine Gaul*, but probably *Germans* dispersed through all the *Gaulic* nation, whose profession was arms, and who hired themselves to whoever would employ them in war. They had their name from a weapon they bore, called *Gæsum*.

^d A city of *Hetruria*, at the foot of the *Apennines*.

Y. R. c. 8. after them, never suspecting that they should find the enemy's infantry
 B. C. 224. in their way. The latter on a sudden appeared and fell vigorously
 227 Conf. upon the Prætor's troops already fatigued with the pursuit. 6000 of his
 men were killed upon the spot; the rest in disorder fled to a neighbour-
 ing hill, where they entrenched themselves. The first thought of the
 Gallic Generals was to force the enemy immediately in this post; but con-
 sidering afterwards that their own troops were wearied with the former
 night's march, they thought it best to give them some repose, and de-
 fer the attack till the next day.

Polyb. B.
 2. c. 26.
 10 c. 31.

In this distress of the Prætor's army, the Consul *Æmilius* came sea-
 sonably to their relief. Being informed of the approach of the *Gælates* to-
 wards *Rome*, he had instantly quitted his camp at *Ariminum*, and had
 marched with expedition to the defence of his country. He was now en-
 camped within a small distance from the enemy; and the Prætor's troops
 seeing the fires in his camp, and conjecturing the truth, took courage.
 The *Gauls*, perceiving the same fires, were greatly alarmed at the Con-
 sul's unexpected arrival; and being unwilling to hazard by a battle the
 loss of the rich booty they had got, they, by the advice of their King
Anerostus, decamped in the night, purposing to march home through
Ingheria; and when they had secured their booty, to return to the war.
 In their march they kept along the shore of the *Ætrurian* sea. *Æmi-
 lius*, though his army was now strengthened by the remains of the Præ-
 tor's troops, did not think it adviseable to hazard a pitched battle; but
 chose rather to follow the enemy close, and watch his opportunity to
 harass them in their retreat, and, if possible, to recover some part of
 the spoils they were carrying off. It luckily happened, that his col-
 league *Attilius*, having put a speedy end to the troubles in *Sardinia*, had,
 in his return home, landed with his army at *Pisa*, and was now march-
 ing along the coast of the *Ætrurian* sea towards *Rome*: he was overjoyed
 when, near *Telamon*, a little port of *Ætruria*, he learned, by his scouts,
 the situation of things. And, in order to intercept the *Gauls*, he im-
 mediately drew up his infantry, making as wide a front as he could;
 and then commanded them to advance slowly to meet the enemy. He
 himself hastened with his cavalry to the top of a hill, by the foot of
 which the enemy must necessarily pass. His ambition was to have the
 chief glory of the success; and he persuaded himself, that by being the
 first to begin the battle, he should obtain that advantage.

The *Gauls* imagined at first that this body of *Roman* horse was only
 a detachment from *Æmilius*'s army, and therefore ordered their caval-
 ry to advance and drive them from their post. As for *Æmilius*, as soon
 as he perceived fighting at a distance, he concluded it was his colleague
Attilius, attacking the enemy in front, for he had been informed of his
 landing at *Pisa*. He immediately detached all his horse to fetch a
 compass and join those of *Attilius*. Upon the arrival of so powerful a
 reinforcement the *Romans* renewed the attack with more briskness than
 ever.

ever. *Attilus* fighting with the utmost intrepidity was killed in the engagement. A *Gaul* cut off his head, and sticking it on the top of a lance carried it through all the files of the *Gallic* troops. However the death of this brave man proved no advantage to them. One of his lieutenants took his place, and the action was continued as before. The *Romans* in the end had the victory, and kept possession of their post.

During the conflict between the cavalry, on both sides, the *Gallic* Generals had time to form their infantry. Having two consular armies to deal with, one in their front, the other in their rear, they divided their battalions pretty equally, one half of them turning their backs to the other half; and to avoid being attacked in flank, they placed all their waggons and other carriages on the wings. Their plunder they had carried to a neighbouring hill, where they left it under a good guard.

The *Gesatae* who made the first line of the troops that faced *Æmilius*, considering in their gigantic stature and strength, and observing that the plain where they were drawn up was full of bushes and briars, to avoid being incommoded in the battle by the thorns catching in their clothes stripped themselves naked, keeping only their arms. But this vain confidence proved their destruction. For having only small bucklers, which were not sufficient to ward their huge bodies from the darts that were unexpectedly showered upon them by the *Romans* at a distance, they presently fell into discouragement and perplexity. Some transported with rage and despair threw themselves madly upon the enemy, where they found certain death; others, pale, discomfited and trembling, drew back in disorder, breaking the ranks that were behind them. And thus, were quelled at the very first attack the pride and ferocity of the *Gesatae*.

And now the *Roman* dartmen retiring within the intervals of the army, the cohorts advanced to encounter the *Insubrians*, *Boians*, and *Lauriscans*, who fought with great resolution; for though they were hard pressed, and covered with wounds, they sustained the shock and kept their post, and may be truly said to have been inferior to the *Romans* only in their arms. Their shields were not so large as those of the *Romans*, and their swords were made only for cutting. Nevertheless they maintained the fight till the *Roman* cavalry, who had been victorious on the eminence, driving at once full speed upon them, put an end to the struggle. The defeat was general; 40,000 of the *Gauls* remained dead upon the field of battle, and 10,000 were made prisoners, together with *Concolitanus*, one of their kings. The rest escaped by flight, but *Ancus* their other king, the bravest soldier, and most experienced commander of all the *Gauls*, cut his throat afterwards in rage and despair. *Æmilius* after this victory marched his army into the country of the *Boian Gauls*, enriched his soldiers with booty, and then returned to *Rome*, where he had a magnificent triumph.

Y. R. 528:
Bef. Chr.
224.
227 Conf.

Diod. Sic.
B. 25. in
Eclog.

Y. R. 529.
Ret. Chr.
221
228 Conf. The fear of the *Gallie* war was over, but the desire of revenge remained; and the next year's Consuls therefore, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had *Gaul* assigned them for their provinces. But these great men did not succeed, to the expectation of the *Romans*, nor pass the *Po*, as it was hoped they would. Their marches were retarded by violent rains, and a plague infected their army, which latter calamity not suffering them to return to *Rome* at the usual time, the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* was created *Dictator*, to hold the *Comitia* in their absence, for the new elections.

Y. R. 530.
Ret. Chr.
222
229 Conf. *C. Flaminius Nepos*, and *P. Furius Philo*, being chosen Consuls, put the design of their Predecessors in execution, and notwithstanding the vigorous opposition of the *Gauls*, passed the *Po*, and entered *Insubria*; but having suffered much both in their passage, and afterwards, and finding they could perform nothing of moment, they made a truce with this people, and retired into the territory of their friends the *Cænomani*. There they continued a while augmenting their army with auxiliaries; and then renewed their incursions on the *Insubrian* plains at the foot of the *Alps*. Hereupon the princes of this nation, perceiving the fixed determination of the *Romans* to subdue them, resolved to put all to the hazard of a battle; and having collected all their strength, which amounted to 50,000 men, marched against the enemy, and encamped within sight of them.

Zon. B. 8.
Plut. lited
Maced
and Orol.
B. 4. c.
23. It happened a little before this that the *Romans* were much frightened by various prodigies in the heavens, in the waters, and upon the earth. In *Hetruria* extraordinary lights appeared in the air. At *Ariminum* three moons were seen at the same time. A river of *Picenum* rolled waters as red as blood. The *Italians* felt the violent earthquake that overturned the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*. At *Rome* a vulture lighted in the middle of the *Forum*, and staid there a considerable time. The *Augurs* being consulted upon these prodigies, declared that there must have been some defect in the ceremonial at the election of the Consuls: upon which, a courier was immediately dispatched from the senate, with letters commanding them to return to *Rome*. But when these letters arrived, the Consuls being on the banks of the river *Addua*, were in sight of the powerful army of the *Insubrians*; and *Flaminius* either guessing at the substance of the letters, or having been informed of it by his friends, prevailed with his colleague not to open the packet till after the battle.

Pol. B. 2.
c. 34. 35 The *Romans*, being sensible that the enemy exceeded them in numbers, had intended to use the aid of those *Gauls* with whom they had reinforced their army. But now, remembering the faithlessness of these people, who were to be employed against troops of the same nation, they could not resolve to trust them in the present important conjuncture. At the same time it was by no means proper to express a diffidence of them, in such a manner as should give them occasion of quarrel. *Flaminius*, to free himself from this perplexity, made his *Gauls* pass to the other side

side of the river on a bridge of boats; and then, by causing the boats to be hawled to his own side, put it out of the power of those suspected troops to do him any harm during the action. By this means also his own army was left without any hopes but in victory; for the river which they had at their backs was unfordable. Thus far the conduct of *Flaminius* appears commendable: but he was guilty of a great oversight in drawing up his army too near the brink of the river; for he left so little space between that and his rear, that had the *Romans* been ever so little pressed during the engagement, they had no whither to retire but into the water. However this defect of the Consul's management was supplied by the bravery and skill of his soldiers, instructed by their Tribunes. These officers had observed in former conflicts, that the *Gauls* were not formidable but in the ardour of their first attack, and that their swords were of such a fashion and temper as, after two or three good cuts, to stand bent in their hands, and so become useless to them if they had not time to streighten them on the ground with their foot. The Tribunes therefore furnished the first line of the *Roman* troops with the arms of the *triarii*, or third line; that is to say, with long javelins, like our halberts, and ordered the soldiers, first to make use of these, and then to draw their swords. These precautions had the desired success. The swords of the *Gauls* by the first strokes on the *Roman* javelins became blunted, bent, and useless; and then the *Romans* closing in with them, stabbed them in the face and breast with their pointed swords, making a terrible slaughter. Nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and seventeen thousand taken prisoners.

Y. R. 530.
Ber. Chr.
222.
229 Conf.

Orat. B. 4.
C. 13.

After the action the Consuls opened the packet. *Furius* was for immediately obeying the order; *Flaminius* insisted on pursuing the war: The victory, he said, was a sufficient proof that there had been no defect in the auguries, and that the letters of revocation were wholly from the envy of the senate; that he would finish his enterprize, and would teach the people not to be deceived by the observation of birds, or any thing else. Pursuant to this resolution he attacked and took several castles, and one considerable town, with the spoils of which he enriched his soldiers, to prepare them for his defence in that quarrel which he knew would arise between him and the Senate. His colleague would not accompany him in these expeditions, but continued encamped, waiting to join him when he should return from his incursion.

Zon. B. 8.

When the two colleagues came back to *Rome* with their armies, the people as well as the Senate at first showed their resentment, by a very cold reception; but the troops of *Flaminius*, whom he had enriched, found means to prevail with the former to grant both the Consuls the honours of the triumph. The Senate, however, obliged these magistrates afterwards to depose themselves; such a respect, says *Plutarch*, Life of had the *Romans* for religion, making all their affairs depend on the sole Maecellus.

will of the Gods, and never suffering, even in their greatest prosperities, the least contempt or neglect of the ancient oracles, or of the usages of their country; being fully persuaded, that what most contributed to the welfare of their state was not the success of their arms, but their steady submission to the Gods.

V. P. l. c. 1. The *Comitia* being held by an interrex, *M. Claudius Marcellus* (of a Bel. C. *Platetan* branch of the *Glaudian* family) who became afterwards so famous, was raised to the *Consulate*, with *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*. They were scarce entered upon their office when a deputation came to *Rome* from the *Insubrians*, to implore a peace; but the Senate at the instigation of the new *Consuls*, who represented those *Gauls* as an untractable people, on whom there could be no dependance, dismissed their deputies with a refusal. Upon this they resolved to bring into *Italy* a fresh inundation of *Gesatae*, who were always ready to fight for hire. Thirty thousand of these mercenaries crossed the *Alps* under the command of their king, *Viridomarus*.

Plut. life of Marcellus. Early in the spring the *Consuls* passed the *Po*, and laid siege to *Acerra*, a place near that river, and in the neighbourhood of *Cremona*. The *Gauls* were now ninety thousand strong, yet they thought it more advisable to oblige the *Romans* to raise the siege of that frontier town, by making a useful diversion, than to hazard a battle. *Viridomarus* therefore with ten thousand men passed the *Po*, entered the *Roman* territory, and advanced towards *Clastidium* in *Liguria*. Upon the news of this motion of the *Gauls*, *Marcellus*, followed by only two-thirds of the *Roman* cavalry, and about six hundred of the light-armed infantry, left his camp and came up with the enemy near the place before named. He drew up his little army all in one line, giving it as much extent as he could. The *Gauls* seeing the infantry of the *Romans* so incon siderable, and always despising their cavalry, had no doubt of the victory. But when the two armies were just ready to join battle, *Viridomarus* advancing before his troops, defied the *Roman* general to single combat. *Marcellus* joyfully accepted the challenge (for single combat was his talent) rushed upon his enemy, killed him and stripped him of his armour; and then the *Gesatae* were so disheartened that the victor, with his handful of *Romans*, put them intirely to flight.

Polyb. B. 2 c. 34. During the absence of *Marcellus*, his colleague had taken *Acerra*, and laid siege to *Milan* (or *Mediolanum*) the chief city of *Insubria*, but was himself besieged by the *Gauls*, while he lay before the town. The return of the victorious *Consul* changed the scene; the *Gesatae* quite discouraged broke up their camp, fled, and repassed the *Alps*; and *Milan* immediately surrendered at discretion. *Como* was reduced to the same necessity; and, in short, the whole nation of the *Insubrians* submitted to receive law from the republic. *Insubria* and *Liguria* were now made one province, and called *Cisalpine Gaul*: and thus did all *Italy* become subject to *Rome*, from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* sea.

Vide Pigh. ad Ann. 531.

The Senate decreed *Marcellus* a triumph, and it was said in the decree to be, for having conquered the *Insubrians* and *Germans*, which makes it probable that the *Gesatae* were originally *German*. The *Consul*, in his triumphal procession, carried on his shoulders a trophy of the spoils of *Viridomarus*; and this was the third and last triumph in which any *opima spolia* were seen at *Rome*. As for *Cornelius Marcellus's* colleague, he was continued in the new province as *Pro-Consul*, to regulate the affairs of it; and the same *Comitia* which allotted him that post, chose *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina*, to be the *Consuls* for the new year. The conquest of *Iſtria*, on the borders of the *Adriatic*, was the only military exploit during their magistracy.

Plut. life of Marcell.
Fast. Cap.
See vol. 1.
B. 1. c. 2.
§. xii. & B.
2. c. 33.
§. 1.
Y. R. 532.
Bef. Chr.
220.
231 Conf.
Entrop.
B. 3. c. 7.

C H A P. XV.

The second Illyrian war.

ABOUT this time *Demetrius of Pharos*, whom the *Roman* republic had placed in the government of *Illyricum*, and guardianship of the young king *Pineus*, seeing the *Romans* engaged in a troublesome war with the *Gauls*, and that *Carthage* wanted only a fair opportunity to break with them, had despised their orders, forced the *Atintanes* to renounce their alliance with the republic, and sent fifty ships of war beyond *Lyſſos* to pillage the Islands, called *Cyclades*, in the *Archipelago*.

The new *Consuls*, *L. Veturius Philo*, and *C. Lutatius*, would have sailed for *Illyricum*, if they had not been forced to depose themselves upon some defect found in the ceremony of their election. They were succeeded by *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *M. Valerius Laevinus*; but the season was now too far advanced to begin the expedition, so that it was postponed to the next *Consulship*. [By a *Census* taken this year, the number of *Roman citizens* fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred seventy thousand, two hundred and thirteen. The *Census*, as usual, was followed by a *Lustrum*, the forty-third from its institution.]

Both the *Consuls* of the new year, *M. Livius Salinator*, and *L. Aemilius Paulus*, embarked for *Illyricum*. *Demetrius* had assisted *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, (while a minor under the tuition of his uncle, *Antigonus Doſon*) in his wars with the *Lacedaemonians*, and had thereby secured himself a retreat with that prince, in case of a disaster. He had also fortified *Dimalum*, a city of importance in *Illyricum*; and having assembled the choicest of his troops in the Island of *Pharos*, his own country, held his court there. Early in the spring *Aemilius* sat down before *Dimalum*, and by surprising efforts took it in seven days; upon which all the old allies of *Rome*, who had been compelled to submit to the tyrant, returned joyfully to their former engagements. The next attempt was upon *Pharos*, the last refuge of the traitor. As the en-

Polyb. B. 1. c. 16.
App. Ill. c. 1.
Dio. in F. clog. 9. ap. Valer.
Y. R. 533.
Bef. Chr. 219.
232 Conf.
Vol. Pugh. ad Ann. 537.
Liv. Epit. 20.
Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr. 218.
233d Conf.
Polyb. B. 1. c. 16. c. 18, 19.

Y. R. 534. terprize was difficult, *Æmilius* thought it necessary to join artifice to
 Bet. Cnr. valour. The Roman fleet had two *Consular* armies on board it; one
 218. of them was ordered to land in the Island, in the night, and hide it-
 233d Conf. self in forests, and behind rocks. This done, a detachment of the
 fleet appeared off *Pharos*, in open day, as it were with design to land
 some forces there. *Demetrius* drew his army out of the town, to the
 sea-shore, to hinder the descent; which when the *Legionaries*, that
 were already landed, perceived, they left their ambush, and marching
 silently seized an eminence between the city and the port. It was of the
 last consequence to *Demetrius* to drive the *Romans* from this post, and
 therefore having encouraged his men he led them strait to the attack.

This gave the *Consuls* on board the fleet an opportunity to make their
 descent, and then the *Illyrians* finding themselves invested on all sides

presently took to flight. As for the regent he made his escape to *Ma-*
cedon in a bark kept ready for that purpose.

The defeat of the *Illyrian* army was followed by the taking of *Pharos*,
 which the *Romans* first plundered and then levelled with the ground.
 Thus *Rome* became a second time mistress of *Illyricum*. However, she
 did not reduce it to the state of a *Roman* province, having some com-
 passion for the young king, who had been embarked in these affairs
 merely by the fault of his guardians.

The *Consuls* returned to *Rome* and obtained a triumph for their victo-
 ries. Their conduct, nevertheless, had not been, in all respects, pleas-
 ing to the people, as appeared after the expiration of their magistracy.
Lucius and *Æmilius* were then accused before the *Tribes* of having
 applied a great part of the spoils taken from the enemy to their own
 use, and of having distributed the rest of the booty partially among
 the soldiers. *Æmilius* upon his trial was acquitted, but *Lucius* was
 condemned by all the *Tribes*, except the *Mæcian*, an affront which he
 resented to excess, as we shall see hereafter when he comes to be *Censor*.

In this Consulship the Senate observing, that the great concourse of
 strangers from *Egypt* and the *Levant* had introduced into the city the
 worship of *Isis* and *Osiris*, to whom several sanctuaries were already built,
 ordered these to be all demolished, agreeably to one of the twelve
Tables, forbidding the worship of strange Gods. No workman, however,
 would venture the guilt of sacrilege by doing it, such credit had their
 worship gained among the people. The *Consul* *Æmilius* therefore,
 full of zeal for the religion and laws of his country, laid aside his
Consular robe, took a hatchet and beat down those oratories to the
 ground.

Plin. B. 29. a It was at this time *Archagathus* of *P-*
 c. 1. *Isopontia* introduced surgery into *Rome*. At
 first he met with great applause, and a
 shop was built for him at the public charge,
 in a part of the city where four streets met:

But as his constant practice in the cure of
 wounds was to make large incisions, which
 are painful remedies, his art soon fell into
 disrepute.

But

But the most important transaction of this year was the planting colonies at *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the *Gallic* territories; this being the chief motive which inclined the *Boians* and *Insubrians* to favour *Hannibal* in his attempt upon *Italy*, that memorable and surprising event which is next to engage the reader's attention.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr. 218.
233d Conf.
Liv. Epit.
B. 20. Liv.
B. 21.
C. 25.

C H A P. XVI.

The second *Punic* war, or the war of *Hannibal*.

Its causes and commencement.

TWENTY-TWO years were now past, since *Carthage*, bending to the superior fortune of *Rome*, had with shame and reluctance submitted to the hard conditions of that treaty, which put an end to the FIRST PUNIC WAR. To relinquish the fair Island of *Sicily* to an imperious rival was a sore and grievous article; and perhaps the payment of those large sums, that were further exacted for the peace, was a yet more sensible mortification to a republic of avaritious merchants: But necessity compelled; nor could even the courage and abilities of the incomparable *Amilcar* furnish any remedy, in the then distressful situation of affairs. For after the defeat of *Hanno* at the *Ægates*, which made the *Romans* masters of the sea, neither the army of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, nor the garrisons of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum* could receive any supply of provisions or military stores. *Sicily* therefore was unavoidably lost: The army might be preserved; but the only visible way to preserve it was by a peace with the enemy. *Amilcar's* immediate object in the treaty was this preservation of the troops. Yet even this neither he nor they would consent to purchase at the expence of their honour as soldiers. They chose rather to perish than to give up their arms. As for the annual sums which the Consul *Lutatius* demanded from *Carthage*, *Amilcar*, on the part of his republic, readily yielded to that imposition. Nor did he much hesitate in complying with the further demands of money, which the ten commissioners from *Rome* insisted upon, before they would ratify the peace. What rendered him so tractable on this head, was doubtless (beside the danger of his army) the resolution he had secretly formed, that no more of the stipulated tribute should be paid, than was required to be paid at the time of the ratification. For as we learn from *Polybius*, he was determined to renew the war against *Rome* as soon as it should be possible to do it. Whatever fears some of the citizens of *Carthage* might have of the war's being transferred from *Sicily* to their own gates, if a peace were not concluded, it is evident that *Amilcar*, with that army of hardy veterans he then commanded, feared no enemy but famine; and could

Y. of R. 534.

the p.

B. 3. c. 9.

Y. R. 534. could he have found means to transport those troops safely into *Africa*,
B. I. Clu. without a peace, he would have entered into no treaty with the *Romans*.

218. The indignation of *Amilcar*, when he was thus constrained to leave
231 Conf. *Egyx* and abandon *Sicily*, is assigned by *Polybius* for the FIRST CAUSE
Polyb. L. of that memorable war which we are going to enter upon: For though
3. c. 9. this implacable enemy of the *Romans* did not live to attempt that vengeance, which to his last breath he was ever meditating, we shall presently see, that his spirit of revenge was not extinguished by his death.

The dreadful and destructive conflict at home, to which on his return
either from *Sicily* he was obliged to give all his attention during more
than three years, unavoidably suspended the execution of his purpose
against *Rome*. And when that domestic disturbance was happily quelled,
the treasury and strength of *Carthage* were too much exhausted to furnish
what was necessary to support her in so arduous an enterprize. The *Ro-*
See p. 22. mans sensible of her weakness took advantage of it (as we have seen) to extort
from her not only the cession of *Sardinia*, but the sum of 1200 talents;
a fine shamelessly demanded for the reparation of an injury they had not
received. And this odious extortion is held to be the SECOND and the
Prin. C. B. PRINCIPAL CAUSE of that war which followed it at almost 20 years
3. c. 10. distance. For so barefaced an injustice, so insulting a procedure, as it furnished
Carthage with a just ground to attack the *Romans* whenever she
should be in a condition to do it, so it also brought all the *Carthaginians*
in general to concur with their brave captain in his resentment and designs;
it being now sufficiently manifest that they must either resolve to
become obedient subjects of *Rome*, or take some effectual measures to
render themselves the more potent republic.

With this view *Amilcar*, soon after the re-establishment of tranquillity
at home by the suppression of the mercenaries and rebels, had a new
army committed to him, to be employed in extending the *Carthaginian*
empire in *Spain*; a country that both abounded with riches and was
able to supply the republic with a sufficient number of brave troops,
to make head against those multitudes of soldiers with which *Italy*
furnished the *Romans*.

How deeply *Amilcar's* hatred to *Rome* had rooted itself in his heart,
and that revenge was his chief aim in this expedition, we have a singular
and incontestable proof, in what he did just before his departure from
c. 11. *Africa*. His son *Hannibal*, at that time about nine years old, was with
him, when he performed a sacrifice to *Jupiter* for the success of his intended
voyage. The rites being all ended, and *Amilcar* having ordered the
rest of the assistants to withdraw, he called his son to him, and tenderly
caressing the boy, asked him, whether he were willing to accompany
him into *Spain*? The boy not only most readily declared his consent,
but with all the blandishments and eager vivacity peculiar to children,
begged of his father, that he would permit him to go. *Amilcar* then
taking him by the hand led him to the altar, made him lay his hand
upon

upon it, touch the sacrifice, and swear, *that he would never be in friend-ship with the Romans.* Y. R. 534. Ref. Chr. 218.

THE CARTHAGINIAN passed the Streights of *Hercules*, and landed with his army on the western coast of *Spain*. Nine years he conducted the war in this country with uninterrupted success, reducing ^b many nations to the obedience of his republic: but at length, in a battle which he fought with the *Vettones*, a people of *Lusitania*, (defending himself a long time with admirable resolution) he was encompassed and slain; carrying with him to the grave the same great honour and reputation, which by many signal victories he had acquired, together with the name of a *second Mars*. 233d Conf. Polyb. B. 2. c. 1. Portugal. Liv. B. 21. c. 10.

This happened about the time when the *Romans* made their first expedition against the *Illyrians*. See p. 90.

Upon the death of *Amilcar* the command of the army was given to his son-in-law *Asdrubal*, at that time admiral of the galleys. He was no bad foldier, and a very able statesman; by his wisdom and gentle manners attracting the good-will of many princes of that country, and gaining more subjects to *Carthage* by his wonderful address in negotiation, than his predecessor had done by the sword. He also built new *Carthage*, (the present *Carthagena*) a town commodiously situated to be a magazine of arms, and to receive succours from *Africa*. Polyb. B. 2. c. 13. Livy, B. 21. c. 3.

Rome began now to be alarmed. Her jealousy of *Carthage* had been asleep during *Amilcar's* remote conquests in *Spain*: But the formidable growth of her rival's power under the management of *Asdrubal* awakened it. She did not dare, however, to exact any thing of the *Carthaginians* very grievous, or to commence hostilities against them, being at this time in extreme dread of the *Gauls*, who threatened her with an invasion. Ambassadors were therefore sent to *Asdrubal*, to draw him by fair words into a treaty, wherein he should covenant, *that the Carthaginians would confine their arms within the Iberus*. No mention was made of any other part of *Spain* in this treaty. See p. 91. Polyb. B. 2. c. 13.

As the *Spanish* affairs had, no relation to the peace between the two states, this demand was unreasonable; and the *Romans* seem to have

^b According to *Zonaras*, in the Consulate of *L. Fuluius* and *M. Pomponius*, [in the 520 of Rome, when *Amilcar* had been about five years in *Spain*] the *Romans* believing that the wars they had to sustain against the *Leuginians* and *Sardinians*, were owing to the secret practices of the *Carthaginians*, sent to these some ambassadors, who demanded of them in harsh terms, certain sums of money due by treaty, and that they should forbear touching at any of the Islands in the *Roman* jurisdiction: and to gain the readier compliance to these demands, the ambassadors presented a caduceus and a javelin, the one a symbol of peace, the other of war, bidding the Senate take their choice. The *Carthaginians* nothing terrified at this menace, answered, *that they would chuse neither, but would readily accept whichever they should think fit to leave them.*

If this story [which does not seem probable] be true, the boldness of the *Carthaginians* proceeded doubtless from the great success of *Amilcar* in *Spain*.

^c According to *Appian* the treaty was made at *Carthage*, but the sequel proves this to be false.

Y. R. 331 sought by it a pretext of quarrel, when by freeing themselves from the
Bel. Ch. *Gauls*, they should be in a condition to begin a new war with *Carthage*.
247. For should *Asdrubal* refuse to engage, or engaging not perform, they would
33d Cont. in either case be furnished with such a pretext, though perhaps in neither
would the pretext be just^d.

Asdrubal was full of the same spirit as *Amilcar*, and had the same
designs ever at heart. However he made no difficulty to comply with
the motion of the ambassadors, having much to do, before he could pass
that boundary which the *Romans* were for fixing to his conquests.

E. W. R. By this treaty, *Rome* acquired some reputation in *Spain*. For when it
was conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the *African* republic, which, sought
to be mistress over them, stood herself in fear of a more potent state,
they began to turn their eyes hither for protection; and the *Saguntines*,
whose city was on the south-side of the *Iberus*, entered into a confederacy
with the *Romans*, and were gladly received.

Pol. B. 1. WHEN *Asdrubal* had governed in *Spain* for the space of eight years, he
331. was treacherously murdered by a certain *Gaul* whom he had provoked
and B. by some injury. The *Carthaginians*, upon receipt of this news, suspended
331. the nomination of a new commander, till they could learn the inclina-
Y. B. 331 tions of the army, and they no sooner understood that the soldiers had
331. unanimously made choice of *Hannibal* for their leader, than they called
an assembly, and with one voice ratified the election.

Hannibal

This will be explained when we come
to the proper place for it.

Livy and *Appian* say, that *Asdrubal* was
killed in revenge by a slave, whose master
he had put to death.

It is surprising that the judicious *Mr.*
Rolin (in his *Hist. Anc. & So.*) should fol-
low *Livy*, in relating an idle story full of
absurdity, and which he afterwards (follow-
ing again the same author) manifestly con-
tradicts.

The *L. H.* Historian reports, "that *As-*
drubal [about three years before his
"death] wrote to *Carthage* to have *Han-*
drubal, who was then a child; at the age of
"puberty, sent to him, that the young man
"might be trained up to war, to as one
"day to imitate his father's prowess. He
"adds, that *Hanno* and others opposed this
"motion in the Senate, imputing to *As-*
drubal dishonest intention with regard
"to the lad; but that it was carried by a
"majority. That *Hannibal* arriving in
"Spain, drew all eyes upon him; and that
"the old soldiers observed in his person
"and manner, a wonderful resemblance to

"his father, &c. That he served three
"years under *Asdrubal*, and was then de-
"clared general of the army." Now is
there the least probability, either that *Han-*
nibal should arrive at such a masterly know-
ledge in the art of war in three years ser-
vice; or that the *Carthaginians* should trust
the conduct of their army and their empire
in *Spain* to a young man of so short expe-
rience? That *Livy* was very careless in
delivering this tradition, appears sufficient-
ly from the age he gives to *Hannibal*, at the
time of his being sent into *Spain*, at *As-*
drubal's request, HUNC VIX DUM PUBEREM,
when he was scarce fourteen. By the hi-
storian's own account *Hannibal* was nine
when *Amilcar* went into *Spain*; *Amilcar*
lived there nine years; and *Asdrubal* had
commanded near five years, before he sent
for the young man.

Mr. Rollin, aware, I suppose, of this in-
consistency, drops the *vix dum puberem*, and
makes *Hannibal* to be twenty-two at the
time of his going from *Carthage* to *Ajdru-*
bal; and by this indeed he avoids the ana-
chronism: but then he seems not to have
been

Hannibal, soon after his confirmation in the command of the troops, undertook the reduction of the *Olcades*. The success was answerable to his desires. Having amassed much treasure by the sale of the booty taken in several towns, he marched to New *Carthage*, which he made his winter quarters; where liberally paying the soldiers who had served under him, and promising them farther gratifications, he both gained their affections, and inspired them with extraordinary hopes.

Y. R. 534.
B. f. Ch.
218.
233d Conf.
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 13.

Early the next spring he led his army against the *Vaccæi*, and made a fortunate expedition: but in his return home, being attacked by the *Comptani*, whom great numbers of the fugitive *Olcades* and *Vaccæi* (driven out of their own countries) had joined, he was reduced to very great straits. Could the enemy have compelled him to a pitched battle, he had inevitably been undone; but he, with great skill, making a slow retreat, till he had got the river *Tagus* between him and them, so judiciously disposed his horse and elephants, as entirely to defeat their endeavours to cross the river after him, which they attempted to their prodigious loss, by several fords at one and the same time. After which, passing the river himself, and pursuing his advantage, he, with terrible slaughter, routed this army of 100,000 *Barbarians*.

c. 14.

The *Vaccæi* being thus vanquished, there remained no nation on that side the *Iberus*, who durst think of opposing the *Carthaginians*, except the *Saguntines*. *Hannibal* had hitherto carefully forbore all hostility against this people, being ever mindful of his father's advice, which was, to avoid giving occasion to the *Romans* to declare war against *Carthage*, until such time as by the enlargement of her dominion and strength she was in a condition to cope with them. This time was now at hand; and the great success of the *Carthaginian* arms in *Spain*, under the conduct of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal*, and *Hannibal*, is therefore ascribed by *Polybius* for the THIRD CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC

B. 3. c. 10

WAR.

While *Hannibal* was meditating the first blow he intended to give, and was clearing the way for the attack, by the several enterprizes above-mentioned, the *Saguntines* dispatched frequent messengers to the *Romans*, partly out of apprehension of their own impending danger, and partly out of friendship to their allies, that they might be perfectly informed of the progress of the *Carthaginians*. Little attention was given, at *Rome*, to these advices, for a long time; but at last it was judged proper to send some ambassadors into *Spain*, to examine into the truth of the facts.

c. 15.

Hannibal having carried his conquests as far as he had proposed that year, returned to take up his winter-quarters in New *Carthage*, which

been aware that the whole story is overthrown by what *Hannibal* says in the Senate of *Carthage* at the end of the second Punic war, That he had never before been at home since he was nine years old. See Livy, B. 30. and Mr. Rollin, Vol. I. p. 486.

Y. P. 34. was then become the seat of the *Carthaginian* government in *Spain*.
 But Ch. 21. There he found the *Roman* ambassadors; and, giving them audience,
 23. Conf. was by them admonished, upon no account to attempt any thing against
 the *Saguntines*, a people received into the protection of *Rome*; and also
 to be mindful of the treaty with *Aldrubal*, and to forbear passing the
 river *Iberus*.

HANNIBAL, young, full of martial fire, fortunate in his enterprizes, and mortally hating the *Romans*, answered with a careless and haughty air, (personating a friend to the *Saguntines*) That a sedition having formerly happened among the citizens of *Saguntum*, the *Romans*, to whose arbitration they referred the dispute, had unjustly condemned to death some of the magistrates; and that he would not suffer this injustice to go unpunished; for it had ever been the custom of the *Carthaginians* to undertake the cause of those who were wrongfully persecuted.

Polyb. B. 3. The ambassadors departing with this answer, failed to *Carthage* (pursuant to their instructions, in case of such a reception from *Hannibal*) there to expostulate upon the matter with the Senate; though they well saw, that a war was unavoidable. Little indeed did they imagine that *Italy* would be the theatre of it; but concluded that *Saguntum* and its territory would be the scene of action.

Hannibal at the same time sent to *Carthage* for instructions how to proceed, with regard to the *Saguntines*, who, as he said, encouraged by their conspiracy with *Rome*, committed many outrages against those who were in alliance with *Carthage*. According to *Livy*, these allies of *Carthage* were the *Turdetani*, between whom and the *Saguntines* *Hannibal* had contrived to raise a quarrel, that he might have a pretence, in quality of friend to the former, to attack the latter.

What answer the *Roman* ambassadors received from the *Carthaginian* Senate is not recorded; but we may well gather from the sequel, that it was by no means satisfactory. The Senate of *Rome*, nevertheless, being in the same prepossession as their ambassadors, concerning the feat of the war, that it would be in a remote country; and considering also that the war when once begun would probably be carried to a great length, resolved, before they entered upon it, to give a period first to their affairs in *Illyria*, and punish the perfidy of *Demetrius*; believing that they should be able to effect this, and yet have sufficient opportunity to defeat the designs of *Hannibal*.

But these proved vain deliberations; for *Hannibal* was too much in earnest. He marched with his army towards *Saguntum*, at the same time that the *Roman* Consuls embarked for *Illyria*; and before the Consul had finished their expedition *Saguntum* was taken.

The *Carthaginian* used the more diligence in attacking this strong and wealthy city, for many weighty considerations. The reduction of *Saguntum* would probably deprive the *Romans* of all hope of making war in *Spain*: The nations, he had already conquered, terrified by this

new

new success of his arms, would be held in better obedience; and those who were yet unconquered would stand in greater awe of his power. And, what was still of greater importance, he should be able to pursue his enterprizes with more security when he had no enemy at his back. He farther considered, that this town, should he take it, would yield him large supplies of treasure for carrying on the war; that his army would be more at his devotion when he had enriched them with booty; and that he should be enabled to secure to himself friends at *Carthage*, by sending thither a part of the spoil.

Y. R. 534.
Bef. Clm.
218.
233d Conf.

From all these motives he was indefatigable in pressing the siege; which nevertheless lasted many months. The *Roman* Senate no sooner received advice of his having begun it, but they sent ambassadors into *Spain* with instructions to give him warning to desist, and, in case of his refusal, to sail to *Carthage* and there demand of the Senate, the delivering up of their general to the *Romans* by way of compensation for the breach of the league between the two states.

Liv. B. 21.
c. 6.

HANNIBAL hearing of the arrival of these ambassadors on the coast of *Spain*, dispatched some messengers to meet them at the sea-side, and to signify to them, that neither would it be safe for them to come to his quarters; nor had he leisure to give them audience. And, as he knew very well to what place they would direct their course, after receiving such a message, he without delay sent proper emissaries to *Carthage* to prepare the chiefs of the *Barchine* faction for the occasion.

Lucy reports that *Hanno*, the avowed enemy of *Amilcar's* family, and the head of the opposite faction, was the only man, in the *Carthaginian* Senate, who was for complying with the demands of *Rome*; and that he spoke to this effect:

c. 10

"How often have I conjured you by those Gods, who are the witnesses and arbiters of leagues and treaties, not to suffer any of *Amilcar's* race to command your armies! How often have I told you, that neither the manes nor the progeny of that man would ever be at rest, and that no friendship, no peace with the *Romans* could be preserved inviolate, so long as there remained one alive of the *Barchine* name and family! *Hannibal* is an aspiring youth, proudly ambitious of being a monarch; and who thinks nothing so conducive to his purpose, as to draw upon us war after war, that so he may live in arms, and be always surrounded with legions: And you, by making him the general of your armies, have furnished fuel to his fire; you have fed the flame which now scorches you. Your forces at this time besiege *Saguntum*, contrary to the faith of treaties. What can you expect, but that *Carthage* be soon invested by the *Roman* legions, under the conduct of those very Gods, who in the former war took vengeance on us for the like perfidiousness?

"Are

Hanno refers here (as he afterwards explains himself) to some attempts of the *Carthaginians* upon *Tarentum*, [at the time, I suppose, when *Pyrrhus's* troops held that city.]

Y. R. 322. " Are you yet to learn what kind of enemies they are whom you pro-
 B. C. 217. " voke? Are you still strangers to yourselves? Are you ignorant of
 11710 cont. " the fortunes of the two republics?

" Your worthy general would not vouchsafe the ambassadors of
 " your allies a hearing; he has violated the law of nations. The am-
 " bassadors of our friends, worse treated than the messengers from an
 " enemy were ever known to be, have now recourse to you. They
 " demand satisfaction for the unjust violation of a treaty. They would
 " have you clear the body of the nation from the shame of so odious
 " a breach of faith, by giving up into their hands the author of the
 " crime. The more moderate they are at present, the more exasperat-
 " ed, I fear, and the more implacable will they be hereafter. Remem-
 " ber the *Aegates*, and the affair of *Eryx*, with all the calamities you suf-
 " fered for four and twenty years together. And yet we had not then
 " this boy at the head of our armies; but his father, *Amilcar* himself,
 " a second *Mars*, as some are pleased to style him. But we could not
 " then forbear making attempts upon *Tarentum* in violation of treaties,
 " as we do now upon *Saguntum*. The Gods declared themselves against
 " us in that war, and, in spite of all our pretences of right, made
 " appear by giving victory to our enemies, which of the two nations
 " had unjustly broken the league.

" This against *Carthage* that *Hannibal* now plants his mantelets and
 " erects his towers; it is her wall that he now shakes with his batter-
 " ing rams. The ruins of *Saguntum* (I wish I may prove a false pro-
 " phet), will fall upon our heads; and the war begun with the *Sagun-*
 " tum must be maintained against the *Romans*.

" But, say you, shall we then deliver up *Hannibal* into the hands of
 " his enemies? I know that my opinion will have little weight with
 " you, because of the old animosities between his father and me: Yet
 " I must declare, that, as I rejoiced when *Amilcar* fell, because, had
 " he lived, he would have engaged us before now in a war with the
 " *Romans*, so I hate and detest this youth as a fury and the firebrand
 " to kindle a *Roman* war. Yes, I think it fit, that *Hannibal* be de-
 " livered up to expiate the breach of the league; and, if nobody had
 " demanded him, I should vote to have him transported to the re-
 " motest corner of the earth, whence his name might never reach our
 " ears to disturb the repose of our state.

" My conclusion therefore is, that deputies be forthwith sent to
 " *Rome* to pacify the Senate; others into *Spain*, with orders to the army
 " to raise the siege of *Saguntum*, and deliver up their general to the

See Vol. I. p. 621. In the Epit. of
 L. 11, B. 14. it is said, that the Carthagi-
 nians came with a fleet to the favour of *Tar-*
rentum, which, they broke their league with
 the *Romans*. And this doublet is the
 foundation whereon *Zeno* builds his re-

port, that the notice affigned by the *Romans*
 for their beginning the first Punic war, was
 the agreement which the Carthaginians had
 given the *Tarentines* against *Rome*. See
 p. 15. of this Vol.

" *Romans*;

"Romans; and a third deputation to the *Saguntines* to make reparation for the injuries they have sustained^b." Y. R. 534.
Bef. Chr. 218.
233. Conf.

The Senate, though they heard this orator with respectful attention, as a man of authority and reputation among them, paid no regard to his remonstrance, invective, or advice on the present occasion. Nay, the Senators in general exclaimed, that he had spoken more like an enemy than a subject of *Carthage*. As for the *Roman* ambassadors, they were dismissed with this answer, *That the war was begun by the Saguntines and not by Hannibal. And that the Romans would act injuriously to Carthage, if to her ancient alliance with them, they preferred the later friendship of the Saguntines.* Liv. B. 21.
c. 11.

Hannibal was all this time pressing the siege of *Saguntum* with uninterrupted diligence. He animated his soldiers in person, working in the trenches among them, and mingling with them in all hazards. The defence was brave even to obstinacy; and it is said to have lasted eight months. When the besieged could no longer hold out, many of the citizens, rather than listen to the hard terms of peace which *Hannibal* exacted, (as the giving up their arms, leaving their city to be demolished, and moving off with nothing more of all their substance than two suits of apparel) threw themselves into a great fire, where they had first cast all their most valuable effects. While this was doing, it happened that a tower which had been much battered and shaken, fell down on a sudden. A body of *Carthaginians* immediately entered at the breach; and *Hannibal*, upon notice of this accident, seizing the opportunity, made a general assault and carried the place without difficulty. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms should be put to the sword; an unnecessary order, for they themselves were firmly determined to die fighting: many of the inhabitants shut themselves up with their wives and children, and burnt the houses over their heads. But notwithstanding all this destruction of men and effects, the place yielded to the conquered great store of wealth and many slaves. The money he appropriated for carrying on the war against *Rome*; the slaves he divided among the soldiers; and all the rich household stuff he sent to *Carthage*. Polyb. B. 3. c. 17.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 14.
Polyb. B. 3. c. 17.

The *Roman* ambassadors who had been dispatched to the *Carthaginian* Senate brought the answer, they had there received, to *Rome*, about the same time that the news arrived of the destruction of *Saguntum*. Liv. B. 21.
c. 16.

Livy tells us, that the compassion of the *Romans* for this unfortunate city, their shame for having failed to succour such a faithful ally, their indignation against the *Carthaginians*, and their apprehension of the main

^b The reader, I am persuaded, will not easily believe, that a speech of this tenor was really delivered either by *Hanno* or any other *Carthaginian* Senator. The greater part of the matter of it doubtless belongs to *Livy* no less than the form. However, thus much we may conclude from the party spirit of *Hanno*, that he disapproved the proceedings of *Hannibal*, and was against a rupture with *Rome*.

event of things, (as if the enemy were already at the gates of *Rome*;) all these various passions were so strong in their minds, that at first they only mourned and trembled, instead of consulting for the common safety.

But it being now no longer a question whether they should enter into a war, they quickly began to make the necessary preparations for action.

V. R. 535. The Consuls *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus* drew lots
 Bel. Ch. for their provinces. *Sicily* and *Africa* fell to *Sempronius*, and *Spain* to
 217. *Cornelius*. *Sempronius* with two *Roman* legions, consisting each of 4000
 539 C. 6. foot and 300 horse, and with 16,000 foot and 1800 horse of the allies
 Liv. B. 21. on board a fleet of 160 galleys, was to go first into *Sicily* and thence into
 114. *Africa*, in case the other Consul should prove strong enough to hinder
 the *Carthaginians* from coming into *Italy*. *Cornelius* for this purpose had

two *Roman* legions, with 14,000 foot and 1600 horse of the allies committed to his conduct; and with a fleet of 60 quinqueremes, he was to sail to *Spain*, and endeavour to prevent *Hannibal's* leaving that country.

The Consul had no stronger a navy appointed him, because it was supposed that the enemy would not come by sea, nor chuse to fight in that kind of service. And his army was also the less numerous, because the *Prætor Marcius* had two *Roman* legions with 10,000 foot and 1000 horse of the allies to guard the province of *Gaul*. The whole number of the forces raised by the republic on this occasion was 24,000 *Roman* foot and 1800 horse, 40,000 foot and 4400 horse of the allies; and their ships of war amounted to 220.

These extraordinary preparations sufficiently shew the terror the *Romans* were in at the approaching war. And indeed it will not appear to be ill grounded, if we consider, that the *Carthaginians* ever since *Isidore's* going into *Spain* had been fighting and conquering, and that the *Spaniards*, by whom their army was strengthened, were men steady even to obstinacy. Besides, the *Roman* republic had now no general equal to *Hannibal*, a man of immense views; ever judicious in his enterprises; a wonderful genius for seizing the critical moment to execute his designs; the greatest master in the art of appearing not to act, when he was most busy; inexhaustible of expedients; as skilful in recovering himself out of danger, as in drawing an enemy into it. He had been bred up to arms from his infancy, and though now only in the flower of his age, had the experience of several years command of an army. For *Asdrubal* being himself no great warrior, had committed to him the conduct of all dangerous and difficult enterprises. So that no general then living had had more exercise than he; nor were any troops better disciplined than his. *Hannibal's* design of carrying the war from the remote parts of *Spain* into the very center of *Italy*, is said by an ingenious writer, to be the boldest project that ever captain durst conceive, and what was justified only by the event. But this does not seem to have been the opinion of *Polybius*, who tells us, that *Han-*

Abb. V. 11.
 B. 8.

Liv. B. 21.
 c. 4.

Abb. V. 11.
 Polyb. B.
 5. c. 34.
 vol. inf. p.
 113, 114.

Hannibal had taken all prudent measures for facilitating his march, and for securing the assistance of the *Gauls* about the *Alps* and about the *Po*, which it was the easier to do, because he and they had one common interest with respect to the *Romans*, the hated enemies of both.

Y. R. 525.
Bel. Chr.
217.
234. Conf.

Though the *Romans* made the Preparations above mentioned for war, as a thing certain and unavoidable, yet that nothing might be wanting to the exact observance of forms, they dispatched a third embassy to *Carthage*, to demand once more, what they did not expect would be yielded, *That Hannibal and his council should be delivered up to them*; and the ambassadors were also now instructed to declare war in case of refusal.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 20.
Livy. B.
21. c. 18.

When they were come to *Carthage*, and admitted to audience, the Senate heard the haughty demand they brought with a coldness, approaching to contempt. Nevertheless, one of the Senators best qualified, was directed to speak in maintenance of the *Carthaginian* cause. This orator, without taking the least notice of the treaty made with *Asdrubal*, (as if no such treaty had been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose, because made without authority) dwelt wholly on that which was concluded at the end of the *Sicilian* war; in which, as he alledged, there was no mention of *Spain*. He al-

Polyb. L.
3. c. 21.

¹ *Polybius* mentions only two embassies from *Rome* to the *Carthaginians*, on the affair of *Saguntum*, one before the siege, another after the town was taken. *Livy* also mentions only two; but, according to him, the first was during the siege, when (he tells us) *Hannibal* refused the ambassadors an audience; the second, after the reduction of the place. That we may not reject *Polybius's* authority, who relates an audience which *Hannibal* before the siege of *Saguntum*, gave at *Carthage* to some ambassadors from *Rome*; nor yet accuse *Livy* of his vouchers of inventing the story of *Hannibal's* refusing audience, and of all that followed thereupon at *Carthage*, we have supposed (what seems most probable) that there were three embassies from *Rome* in relation to *Saguntum*, the first before the siege, the second while it was carrying on, the third after the place was taken.

To the first ambassadors *Hannibal* gave audience and a haughty answer, of which they made complaint to the *Carthaginian* Senate. Those who came next were refused audience by him, and they also carried their complaints to *Carthage*. The last embassy was sent only to *Carthage*.

Father *Catroux*, not liking, I suppose, that the *Romans* should appear in so disadvantageous a light as they do, upon this occasion, is angry with *Livy*, for making them send even twice to *Carthage* before they declare war; though if any thing may be depended upon in the *Roman* story, this fact has a title to credit.

It may indeed seem hard to be accounted for, that the *Romans*, contrary to their former methods of proceeding, should so shamefully neglect to succour their allies, the *Saguntines*, and, when the case required the most vigorous measures, should lose so much time in vain and fruitless embassies to a people they had formerly vanquished and rendered tributary. Chevalier *Folard* conjectures, that the *Romans* were really intimidated by *Hannibal's* superior genius and skill in war, being conscious of their having no general of equal ability with the *Carthaginian*. And may we not also reasonably suppose, that at the time, when *Hannibal* began to threaten *Saguntum*, the *Roman* republic was not in a condition to send by sea into *Spain* an army of sufficient strength to make head against the numerous and victorious troops of *Carthage*?

lowed.

112

Y. R. 535.
Bel. Chit.
217
234 Cont. lowered indeed, that it was there covenanted, that neither of the contracting parties should make war on the allies of the other, but added, that the *Saguntines* were entirely out of the question, they not being at that time in alliance with *Rome*; and he caused the articles of the treaty to be read.

Liv. B. 21
C. 18.
& Polyb.
B. 3. c. 33. The *Romans* refused absolutely to enter into a verbal discussion of this point. They said, there might have been room for such a discussion, had *Saguntum* been then in the same state as formerly, but that this city having been sacked contrary to the faith of treaties, the *Carthaginians* must either clear themselves of perfidy, by delivering up the authors of the injustice, or confess themselves guilty by refusing the satisfaction required. And finding that the Senate would give no answer to the question, *whether Saguntum was besieged by private or public authority*, but would confine the debate to *the justice or injustice of the action*, the eldest of the ambassadors, gathering up the skirt of his gown, and making a hollow in it, *Here*, said he, *we bring you Peace and War, take which you will.* At which they all cried out with one voice, *Give us which you please. I give you War then*, said the ambassador, letting his robe loose again. *We accept it*, they all answered, *and with the same spirit that we accept it, we will maintain it.*

Liv. B. 21
C. 19 A mutual denunciation of war being thus made, the ambassadors did not return directly homeward, but, pursuant to their instructions, passed into *Spain*, to solicit the states and princes of that country, who were on the north side of the *Iberus*, to enter into an alliance with *Rome*, or at least not to contract any friendship with the *Carthaginians*. They were courteously entertained by the *Bargusians*. But when they came to the *Telchians*, they received from this people an answer, which being reported all over the country, was a means to turn away all the other nations from siding with the *Romans*. *With what assurance*, said they, *can you ask of us to prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians, after we have seen the Saguntines, who did so, more cruelly betrayed by you, their allies, than destroyed by their open enemies. Go seek for confederates among those who never heard of the ruin of Saguntum. The miserable fate of this city will be a warning to all the nations of Spain, never to repose confidence in Roman faith or amity.* The same kind of reception they met with from all the *Spanish* states to which they afterwards addressed themselves. So that finding their negotiations in this country fruitless, they passed into *Gaul*, endeavouring to persuade the several nations there, not to suffer the *Carthaginians* to march through their territories into *Italy*. The first public assembly of *Gauls*, to whom they made this proposal, burst into so loud a laughter, mixt with a murmur of indignation, that the magistrates and seniors could hardly still the noise of the younger sort, so impudent and foolish did it seem, *to request of them, That they would suffer their own lands to be ravaged and spoiled, to preserve those of other men who were utter strangers to them.* But silence

C. 20.

at length being made, the Ambassadors were answered, *That neither had the Romans deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill at their hands, that they should take arms, either in behalf of Rome, or against Carthage. That, on the contrary, they had heard, that some of their countrymen had been driven out of their possessions in Italy by the Romans, constrained to pay tribute, and made to undergo other indignities.* The like answers to the like demands were made in the other public councils of Gaul. Nor did the ambassadors meet with any thing like friendship or even peaceable disposition towards them, till they came to *Marfeilles*, which was in alliance with *Rome*; and where, upon careful enquiry made by their allies, they learnt that *Hannibal* had been beforehand with them, and by the force of gold, of which the *Gauls* were ever most greedy, had gained them over to side with him. And with this unpleasing news they returned to *Rome*.

Y. R. 535.
Bet. Chr.
217.
334 Conf.

Hannibal was all this time extremely busy in settling the affairs of *Spain*, and in taking all the proper measures his foresight could suggest, for the happy execution of his great designs. After the reduction of *Saguntum*, he had retired into winter quarters at *New Carthage*. And the better to dispose his *Spanish* soldiers to his service, he had given them permission to return to their respective homes till the beginning of the spring, when, he told them, he expected their appearance again. In the mean while, as one of his chief cares was to provide for the safety of *Africa*, he transported thither, of *Spaniards*, (raised among the *Therfites*, *Mastin*, and *Olcades*,) 13,850 foot, and 1200 horse, together with 800 slingers of the *Baleares*. And while he thus furnished *Africa* with *Spanish* troops, he took order for the security of *Spain*, by sending for a supply of near 15,000 *Africans*, to be commanded by his brother *Asdrubal*, whom he intended to leave governor in his absence. He furnished him also with 50 quinquereines, 4 quadriremes, and 5 triremes, that he might be in a condition to oppose any descents that should be attempted there by the *Romans*.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 33.
Liv. B. 21.
c. 21.

Livy and *Polybius* commend the prudence of the *Carthaginian* in this exchange of troops; because both the *Africans* and *Spaniards* would probably prove the better foldiers for being thus at a distance from their respective countries, and they would be a kind of pledges or hostages for the mutual fidelity of the two nations.

Besides these precautions, *Hannibal* (as has been already hinted) had dispatched ambassadors to the *Gauls* on both sides the *Alps*, to sound their dispositions, and to engage them to take part with him in his enterprise. For this end he was extremely liberal, not only of his promises,

Polyb. B.
3. c. 34.

* *Livy* reports, that *Hannibal* selected 4000 young men out of the chief cities in *Spain*, and of the best families, and caused them to be brought to [New] *Carthage*, there to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the *Spaniards*. These were probably the same youths which are afterwards said to be left by him in *Saguntum*, as we shall see in its proper place.

Y. R. 535. but of his gold, believing it would be a main step towards a happy
 Bef. Chr. issue of his undertaking, it, by avoiding war in his way to *Italy*, he could
 217. lead his army entire against the *Romans*. The answers he received were
 234 Cont. favourable to his wishes; *That the Gauls most willingly agreed to his pro-
 posal, and expected him with impatience.* They also sent him word, that
 though the passage of those mountains was difficult, it was not insupe-
 rable. Animated with new hope by these reports, he began early in the
 spring to march his troops out of their winter quarters; and having now
 the concurrence of the Senate and people of *Carthage* to his purpose, he
 began openly to discourse of his intended war against *Rome*, exhorting
 the soldiers (whom he assembled for this purpose) cheerfully to engage
 in the expedition; and telling them, in order to raise their indignation
 against the *Romans*, that they had impudently demanded a surrendry of
 both him and all his chief officers into their hands. He also expatiate
 on the fertility of the country which he purposed to invade, the good
 will of the *Gauls*, and the confederacies he had made with their princes:
 And when the army had loudly declared their readiness to go whither-
 soever he was disposed to conduct them, and he had, with thanks, ap-
 plauded their fidelity, and prefixed the day for their march, he dismissed
 the assembly.

The *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* had permitted to visit their families
 during the winter, being returned to their service, and the day appointed
 for the general rendezvous being come, the whole army took the field.
 Polyb. B. It consisted of 90,000 foot and 12,000 horse, and with this mighty
 1. 1. 35. force the *Carthaginian* immediately began his march from *New Carthage*
 towards the river *Iberus*.

BUT now, before the reader accompanies *Hannibal* into *Italy*, he may
 perhaps be willing to make a pause, and enquire into the justice of the
 cause that leads him thither.

b. 3. c. 30. "If the destruction of *Saguntum* (says *Polybius*) be considered as the
 CAUSE of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, we must necessarily determine,
 "that the *Carthaginians* engaged in it very unjustly. Whether regard
 "be had to the treaty of *Lutatius*, whereby each party became bound
 See p. 63. "to offer no violence to the allies of the other: Or regard be had to the
 "treaty of *Asdrubal*, in which it was stipulated that the *Carthaginians*
 See p. 103. "should not carry their arms beyond the *Iberus*.

"But if, for the CAUSE of the war made by *Hannibal*, we assign the
 "seizure of *Sardinia* by the *Romans*, and the money which they extorted
 "from *Carthage* at that time, we shall be obliged to confess, that the

¹ According to *Livy*, *Hannibal*, before he
 began his expedition against the *Romans*,
 went from *New Carthage* to *Gades*, there
 to discharge some vows he had made to

Hercules, and to bind himself by new ones,
 in order to obtain success in the war he
 was going to enter upon. *Polybius* says no-
 thing of the matter.

"*Carthaginians*

"*Carthaginians* acted not unjustly in entering upon this war. For they
 "did no more than lay hold of a favourable opportunity to revenge
 "themselves on those, who had taken advantage of their distresses, to
 "injure and oppress them."

Y. R. 535.
 Bef. Chr.
 217.
 234 Conf.

Here then *the question of right* is decided by our author. For he had
 before declared, and enlarged upon it, that *the siege of Saguntum* and the
passing the Iberus were only the *beginnings* of the war and not the *causes*;
 and that *the affair* of Sardinia, and the *money extorted* at that time were
 the *principal cause* of it. And he now declares, that this *principal cause*
 is sufficient to justify the *Carthaginians*.

B. 3. c. 6.

Our author nevertheless, in another part of his history, observes, that
 though *Hannibal* had a just motive to begin the war, and though he did
 begin it from that just motive, yet because he did not publicly assign
 that motive for beginning it, but made use of a false pretext, his enter-
 prize seemed contrary to justice. After relating the haughty and eva-
 live answer of *Hannibal* to the first ambassadors that were sent to him
 from *Rome*, he adds,

See p. 106.

"Thus *Hannibal*, transported by a violent hatred, acted in every thing
 "without consulting his reason, and, instead of declaring the true motives
 "of his proceeding, had recourse to false pretexts, after the manner of
 "those, who, prepossessed by their passion, do what they have deter-
 "mined, without regard to equity or honour: Otherwise, had it not
 "been better to have demanded of the *Romans* the restitution of *Sardinia*,
 "and the money, which, during the weakness and distress of the *Cartha-*
 "*ginian* republic, they had extorted from her, and, in case of refusal,
 "to declare war against them? But as he concealed the true cause, and
 "made use of the false pretext of injuries done to the *Saguntines*, he seem-
 "ed to enter into that war without reason, and contrary to justice."

Polyb. B.
 3. c. 15.

The reader observes, that *Polybius* here takes it for granted, that *Han-*
nibal, in attacking *Saguntum*, made war upon the *Romans*. Now *Han-*
nibal and the *Carthaginians* denied that the treaty with *Lutatius* could
 be broke by the siege of *Saguntum*. They alledged, that, as the *Sagun-*
tines were not allies of *Rome* at the time of making that treaty, they
 could not be comprehended in it. *Polybius* indeed thinks, that future
 allies as well as present ought to be understood to be comprehended in that
 treaty; and so said the *Romans*. But what then? It was surely a point
 that might well bear a debate. Yet the *Roman* ambassadors (as we
 have seen) would enter into no discussion of this matter with the *Cartha-*
ginians, but, upon their refusal to give up *Hannibal* as having unjustly
 violated that treaty by the siege of *Saguntum*, declared war.

And this makes it difficult to conceive why *Polybius*, on the present
 occasion, mentions the treaty with *Asdrubal*; that treaty, according to
 him, relating only to the *Carthaginians* passing the *Iberus*, which river
Hannibal did not attempt to pass till after the declaration of war by the

Y. R. 435. *Romans*. Polybius never speaks of the *Saguntines* as concerned in that treaty, but says expressly, that, when it was concluded, *no mention was made in it of any other part of Spain*, i. e. of any part on the south of that river; consequently no mention of the * *Saguntines*.

Polyb. B. 2. c. 13. *Livy* indeed tells us, that the *Saguntines* were included in the treaty with *Asdrubal*, and makes the *Carthaginians* confess it; which, if true, we must suppose that a new article in favour of the *Saguntines* was inserted into that treaty, after *Rome* had entered into an alliance with them.

Livy adds, that the *Carthaginians*, in their conference with the *Roman* ambassadors, would have evaded the obligation of the treaty with *Asdrubal*, by saying^m, that it was concluded by him without authority from *Carthage*, and that, in paying no regard to it, they did but follow the example of the *Romans*, who had refused to abide by the first treaty of *Lutatius* in *Sicily*, for the like reason. Doubtless, if the *Carthaginians* employed this subterfuge, it was weak and trifling, because, (as the same author, from *Polybius*, observes) in the treaty of *Lutatius* this clause was added, *That it should be firm and inviolable, if ratified by the people of Rome*; but in *Asdrubal's* treaty there was no proviso of like import.

But it is possible that *Asdrubal* might make an absolute treaty, and yet have no authority for so doing. At least, it was a common practice with the *Roman* generals, to make such treaties; and it was as common with the *Roman* Senate to break them, as having been concluded without sufficient authority.

To return to the main question, the justice of the war made by *Hannibal*:

It is plain that if the treaty of *Sicily* could not be construed to extend to future allies as well as present; and if *Asdrubal's* treaty was made without sufficient authority from *Carthage*, (both which the *Carthaginians* pleaded) there can be no pretence to charge *Hannibal* with beginning a war against *Rome*, by his attacking *Saguntum*.

But let us suppose, with the *Romans*, that the *Saguntines* were unquestionably within the treaty of *Sicily*; and also, that *Asdrubal*, in his treaty, acted with ample authority. What will follow? Not, that the second *Punic* war is to be imputed to the injustice of *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*, or that they were the first violators of the treaty of peace

^m *Livy*, in making the *Carthaginians* use this plea at the time of the conference in question, seems to found himself on *Polybius*; and perhaps *Polybius* ought to be so understood: But as the *Greek* historian tells us, that the *Carthaginian* orator pass over the treaty of *Asdrubal* in silence, as if no such treaty had ever been made, or, if made, was nothing to the purpose; I imagine, that the plea above-mentioned was not employed at the time of

the conference; but that afterwards, when they used to speak of the justice of their cause, they urged among other things the nullity of *Asdrubal's* treaty: For, as *Polybius* relates, the *Roman* Ambassadors did not, at their audience in the *Carthaginian* senate, object that treaty, nor set forth their rights, or pretensions of right, till after the war was begun. B. 3. c. 29.

between the two nations. No: The Romans had scandalously violated that treaty by their seizure of *Sardinia*, and extortion of the 1200 talents; and all conventions between *Rome* and *Carthage* following that first violence and breach of the peace, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this menace, on the part of the *Romans*, *Do whatsoever we require; otherwise we will make war, without regard to our oath, which we have already broken.* And as their engaging *Asdrubal* to covenant, that he would not pass the *Iberus*, was a new breach of the peace of *Sicily*, and a new insult upon *Carthage*; because *Rome* had as yet no foot in *Spain*, on the one side of that river, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side, held almost all the country: So the alliance, which the *Romans* made with the *Saguntines*, was in reality a breach of their treaty with *Asdrubal*. For the *Romans* could have no sort of colour for requiring that *Asdrubal* should not pass the *Iberus*, but an implicit covenant that this river should be a boundary, over which they themselves would not pass in any discovery or conquest by them intended to be made upon *Spain*; and that the *Carthaginians* should be free to push their conquests as far northward as to this limit. And so *Livy* says expressly, that by *Asdrubal's* treaty, the river *Iberus* was to be the boundary between the two empires. Only he adds (inconsistently with *Polybius's* account) that the *Saguntines* were included in that treaty.

It would seem then that the *Carthaginians* were not obliged, by any treaties with *Rome*, or by any consideration of justice, to abstain from the war which *Hannibal* began. And as to that open declaration of his true motives, the want of which made his enterprize seem dishonourable, he could not have made that declaration without throwing a bar in the way to the execution of his main design, the marching into *Italy*. For by demanding the restitution of *Sardinia*, and of the 1200 talents, he would have discovered the extent of his meditated revenge, and would thereby have put the enemy on such preparations for war, as might have disappointed all his views of doing justice to his country. It was to avoid this inconvenience, that he would seem at first to have no design but against the *Saguntines*; and we find his policy had its effect: For the *Romans* (as has been observed) had not the least apprehension of his intending so soon to invade *Italy*, but imagined that the seat of the war, they should have with him, would be in *Spain*.

Y. R. 535.
B. Chr.
237.
234 Conf.
Sir W. R.

B. 21. c. 2.

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 10.

C H A P. XVII.

The march of Hannibal, from the Iberus in Spain, to the Po in Italy: and how the Roman arms were employed in the mean time.

First Year of the War.

Y. R. 515.
Bel. Chr.
217.
231 Conf.
HANNIBAL, having passed the *Iberus*, subdued in a short time all those parts of *Spain*, which he had not before entered, and which lie between that river and the *Pyrenees*. His successes however cost him many hard conflicts in which he lost abundance of men. Of this newly conquered country he appointed one *Hanno* to be governor, instructing him to have a particular watch over the *Bergusians*, of whom he had the greatest jealousy on account of the friendship they had contracted with the *Romans*. And for the support of his government, he left under his command 10,000 foot and 1000 horse; and he committed likewise to his keeping all the heavy baggage of the main army, who left it behind them, that they might march light and disencumbered.

Being arrived at the borders of *Spain*, 3000 of his *Spanish* soldiers, (not so much for fear of the war, as of the fatigue of so long a march, and of passing over the *Alps*) returned home without asking leave; which that others might not also do or attempt, he courteously dismissed above 7000 more, who seemed willing to be gone; a condescension that made the journey seem less tedious to those that did follow him, as not being enforced by compulsion. His army consisted now of but 50,000 foot and 9000 horse; but they were good men, and had been long trained, and in continual action during the wars in *Spain*, under the ablest captains that *Carthage* could ever boast. With these he passed the *Pyrenees* and entered into *Gaul*. He found the *Gauls*, that bordered upon *Spain*, ready in arms to forbid his entrance into their country. However by gentle words and rich presents to the leaders, he gained them over to favour his expedition, which he assured them was not designed against them; and he continued his march without any dangerous molestation, till he arrived upon the banks of the *Rhone*.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 42.
Here he bought up from the *Gauls*, (who, on the west side of the river, favoured his passage for money and to get rid of him) all the boats large and small he could meet with, whereof the inhabitants, practising commerce, had a great number; and he also amassed prodigious quantities of timber for making floats, of which the soldiers, labouring in that employment with great diligence, in two days time made abundant provision. Nevertheless the *Carthaginian* found that it would be impossible to compass his passage without some strata-

gem, because of the opposition of the *Gauls* on the east side the river, who, in great multitudes, had determined to defend their bank. Wherefore, after three days deliberation, he in the night detached an officer named *Hanno* with a considerable part of the army, to go a good way up the river, then cross it, and endeavour to get behind the enemy. *Hanno* passed the stream about 25 miles from the *Carthaginian* camp, made silent marches towards the camp of the *Gauls*, and, in the morning after the fifth night, by smoke in several places, (the appointed signal) gave notice of his approach to *Hannibal*, who thereupon immediately began to attempt his passage. He put into the larger boats a part of his cavalry, ready for action. The horses of the rest, which could not be embarked, swam in tow after the small boats, one man, on each side of a boat, holding three or four horses by the bridles. The horsemen and the infantry went in small vessels and on floats; and that their passage might be the easier, the largest vessels were so disposed, a little higher up the stream, as to break the force of the current. When the *Gauls* perceived the *Carthaginians* advancing on the river, they by dreadful howlings, (according to their custom,) signified, that they waited the attack with resolution. But when they heard a great noise behind them, saw their tents on fire, and themselves assailed in rear, as well as front, they made but a short resistance. Vanquished and broken, they fled every man to his own village.

It has been already observed, that the *Romans*, without waiting the return of their ambassadors from *Carthage*, had ordered the Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio* into *Spain*, and *Tib. Sempronius* into *Sicily*, from whence he was to go into *Africa*.

Cornelius, though, before he set out, the news arrived that *Hannibal* had passed the *Iberus*, was still in hopes he should be able to hinder him from marching out of *Spain*. For this end having embarked his forces at *Pisa*, on board the fleet of sixty galleys, which had been assigned him, he steered along the coast of *Liguria**, and in five days arrived at *Marseilles*. Learning here that *Hannibal* had already passed the *Pyrenees*, he proceeded no further in his voyage than to the nearest mouth of the *Rhone*, where he landed his men, with intention to wait for the enemy on the banks of that river, and there put a stop to their further progress. The difficulties of the way from the *Pyrenees*, and the divers nations, through which *Hannibal* was to make his passage, induced the Consul to conclude, that he was yet a great way off. The *Carthaginian* however was at this time actually employed in passing the *Rhone*, at the distance of about four days march † from the sea. The Consul heard a report of this; but it seemed so incredible, that he could not believe it. Nevertheless, thinking it adviseable to endeavour after such intelligence as he might rely on, while the army lay to refresh themselves after the fatigue of their voyage, he commanded out

Y. R. 535.
B. Chr.
217.
234 Con.

Polyb. B.
c. 11.

See p. 110
Polyb. B. 3.
c. 40.

c. 41. & 42.
* Genoa.

† A little above Avignon.

Y. R. 334. 300 chosen horse to make discovery, giving them, for guides, some Gauls
 B. 1. 1. in the service of *Marseilles*.

234 Conf. This detachment met with a party of 500 *Numidian* horse, not far from the *Carthaginian* camp. For *Hannibal*, the next morning after his passage, and while his men were wafting over the elephants, having received intelligence of the Consul's arrival at the mouth of the *Rhone*, had sent this party out to bring him an account of the strength and situation of the enemy. The conflict between the *Romans* and *Numidians* was very bloody, an hundred and sixty of the former were left dead upon the spot, and more than two hundred of the latter. The *Romans* had the honour of the day, forcing the *Numidians* to quit the field, and pursuing them so near their entrenchments as to be eye-witnesses of what they were sent to learn. After which they returned with all diligence to carry the news to the Consul.

C. 44. *Hannibal*, while these things passed, was giving audience, in the presence of his whole army, to *Magilus* a *Gallic* Prince, who was come to him from the countries about the *Po*. *Magilus* (with whom the *Carthaginian* had before had a private conference) assured him by an interpreter, that the *Gauls* impatiently expected his arrival, and were ready to join him; and that he himself would be the guide to conduct the army through places, where they would find every thing necessary, and by a road, which would bring them speedily and safely into *Italy*. When the Prince was withdrawn, *Hannibal* in a speech to his troops reminded them of all their exploits to that time, and of the success they had met with in every occasion of danger, by following his counsels. He exhorted them to continue their confidence in him, and to fear nothing for the future; since having passed the *Rhone*, and secured such good allies as they found the *Gauls* to be, the greatest obstacles to their enterprise were now surmounted. The soldiers applauded all he said, expressing great willingness, and even ardour, to follow him whithersoever he should lead the way. He commended their good dispositions, made vows to the Gods for the preservation of all his troops, admonished them to refresh themselves well, and prepare to march next day, and then dismissed the assembly.

C. 45. Just at this time the *Numidians*, who had survived the skirmish, returned with an account of their adventure. *Hannibal*, as he had before resolved, broke up his camp, the next morning as soon as it was day, and posting his horse as a body of reserve, a little down the river, ordered his infantry to march. He himself staid behind, waiting the arrival of the elephants that were not yet all wafted over the stream.

C. 46. The method of doing it was this. From the bank of the river they threw a large float of timber, which, being strongly held by great ropes twined about some trees, they covered over with earth, that the elephants might be deceived by this appearance, and take it for firm ground.

At

At the end of this first float was fastened a second, but so, as it might be easily loosened from it. The female elephants were brought upon the first float, the males followed them; and when they were all got upon the second float, this was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore. It does not appear how many of these animals were transported at a time. But when the first were landed, the float was sent back to fetch others, and so on till the whole number was brought over. Some of them being unruly fell into the water, but they at last got safe to shore; not a single elephant was drowned, though some of their conductors were.

And now *Hannibal*, making his horse and elephants the rear-guard to his infantry, marched along the banks of the river northward^m, (though that was not the shortest way to the *Alps*,) being resolved to avoid an engagement with *Scipio*, that he might lead his troops as entire as possible into *Italy*.

Scipio, upon the information brought him by his discoverers, having immediately ordered all the baggage on board his ships, was coming by long marches with his whole army to attack the *Carthaginians*; but he did not arrive at the place where *Hannibal* had passed the *Rhone*, till three days after he was gone from thence. Despairing therefore to overtake him, he made haste back to his fleet, embarked his army, dispatched his brother *Cneius* with the greatest part of it into *Spain*, to carry the war into that country, and set sail himself for *Italy*, in hopes, by the way of *Utruria*, to reach the foot of the *Alps* before *Hannibal* could arrive there.

The *Carthaginian* after four days march arrived in a country which, from its situation, was called *the Island*, being washed on two sides by the *Rhone*, and anotherⁿ river which runs into that. Its form is triangular,

^m It has been much disputed whether this river was the *Arar*, [now called the *Saône*,] or the *Ijara*. [the *Ijere*.]

ⁿ The text of *Polybius*, says *Monf. Rollin*, "is it has been transmitted to us, and that of *Livy*, place this island at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saône*, that is, in the place where the city of *Lyons* now stands. But this is a manifest error. It was, in the Greek, *Σαοῶν*, instead of which a *ῥαῖος* has been substituted. *J. Gronovius* says, that he had seen in a manuscript of *Livy*, *Bisnet*, which shews, that we are to read *Ijara*, *R' de usque omnes*, instead of *Arar*. *Reo-anique*; and that the island in question is formed by the conflux of the *Ijara* and the *Rhone*.

Vol. II.

Chevalier *Felard*, who knows perfectly well the road from the place where *Hannibal* passed the *Rhone* (which is agreed to be between *Orange* and *Avignon*) to *Lyons*; and who also knows perfectly well what an army like *Hannibal's* is capable of doing, maintains, that it was absolutely impossible for it to march to *Lyons* in four days, it being 35 leagues; and, though he does not omit the reasons brought by *Mr. Rollin*, he lays the main stress of his argument (in behalf of the *Ijere*) on the length and badness of the way to the *Seine*, there being three rivers to pass, and almost the whole way being through d-fles.

I know not whether some aid to this cause might not be drawn from the river employed in *Scipio's* march, who was for

R

page 1

Y. R. 535.
Bf. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

* *Polybius*.
(c. 47.) lay.
Eastward,
but this a-
spices not
with the
context.
Liv. B. 21.
Polyb. B.
3. c. 49.

Y. R. 535
Bel. Ch.
217.
234 Conf.

gular, and resembles the *Delta* of *Egypt*, with this difference, that the country here spoken of, is bounded on it's third side by high mountains,

eager to come up with the *Carthaginians*, and give them battle. It is said that he did not arrive at the place where *Hannibal* had passed the *Rhone*, till three days after he was gone from thence. Now it is reasonable to suppose that he began his march the very same morning that *Hannibal* began his; the skirmish between the parties having happened the morning before, and there being time enough for *Scipio* to receive intelligence by his scouts where the enemy was: and though, to get to that place, he had not half the way to make, that *Hannibal* had, to reach *Lyons*, it cost him, with all his expedition, three days march.

On the decision of this question, another is made very much to depend, *Over what part of the Alps the Carthaginian army passed into Italy? If better over the Alpes Penninae, that stand a good way to the north of Turin, or over the Alpes Cottiae, that stand a little to the west of that city? Livy* is for the latter, and wonders that this fact should ever be questioned, since it is agreed that the part of Italy which *Hannibal* first entered, was the territory of the *Taurini*, [the people of *Turin*] into which country the other passage would not have brought him; nor does he believe that passage was then open. He tells us also that the army crossed the *Durance*, in its way to the mountains, which agrees very well with the opinion of it's going over the *Alpes Cottiae*, as may be seen by the maps. But the rest of *Livy's* account does not well accord with these particulars, nor indeed with common sense.

† B. 3. c.
47.

Chevalier *Foland*, who is well acquainted with the *Alps*, and all the roads thither, is sure, that *Hannibal* went the shortest road, from the country of prince *Brancus* to *Turin*; not only because it was the shortest, but because it was the safest and the best. He won't allow, that *Hannibal* went so far northward, along the banks of the *Rhone*, as even to the conflux of that river and the *Ijere*. He says, there was no occasion to do it, on account of any danger, either from *Scipio* or any allies of *Rome*. According to the chevalier, *Hannibal*, leaving *Grenoble* on his left, passed

the *Drac* [which runs into the *Ijere*] over against *Vizille*. Thence he successively marched to *Bourg d'Oison*, *Le Mont de Lens*, *Le Louchet*, *Briaucou*, *Le Mont Genevre*, *Serres*, *Le Mont Seftrières*, *Saxe*, *Col de la Fenestre*, and *Pignerol*; at a small distance from which last he encamped in the plains.

THE fathers *Catrou* and *Raquille* differ from the chevalier on both these questions. According to them, *Hannibal* crossed the *Rhone*, at its conflux with the *Saone*, and then turning eastward marched along the *Rhone*, on its north-side; then crossed it again, marching on its south-side to the *Durance*, (which they suppose to be *Livy's Durance*) and thence to the foot of the *Alpes Penninae*, which they passed, by the *Great St. Bernard*.

As to the objection of the 35 leagues march, in four days, they think it is sufficient to say, that *Hannibal* was in haste to get out of *Scipio's* way.

And as to Σκωραε [Scoras] (the supposed † antient name of the *Ijere*) "It can only impose, say they, on those who don't know that the *Saone* was antiently called *Scona*, and by corruption *Saucona*. *Am-mianus Marcellinus* calls it so, and it had the name of *Matijona*, because *Macou* is situated upon its banks. So that here is correction for correction. Is it not more natural and more probable that *Scoras* should be changed into *Sconas*, than that *Scoras* should be changed into *Ijeras*?"

But the main strength of their argument is from *Polybius*, who tells us *, that *Hannibal* continued his march along the *Rhone* EASTWARD. "Now, say the reverend Fathers, it is evident by a cast of an eye on the map, that if the *Carthaginians* army marched up the *Rhone* from west to east, it must first have marched along it as far as to *Lyons*." The necessity of this consequence I don't see. However, much doubtless might be built on this passage of *Polybius*, if we did not meet with it at a time when it is impossible it should be true; but it is just when *Hannibal* is setting out to go NORTHWARD along the river, and even 35 leagues northward, if he went to the conflux of

rains, whereas the *Delta*, which the *Nile* washes on two sides, is bounded on the third by the sea. Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.

Here he found two brothers disputing for the kingdom, and the nation engaged in a civil war. The two armies were just ready to give battle when *Hannibal* arrived. At the request of the elder brother (named *Brancus*) he assisted him, and forced the younger to retire. *Hannibal* had foreseen, that it would be very advantageous to him to have the friendship of a prince of this country; and he immediately reaped many benefits from it. The *Gaul* furnished his troops, not only with provisions and arms, but with clothes; for they were in a tattered condition, most of them bare-foot, and very ill provided for a march over the snows and ice of the mountains. But the most essential service he did was by putting his troops in the rear of *Hannibal's* army, (which could not without great dread enter the territories of the *Gauls* called *Allobroges*) and escorting it to the place where it was to ascend the *Alps*. 217.
234 Conf.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 49.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 31.

Hannibal, thus attended, marched 100 miles in ten days without molestation. So long as he was in the flat country the petty princes of the *Allobroges* made no opposition to his progress, either fearing the *Carthaginian* cavalry, or being held in respect by the *Gauls* that were in the rear of the army. But when these had retired to go home, and the *Carthaginians* began to ascend the mountains, they perceived that the mountaineers had possessed themselves of the highest cliffs that commanded the straight through which the army was to pass, with a resolution to oppose its passage. Here *Hannibal* therefore was obliged to make a halt and encamp. Had the mountaineers, says *Polybius*, concealed their designs till the *Carthaginian* army was advanced a good way into the narrow passes, it had been inevitably destroyed. *Hannibal* having learnt by the means of some of those *Gauls*, who served him for guides, that the Polyb. B. 1.
c. 52.

the Rhone and the Saone. Casaubon seems to have been shocked at this inconsistency; for in his translation he has neglected the words *παρὰ τὸν ῥῶταρον* (along the river.)

As to the PASSAGE OF THE ALPS, "There are six reasons, say the Jesuits, which incline us to believe that *Hannibal* crossed the Alps by the Great St. Bernard, [one of the *Alpes Pennine*.]"

I shall mention only three of them. "1. *Livy* and *Polybius* say, that this general, to encourage his troops, shewed them from the top of the mountain the rich plains of *Italy* that lay near the Po. Now supposing he had marched by the *Alpes Cottiae*, as *Livy* pretends, he could not possibly from thence discover those plains; other mountains would have intercepted his view."

"2. *Polybius* reckons 1400 stadia, or about 175 miles from the place where *Hannibal* passed the *Rhone* to the foot of those Alps which he ascended to go into *Italy*. And if we say with *Livy*, that he passed any of the *Alpes Cottiae*, it is impossible to make out that distance."

"3. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* passed the Alps near the place where the *Rhone* rises. Consequently he passed over the *Alpes Pennine*."

These reasons seem decisive, as to the passage of the Alps, (whatever becomes of *Scoras*, and the 35 leagues march) *Polybius's* authority being unquestionable, since, as he tells us, he made a journey on purpose to visit the places where *Hannibal* had passed, that he might be the better able to give an account of them.

Y. R. 566. enemy quitted their posts every night, retiring to a town not far off, he
 Bel. Ch. took his opportunity with a detachment of his best men (leaving the
 217 greatest part of his forces with the baggage) to advance by night and seize
 218 Com these posts, before the return of the *Berberians*; who in the morning
 were extremely surprized to find themselves thus dispossessed. How-

Polsh B. 3. ever, as they perceived the cavalry and beasts of burden moving forward
 c. 51. in the flights at a great distance, they ran thither and fell with fury
 upon the rear guard of the army. The *Carthaginians* suffered a great
 loss of men, horses, and beasts of burden upon this occasion; which de-
 struction was owing more to the difficulty of the passage, than the swords
 of the enemy. For the horses, when wounded by the mountaineers, or
 frightened by their howlings, rushed upon the beasts of burden, oversetting
 them and every thing else that stood in their way, and hurrying all down
 the precipices that bordered the road.

Hannibal being sensible, that the loss of his baggage would alone be
 sufficient to destroy his army, hastened with his detachment to the suc-
 cour of the troops that were thus embarrassed. Falling on the enemy
 from the higher ground he slew most of them, and put the rest to
 flight, yet not without sustaining considerable loss of men himself.
 What remained of his horses and beasts of burden now passed the streight,
 but with much difficulty, because of the ruggedness of the way. After
 which, taking with him those of his men who were the least fatigued
 with the combat, he attacked the town, from whence the enemy had
 sallied upon him, and he easily made himself master of it, the inhabi-
 tants having been almost all drawn out of it by the hopes of plunder.
 This conquest proved of great advantage to him. For he recovered a
 good number of men, horses, and beasts of carriage which had fallen
 into the enemies hands. He also found a sufficient quantity of corn and
 cattle to sustain his army for two or three days. And he gained this far-
 ther benefit, that the mountaineers of these parts were now so struck with
 dread, that they thought no more of interrupting his march.

Here he encamped and staid a whole day to refresh his troops. He
 then pursued his march, which for some days was unmolested. On the
 fourth, the people inhabiting the places near the road, having contrived
 a stratagem to attack him by surprize, came to meet him with olive
 branches and garlands, the usual signals of peace among these nations.
Hannibal, mistaking them, was very inquisitive concerning the intention
 of their coming. They told him, that having been informed of what had
 happened to their neighbours, and being themselves unwilling either to
 do or to suffer any injury, they were come to assure him of their peace-
 able dispositions; of which if he doubted they would give him hostages,
 for his security.

Hannibal was for a while in suspense what resolution to take: But
 considering that if he accepted their offer with condescension, they
 might possibly become more easy and tractable, and that, if he rejected
 it,

it, he should have them¹ immediately for open enemies, he at length pretended a great willingness to be upon terms of friendship with them.

Upon which they brought him hostages, furnished him with cattle, and seemed to place entire confidence in the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* seeing this, and either having, or seeming to have a better opinion of them, told them, they should be his guides to conduct him through the remaining part of his way over the mountains. Thus for two days they marched at the head of the army. But when it was got into a hollow way, overlooked by steep and craggy rocks, these faithless friends, in concert with others of their countrymen who had lain concealed, fell suddenly upon the troops in front, flank and rear. The greatest number attacked the rear. The army would have been utterly destroyed, Polyb. B. 1. c. 53. say *Polybius*, if *Hannibal*, who all along retained some diffidence of these Barbarians, had not taken his precautions to guard against them, by placing his baggage and his cavalry in the van, and his heavy armed infantry in the rear-guard. These sustained the shock of the enemy. Nevertheless he lost a great number of men, horses, and beasts of burden. For the *Gauls* having possessed themselves of the cliffs, and advancing thereon as the *Carthaginians* advanced in the hollow way, rolled down upon them huge stones, which occasioned an exceeding terror among them. *Hannibal* was obliged, with one half of his army, to remain all night in the open air, upon a rock, to defend the horses and beasts of carriage, as they filed along through the streight below; for which movement that night was hardly sufficient, the train was of such a length.

The next day, the enemy being retired, *Hannibal* rejoined his horse and baggage, and continued his march. The *Gauls* after this made no more attempts upon him, except in small parties, that, falling out by surprize from their lurking places in the hollows of the rocks, sometimes upon his van, sometimes upon his rear, seldom failed to carry off a part of his baggage, which was their chief purpose. The elephants were of great use to the *Garthagimans* on these occasions, for wherever they chanced to appear, they struck such a terror into the mountaineers as made them instantly take to their heels.

Hannibal at length, after nine days march from the first ascent, gained the summit of the mountain. Here he staid two days, that those of his men, who with infinite toil had climbed to this height, might take breath; and that his sick and wounded, who were still behind and moving slowly on, might have time to crawl up. And *Polybius* adds, that while the troops continued here, they had the agreeable surprize of seeing many of the horses and beasts of burden which had fallen in the way, or had by fear been driven out of it, and were thought lost, arrive safely at the camp, having followed the track of the army.

Y. R. 535. It was now about the end of autumn, and abundance of snow was
 B. E. Chr. newly fallen on the top of the mountain. *Hannibal* perceiving his fol-
 717. diers to be extremely discouraged by the sufferings they had already
 2:4 Conf. undergone, and by the apprehension of those that were to come, called
 Polyb. B. them together, that he might try to revive their hope. Having led
 3. c. 54. them to a convenient spot for taking an extensive view of the plains
 below; "There! *said he*, cast your eyes over those large and fruitful
 "countries. The *Gauls* who inhabit them are our friends. They are
 "waiting for us, ready, and impatient to join us. You have scaled,
 Liv. B. 21. "not only the rampart of *Italy*, but the walls of *Rome* itself. What re-
 c. 35. "mains is all smoothness and descent. One battle gained, or two at
 "most, and the capital of *Italy* will be ours."

The next day he broke up his camp and began to descend. But
 now, though he had no enemies to encounter except a few lurking rob-
 bers, he is said to have lost almost as many men and horses in going
 down the mountain as in coming up. The way was so steep and
 slippery in most places, that the soldiers could neither keep on their
 feet, nor recover themselves when they slipped; and the ground be-
 ing covered with snow, it was difficult to hit the right path, and if
 they missed it, they fell down frightful precipices, or were swallowed
 up in depths of snow. Nevertheless being inured to such dangers,
 they supported this with fortitude. But at length they came to a
 place much worse than any they had before met with, and which quite
 took away their courage. The path, for about a furlong and a half,
 naturally very steep and craggy, was rendered much more so by the
 late falling away of a great quantity of earth: so that neither elephants nor
 horses could pass. Here therefore they stooped short. *Hannibal* wondering
 at this sudden halt, ran to the place, and having viewed it, plainly saw
 there was no advancing farther that way. His first thought was to try
 another, by fetching a compass. But he quickly desisted from this at-
 tempt, it being found impracticable. For though the snow that had
 Polyb. B. last fallen, being soft and of no great depth, yielded good footing enough
 3. c. 55. for the soldiers and horses that marched foremost; yet when this had
 been so trampled upon, by them, that the feet of those who followed came
 to the hard snow and ice under it, the latter could by no means advance,
 or even keep upon their feet. And when they endeavoured to sustain
 themselves on their hands and knees, they often slid down and were
 lost in pits and precipices. And as for the horses and beasts of burden,
 when they struck their feet into the ice to preserve themselves from
 falling, they could not draw them out again, but remained there as if
 they had been themselves frozen. It was necessary therefore to seek
 some other expedient.

Hannibal having caused all the snow to be removed that lay upon
 the ground near the entrance of the first way, he there pitched his
 camp:

camp; and then gave orders to cut out a winding path in the rock itself; and this work was carried on with so great diligence and vigour, that at the end of one day the beasts of burden and the horses were able to descend without much difficulty. He immediately sent them forward, and, removing his camp to a place that was free from snow, put them to pasture. It now remained to enlarge the way, that the elephants might pass. This task was assigned to the *Numidians*, and it took up so much time, that *Hannibal* did not arrive with his whole army in the plains below, on the confines of *Insulria*, till four days after he began to descend. He had been 15 days in passing the *Alps*, and, these included, five months and a half in his march (of about 1000 miles) from *New Carthage*.

Y. R. 535.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.

Of the thirty-eight thousand foot with which the *Carthaginian* general had crossed the *Rhone*, he had now but 12,000 *Africans*, and 8000 *Spaniards*; and his eight thousand horse were reduced to about 6000. This enumeration is according to *Hannibal's* own register, which he afterwards caused to be engraved on a column near the promontory of *Lacinium* in *Calabria*.

c. 56.

His first care, after entering *Italy* and pitching his camp in the plain at the foot of the mountain, was to refresh his men, who stood in great need of it. Famine and fatigue had so disfigured them, that they looked like Savages. But as soon as he saw that both men and horses had recovered their strength, and were fit for action; he marched against the *Taurini**, who were at that time in war with the *Insulrians*, and who had rejected his repeated solicitations to enter into an alliance with him. He sat down before their chief city and took it in three days, putting all who had opposed him to the sword. This expedition struck such a terror into the *Gauls* of this neighbourhood, that they came of their own accord and surrendered themselves at discretion. The remoter *Gauls* of the plains about the *Po* would have also been glad to join him, as they had long intended to do. But as the *Roman* legions had passed beyond those plains, and had escaped the ambushes there laid

c. 60.

* The people of Taurini.

* Mr. Rollin seems very loth to part with *Livy's* VINEGAR; which was poured upon the rock to soften it, after this had been first made red hot under flaming piles of huge trees. "Many," says Mr. Rollin, "reject this fact as fabulous. *Pliny* observes, that vinegar has the force to break stones and rocks. *Saxa rumpit infusum, quæ non ruperit ignis antecessens*. Lib. 23. For which reason he calls vinegar *Succus rerum domitor*. Lib. 33. c. 2. *Dio*, speaking of the siege of *Eleutheræ*, says, that the walls of it were made to fall by the force of vinegar. L. 36. p. 8.

"It is likely, [apparemment] adds Mr. Rollin, what makes people question the truth of *Livy's* account, is the difficulty that *Hannibal* would have to procure in those mountains a sufficient quantity of vinegar for the operation." Doubtless the unbelievers do imagine this to be an insuperable objection to the story. But this is not all. For a better authority than *Livy* assures us, that *Hannibal* had no wood to make a fire with; *That there was not a tree in the place where he then was, or near it*. Polybius, B. 3. c. 55. Τῶν γὰρ Ἀλπεῶν τὰ μὲν ἀκέρυ, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβόλας ἀνηκούσθαι, τελευτῶς ἀδενδρὰ καὶ ψιλά παντ' ἐστίν.

for

Y. R. 535. for them, these *Gauls* thought it better now to keep quiet; nay some
 Bot. C. 6. of their nation were constrained to take arms for the *Romans*. *Hannibal*
 171. therefore judging that he had no time to lose, resolved to march into
 172. their country, and endeavour by some exploit to raise the courage of a
 173. people who were so well disposed to favour him.

P. 155 B. 1. He was full of this design when he received intelligence that *Scipio* had
 C. 64. passed the *Po* with his army, and that he was not far off. The two
 174. Generals are said to have conceived a high opinion of each other. *Han-*
 175. *nibal's* name had been long renowned, even before the taking of *Sa-*
 176. *guntum*; and, that *Scipio* must be a captain of eminent worth, the *Car-*
 177. *thaginians* had well concluded, from the *Romans* having chosen him, pre-
 178. ferably to all others, to be his opponent. But this mutual impression
 179. was now become much stronger, by the *hardy enterprise* of the *Car-*
 180. *thaginians* to march over the *Alps*, with the *happy execution* of it: and the expedi-
 181. tious courage of the other in coming from the banks of the *Rhene*, to
 182. meet him, at the foot of those mountains.

But nothing had ever so astonished the people of *Rome*, as the news
 of the *Carthaginians* being so near. They had scarce ordered one of their
 Consuls into *Africa* to attack *Carthage*, and another into *Spain* to stop
Hannibal, when they hear, that this same *Hannibal* is in *Italy* at the
 head of an army besieging towns. Such terror seized them, that they
 immediately dispatched an express to the Consul *Sempronius*, then at
Lilybæum, to postpone every other affair, and come with all expedition
 to the defence of his country.

P. 155 B. 1. *Sempronius*, to whom a considerable army, and a fleet of 160 galleys
 C. 64. had been committed, and who had made mighty preparations at *Lily-*
 174. *bæum* for a descent upon *Africa*, was so elated with ambitious hope, that
 175. he thought of nothing less than laying siege to *Carthage* itself, when he
 176. had first cleared the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily* of the *Carthaginian* fleets:
 177. Before he went into *Sicily*, the *Roman* prætor of that province had gained
 178. some considerable advantages by sea over the *Carthaginians*, and had
 179. disappointed a design formed by them to possess themselves of *Lilybæum*
 180. by surprize. When the Consul arrived at *Messina*, he was there met by
 181. king *Hiero*, who, continuing his friendship to the *Romans*, not only
 182. clothed the legions and furnished them with corn at his own expence,
 183. but with his fleet accompanied theirs to *Lilybæum*. From this place
 184. *Sempronius* made a successful attempt upon the Island of *Malta*; a
 185. conquest which served to cover *Sicily* on that side. After which, being
 186. returned to *Lilybæum*, and having learnt there, that a *Carthaginian* fleet
 187. was ravaging the coasts of *Calabria*, he made preparations to drive the
 188. enemy from thence; but while he was getting ready for this expedition,
 189. he received the order above-mentioned to return into *Italy* to the assistance
 190. of his colleague. Hereupon he gave one part of his fleet to his lieutenant
 191. *Pomponius*, to guard the coast of *Italy*, another to *Æmilius* prætor of
 192. *Sicily*, and with the rest, having embarked his army, set sail for *Arim-*
 193. *inum* in the *Adriatic*.

While

C H A P. XVIII.

The Battle of the TICIN.

WHILE the forces of *Sempronius* from *Sicily* were in their voyage, *Hannibal* and the Consul *Publius Scipio* were advancing to meet each other. *Scipio* (as was before * observed) had, from the mouth of the *Rhone*, sent almost all his own consular army, under the conduct of his brother *Cneius*, into *Spain*. The forces which he now commanded were chiefly the remains of an army † which had been assigned to the Prætor *Manlius*, to guard the province of *Gaul*, and which had since been defeated by the *Boii*. Y. R. 515.
Bef. Chr.
217.
234 Conf.
* See p. 131.
† See p. 110.

For these *Gauls* had no sooner heard of *Hannibal's* passing the *Iberus*, in his way to *Italy*, but, regardless of the hostages they had given at the conclusion of the last war with *Rome*, they rose in arms against her, and drew the *Insubrians* into the revolt. What made the *Boii* so forward in this matter, was their extreme dissatisfaction with the republic, for planting two colonies in their neighbourhood at *Placentia* and *Cremona*; an affair which, though long intended, was not quite finished when the *Carthaginian* began his march from *Spain*. The *Boii* fell first upon those lands which had been destined for the new colonies, pursuing the *Romans* who fled before them, to *Mutina* *, another *Roman* colony. In this place, which they besieged, were three *Romans* of great distinction, (one of them having been Consul, and the other two, Prætors) who had been commissioned to make the partition of the lands. The *Gauls*, contrary to their faith given, seized upon the persons of these commissioners at a conference for an accommodation, hoping by this treachery to recover their hostages. The news of it roused the Prætor *Manlius*. He hastened to the relief of *Mutina*: But the *Gauls* having got notice of his approach, fell upon him by surprise, in his passage through a forest, and cut off a great part of his army, he himself narrowly escaping with the remainder to *Tanetum*, a small town on the banks of the *Po*. To this place the enemy pursued him, and there held him invested, till the Prætor *Attilius*, with a legion, that had been raised for *Spain*, and 5000 men of the allies, was sent from *Rome* to his assistance. Upon the approach of these troops the *Gauls* raised the sieges of both *Mutina* and *Tanetum*, and retiring thence dispersed themselves about the country. Polyb. B. 3.
Liv. B. 21.
C. 40.
* Modena.
Liv. B. 21.
C. 26.

The forces of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, which had been thus employed, composed the army, which *Scipio*, (who had landed at *Pisa*, and gone thence to *Placentia*) led against *Hannibal*. Having passed the *Po*, he turned to the left, and advanced to the *Ticin* †, over which he caused a

* A small River on the north side of the *Po*, and running into it.

bridge to be laid. But before he marched further, he thought it proper to assemble his soldiers, and endeavour to animate their courage for the approaching occasion. He spoke to them in words to this effect.

"Were you, Soldiers, the same army, which I had with me in Gaul, I might well forbear saying any thing to you at this time. For, what occasion could there be to use exhortation to a CAVALRY, that had so signally vanquished the squadrons of the enemy upon the Rhone; or to LEGIONS, by whom that same enemy, flying before them to avoid a battle, did in effect confess themselves conquered? But, as those troops, having been enrolled for Spain, are there with my brother Cneius, making war under my auspices (as was the will of the Senate and people of Rome) I, that you might have a Consul for your captain against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have freely offered myself for this war. You then have a new general, and I a new army. In this circumstance a few words from me to you will be neither improper nor unreasonable.

"And that you may not be unapprized of what sort of enemies you are going to encounter, or of what is to be feared from them, they are the very same, whom in a former war, you vanquished both by land and sea; the same from whom you took Sicily and Sardinia, and who have been for these twenty years your tributaries. You will not, I presume, march against these men with only that courage, with which you are wont to face other enemies, but with a certain anger and indignation, such as you would feel, if you saw your slaves on a sudden rise up in arms against you. Conquered and enslaved, it is not boldness but necessity that urges them to battle: unless you can believe that those, who avoided fighting when their army was entire, have acquired better hope by the loss of two thirds of their horse and foot, in the passage of the Alps.

"But you have heard perhaps, that, though they be few in number, they are men of stout hearts and robust bodies, heroes of such strength and vigour, as nothing is able to resist.—Meer effigies! nay shadows of men! wretches emaciated with hunger, and benumbed with cold! bruised and battered to pieces among the rocks and craggy cliffs! their weapons broke, and their horses weak and foundered! Such are the cavalry, and such the infantry with which you are going to contend; not enemies, but the fragments of enemies. There is nothing which I more apprehend, than that it will be thought, Hannibal was vanquished by the Alps, before we had any conflict with him. But perhaps it was fitting that so it should be; and that with a people and a leader, who had violated leagues and covenants, the Gods themselves, without man's help, should begin the war, and bring it near to a conclusion; and that we, who, next to the Gods, have been injured and offended, should happily finish what they begun.

" I need not be in any fear, that you should suspect me of saying
 " these things merely to encourage you, while inwardly I have
 " different sentiments. What hindered me from going into *Spain*?
 " That was *my* province; where I should have had the less dreaded
 " *Asdrubal*, not *Hannibal*, to deal with. But hearing, as I past along
 " the coast of *Gaul*, of this enemy's march, I landed my troops, sent
 " the Horse forward, and pitched my camp upon the *Rhone*. A part
 " of my cavalry encountered and defeated that of the enemy; my in-
 " fantry not being able to overtake theirs which fled before us, I return-
 " ed to my fleet, and with all the expedition I could use in so long a
 " voyage by sea and land, am come to meet them at the foot of the
 " *Alps*. Was it then my inclination to avoid a contest with this tre-
 " mendous *Hannibal*? And have I lit upon him only by accident
 " and unawares? Or am I come on purpose to challenge him to
 " the combat? I would gladly try, whether the earth, within these
 " twenty years, has brought forth a new kind of *Carthaginians*; or
 " whether they be the same sort of men who fought at the *Agates*;
 " and whom, at *Eryx*, you suffered to redeem themselves at 18 * *denarii*
 " per head: Whether this *Hannibal*, for labours and journies, be, as
 " he would be thought, the rival of *Hercules*; or whether he be what
 " his father left him, a tributary, a vassal, a slave of the *Roman* people.
 " Did not the consciousness of his wicked deed, at *Saguntum*, torment
 " him and make him desperate, he would have some regard, if not to
 " his conquered country, yet surely to his own family, to his father's
 " memory, to the treaty written with *Amilcar*'s own hand. We might
 " have starved them in *Eryx*; we might have passed into *Africa* with
 " our victorious fleet, and in a few days have destroyed *Carthage*. At
 " their humble supplication we pardoned them; we released them when
 " they were closely shut up without a possibility of escaping; we made
 " peace with them when they were conquered. When they were
 " distressed by the *African* war, we considered them, we treated them
 " as a people under our protection. And what is the return they make
 " us for all these favours? Under the conduct of a hair-brained young
 " man, they come hither to overturn our state and lay waste our country.
 " — I could wish indeed, that it were not so; and that the war we are
 " now engaged in, concerned only our glory and not our preservation.
 " But the contest at present is not for the possession of *Sicily* or *Sardi-*
 " *nia*, but of *Italy* itself. Nor is there, behind us, another army
 " which, if we should not prove the conquerors, may make head against
 " our victorious enemies. There are no more *Alps* for them to pass,
 " which might give us leisure to raise new forces. No, Soldiers, here
 " you must make your stand, as if you were just now before the walls
 " of *Rome*. Let every one reflect, that he is now to defend, not his
 " own person alone, but his wife, his children, his helpless infants.

Y. R. 535.
 Bef. Chr.
 217.
 234 Conf.

* 118. 7. l. 1
 Arbuth.

V. R. 555. " Yet let not private considerations alone possess our minds; let us remember that the eyes of the Senate and people of *Rome* are upon us, and that as our force and courage shall now prove, such will be the fortune of that City, and of the *Roman* empire.

This discourse, supported by the authority of the speaker, the certainty of some things he had said, and the probability of others, had the wished for effect on the minds of the hearers.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 62.
Livy, B. 1.
c. 42 & seq.

On the other side, *Hannibal* made use of a new kind of rhetoric to inspire his soldiers with resolution. He had taken prisoners, some young men of the mountaineers who opposed his march over the *Alps*; and, to prepare them for his purpose, had caused them to be treated in the severest manner, loaded with irons, tormented with hunger, and macerated with stripes. In this miserable condition he had them brought into the presence of his whole army; where, shewing them such weapons as the *Gallic* Princes were accustomed to use in single combat, and placing also before their eyes horses and handsome suits of apparel, he demanded, Who of them would be willing, with those weapons, to fight in duel one against another, to the death of one of the duellists, on the condition, that the victor should have his liberty, and the prizes they beheld? There was not a single wretch of these prisoners, who did not instantly and eagerly call out for the arms; for, at worst, they were sure of this advantage, to be by death delivered from all their miseries. *Hannibal* hereupon directed that they should draw lots for entering the lists. At the hearing of this order, all the young men lifted up their hands to heaven, each conjuring the Gods that he might be of the number of the combatants; and all those, whose fortune it proved to be so, exceedingly rejoiced and exulted, while the rest were as much dejected.

When these duels were over, those of the prisoners who had been only spectators seemed to envy the conquered, no less than they did the conquerors.

The spectacle had made the like impression on the greater part of the *Carthaginians*, who comparing the fortunes of the dead with that of the living, who had not fought, compassionated these, and thought the others happy.

Hannibal, having thus brought his soldiers to the temper and disposition he desired, advanced into the midst of them, and then spoke in the following manner.

" If in the estimation of your own fortune, you will but bear the same mind which you just now did, in contemplating the fortune of others, the victory, Soldiers, is ours. What you have seen, was not a meer shew for amusement, but a representation of your own real condition. I know not whether you or your prisoners be encompassed by fortune with the stricter bonds and necessities. Two seas
" inclose

“ inclose you on the right and left;—not a ship to fly to, for escaping. Y. R. 535.
Ref. Chr.
 “ Before you is the *Po*, a river broader and more rapid than the *Rhone*;
 “ behind you are the *Alps*, over which, ^{217.} even when your numbers were 134 Conf.
 “ undiminished; you were hardly able to force a passage. Here, then,
 “ Soldiers, you must either conquer or die, the very first hour you meet
 “ the enemy. But the same fortune which has thus laid you under the
 “ necessity of fighting, has set before your eyes those rewards of victory,
 “ than which no men are ever wont to wish for greater from the im-
 “ mortal Gods. Should we by our valour recover only *Sicily* and *Sar-*
 “ *dinia*, which were ravished from our fathers, those would be no in-
 “ considerable prizes. Yet, what are those? The wealth of *Rome*,
 “ whatever riches she has heaped together from the spoils of nations,
 “ all these, with the masters of them, will be yours. You have been
 “ long enough employed in driving the cattle upon the vast mountains
 “ of *Lusitania* and *Celtiberia*; you have hitherto met with no reward
 “ worthy of the labours and dangers you have undergone. The time
 “ is now come to reap the full recompence of your toilsome marches
 “ over so many mountains and rivers, and through so many nations,
 “ all of them in arms. This is the place, which fortune has appointed
 “ to be the limit of your labours; it is here that you will finish your
 “ glorious warfare, and receive an ample recompence of your com-
 “ pleted service. For I would not have you imagine that victory will
 “ be as difficult as the name of a *ROMAN WAR* is great and sounding.
 “ It has often happened that a despised enemy has given a bloody bat-
 “ tle, and the most renowned kings and nations have by a small force
 “ been overthrown. And if you but take away that glitter of the
 “ *Roman* name, what is there, wherein they may stand in competition
 “ with you? For, (to say nothing of your service in war for twenty
 “ years together with so much valour and success) from the very pillars
 “ of *Hercules*, from the ocean, from the utmost bounds of the earth,
 “ through so many warlike nations of *Spain* and *Gaul*, are you not come
 “ hither victorious? And with whom are you now to fight? with raw
 “ soldiers, an undisciplined army, beaten, vanquished; besieged by the
 “ *Gauls* the very last summer, an army unknown to their leader, and
 “ unacquainted with him.

“ Or shall I, who, I might almost say, was *born*, but certainly *brought*
 “ *up* in the tent of my father, that most excellent general, shall I, the
 “ conqueror of *Spain* and *Gaul*, and not only of the *Alpine* nations, but,
 “ which is greater yet, of the *Alps* themselves, shall I compare myself
 “ with this half-year-captain? A captain before whom should one place
 “ the two armies, without their ensigns, I am persuaded he would not
 “ know to which of them he is *Consul*? I esteem it no small advantage,

^b Here we have another proof from *Livy* himself of his own inadvertency in delivering the idle story mentioned, p. 104.

Y. R. 555. " Soldiers, that there is not *one* among you, who has not often been an
 Bel. Clu. " eye-witness of my exploits in war; not *one*, of whose valour, I myself
 517. " have not been a spectator, so as to be able to name the times and
 4 Cof. " places of his noble achievements; that with soldiers, whom I have a
 " thousand times praised and rewarded, and whose pupil I was, before I
 " became their general, I shall march against an army of men strangers
 " to one another.

" On what side soever I turn my eyes, I behold all full of courage
 " and strength; a veteran infantry, a most gallant cavalry^c; you, my
 " allies, most faithful and valiant; you, *Carthaginians*, whom not only
 " your country's cause, but the justest anger impels to battle. The hope,
 " the courage of assailants is always greater, than of those who act upon
 " the defensive. With hostile banners displayed you are come down
 " upon *Italy*; you bring the war. Grief, injuries, indignities fire your
 " mind, and spur you forward to revenge.—First they demand *me*,
 " that I, your General, should be delivered up to them; next, *all you*,
 " who had fought at the siege of *Saguntum*; and we were to be put
 " to death by the extremest tortures. Proud and cruel nation! Every
 " thing must be yours, and at your disposal? You are to prescribe to
 " us, with whom we shall make war, with whom we shall make peace?
 " You are to set us bounds, to shut us up within hills and rivers; but
 " *you*, you are not to observe the limits which yourselves have fixed^d?
 " *Pass not the IBERUS*. What next? *Touch not the SAGUNTINES*;
 " *SAGUNTUM*^e is upon the *IBERUS*; move not a step towards that city.
 " It is a small matter then, that you have deprived us of our ancient
 " possessions, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; you would have *Spain* too? Well, we
 " shall yield *Spain*; and then——you will pass into *Africa*. Will pass
 " did I say?—This very year they ordered one of their Consuls into
 " *Africa*, the other into *Spain*. No, Soldiers, there is nothing left for us
 " but what we can vindicate with our swords. Come on then. Be men.
 " The *Romans* may with more safety be cowards; they have their own
 " country behind them, have places of refuge to fly to, and are secure
 " from danger in the roads thither: But for *you* there is no middle for-
 " tune between death and victory. Let this be but well fixed in your
 " minds, and once again I say, *you are CONQUERORS*."

^c Livy's Expression is, *Generosissimarum gentium eques firmatus & infirmatus*, horsemen that ride with bridles, and those that ride without bridles, by the latter meaning the *Narbonians*, who had no bridles nor saddles to their horses, and who in action resembled the modern *Hussars*.

^d By the words which Livy here puts into the mouth of *Hannibal*, it is plain, that the *Saguntines* were not included at first

in the treaty with *Asdrubal*; that this treaty only restrained the *Carthaginians* from passing the *Iberus*, as *Polybius* declares; and that the alliance of the *Romans* with the *Saguntines* was posterior to it, and a real infraction of it. See pag. 116, 117^e.

^e *Hannibal*, the more to incense his hearers against the *Romans*, makes these assert an impudent falsehood, that *Saguntum* is upon the *Iberus*.

Livy reports, that *Hannibal*, further to animate his men, assured them, that they should have every one of them lands in property, either in *Africa*, *Spain*, or *Italy*; or else an equivalent in money, if they preferred money. And these assurances he ratified in form. Taking a flint in one hand, and holding a lamb with the other, he said, *Great JUPITER, and all ye Gods, if I do not perform my promise, slay me as I do this lamb!* at which words he broke with the flint the skull of the lamb; a solemnity which much augmented the confidence of his troops.

The next day the two armies advanced towards each other along the *Tuin*, on that side of it which is next the *Alps*, the *Romans* having the river on their left, the *Carthaginians* the same river on their right. The day following each army receiving intelligence by its foragers that the enemy was near, encamped in the place where it then was. The third, *Scipio* with his cavalry and light armed foot marching forward to discover the strength and situation of the *Carthaginians*; and *Hannibal*, with his cavalry only, coming on with the like intention, they soon perceived each other's approach by the dust they raised in the plain, and thereupon immediately prepared for battle. The *Roman* General sent before him his *Gallic* horse, assisted by his dartmen to begin the fight, he himself with the rest of his cavalry in one line following slowly in good order. The *Gauls* behaved themselves courageously, but the foot, that should have aided them, shrunk at the first onset, or rather fled cowardly through the intervals of the squadrons without casting a dart, fearing to be trodden down by the enemy's horse. Nevertheless the *Gauls* maintained the fight, as presuming they should be well sustained by the *Roman* horse behind them. Nor did the Consul neglect his part, but hazarded his person so far, that he received a dangerous wound, and had been left upon the place, if his son^f, a meer youth (afterwards the great *Africanus*) had not, by a surprizing effort of courage, brought him off. Whilst the *Romans* were busied in assisting their Consul, an unexpected storm came driving at their backs, and obliged them to look to their own preservation. For *Hannibal* had ordered his *Numidians*, who were in the wings, to wheel and give upon the *Romans* in flank and rear, while he with his *Spanish* and other horse sustained their charge in front. The *Numidians* performed their instructions, and having first cut in pieces the scattered foot that had run away at the beginning of the action, fell instantly upon the backs of the *Roman* cavalry, who by this impression were intirely broken and forced to betake themselves to their speed, leaving to their enemies the honour of the day.

Scipio the night following decamped secretly, and marched with expedition over the plains to the *Po*, which he now repassed, retiring to

^f So *Livy* is inclined to believe, with the greater number of authors; but adds, that *Celius* the historian gives the honour of the Consul's rescue to a *Ligurian* slave.

the neighbourhood of *Placentia*. For he thought it not safe, wounded as he was, to stay in a flat open country, with an enemy so near, that was much superior to him in horse. *Hannibal*, who had expected to have an engagement with the enemies infantry, no sooner learned that the Romans were retired, but he followed them as far as to their bridge upon the *Ticin*. Here he surprized and made prisoners 600 men who had been left behind to destroy the bridge so soon as the army should be passed. The work was however effected; the boats which had composed the bridge being loosed from one another were floating down the stream; which *Hannibal* perceiving, and hearing also that the Romans were far advanced in their march, he immediately turned back, went down the *Ticin*, and then up along the banks of the *Po*, to find a convenient place where he might lay a bridge of boats over this river. After two

^a *Livy* says, that *Scipio* retired to *Placentia*, which if true, *Placentia* must have had a different situation from what it has now, and must have been, not on the east but the west side of the *Trebia*. For we find, that *Scipio*, after this first retreat, passed the *Trebia* to get further from *Hannibal*. *Polybius*'s words import no more than that the Romans retired to the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, *πρὸς τὴν Πλακεντίαν*.

^b *Livy*, who, in this part of his history, plainly borrows from *Polybius*, seems to have misunderstood him with regard to the Bridge, at which *Hannibal* is said to have arrived in his pursuit of the Romans. The Latin Historian makes it to be their bridge over the *Po*, as if they had no river to pass in their way to the *Po*; which, if true, we must say, that the battle was fought on the east side of the *Ticin*, the side towards *Placentia*: For *Polybius* expressly affirms that *Scipio* at the head of the battle had the *Ticin* to his left, and *Hannibal* the same river to his right. Yet, that the battle was fought on the west side of the *Ticin*, we have *Livy*'s own authority. He makes *Scipio*'s march, in order to meet *Hannibal*, to have been from *Placentia* to that river, over which he passed by a bridge, before he gave battle to the *Carthaginians*. *Ponte perfecto traducit Romanus exercitus in agrum Infubrium*, B. 21. c. 45. And in this he does not disagree with *Polybius*. Now, if the battle was fought on the west bank of the *Ticin*, and *Scipio* had this river to his left, it is evident that the *Carthaginians* were between him and the *Po*, and that he could not steal a march to the *Po* (in the way to *Placentia*) without first repassing the *Ticin*; which

Hannibal must also have crossed in the pursuit of his enemy to the *Po*. But not one word is any where said of *Hannibal*'s passing, or attempting to pass, the *Ticin*.

The bridge therefore to which *Hannibal* came, in pursuit of the Romans, must have been their bridge over the *Ticin*; at the entrance of which, according to *Livy*, *Scipio* had raised a fort and placed a guard. And it was this guard which *Hannibal* surprized.

The reason which *Polybius* assigns for *Hannibal*'s turning back, when he came to the broken bridge, is the distance of the enemy: He heard that the Romans were got a great way off (too far to be overtaken.) This furnishes another proof, that the river in question was the *Ticin* and not the *Po*. For as he had determined to pass the *Po* with all expedition, how could he find a more convenient time to lay his bridge, than when he had no enemies to oppose him? But the distance of the enemy was a good reason why he should not lay a bridge over the *Ticin*, since this would be only loss of time and labour, and could not in the least further his intention of passing the *Po*, or coming up with the Romans. And what necessity could he be under of spending two days (as *Livy* says he did) in search of a convenient place to lay a bridge over the *Po*, if he was already at that very place where the Romans had laid their bridge over that river. Chevalier *Folard*'s translator of *Polybius*, understands him as *Livy* does. Yet the chevalier, in his comment, regardless of his text, speaks of the bridge in question, as the bridge over the *Ticin*, tom. 4. p. 129.

days march, a proper place being found, and the bridge formed, he or-
 dered *Asdrubal* to lead over the army, while he himself was employed
 in giving audience to ambassadors come to him from the *Gauls* of the
 neighbouring countries, who, after his success at the *Ticinus*, retaining
 their first design, now offered to join their forces to his, and to furnish
 him with whatever he wanted.

Y. R. 515.
 2d. Ch.
 34 Conf.

When the army was all passed, the *Carthaginian* took his march
 down the river, and at the end of the second day came within view of
 the *Romans*. The third, he drew up his forces in *battalia*, in the face
 of the enemy: But finding his challenge not accepted, he retired and
 pitched his camp about six miles from them.

At this time certain *Gauls*, to the number of 2000 foot and 200
 horse, who served in the Consul's camp, observing the fortunate state
 of *Hannibal's* affairs, plotted together to desert to him. After supper
 they retired to their tents, and there kept quiet till towards day break;
 but then, having suddenly armed themselves, they fell upon the sleep-
 ing *Romans*, who lay nearest to them, slew a great number and wound-
 ed many others; after which they fled out of the camp, carrying with
 them to *Hannibal* the heads of those they had slain. The *Carthaginian*
 received these traitors kindly, exhorted them to continue their zeal,
 and promised them rewards proportionable to their services; but distrust-
 ing perhaps their fidelity, he did not enrol them among his troops, but
 dismissed them to their respective towns and villages, that they might
 publish among their countrymen the success of his arms, and ex-
 hort them to enter into alliance with him. There was in truth little
 need, for that end, of the exhortations of these emissaries, whose recent
 treachery alone sufficed to put the rest of the *Boii* under a necessity of
 siding with the *Carthaginian*. A party of them at this very juncture,
 brought to *Hannibal's* camp the three *Roman* commissioners, whom,
 contrary to faith given, they had seized at a conference (as was before
 mentioned) and they put them into his hands. *Hannibal*, after many
 kind words and promises to these *Gauls*, made a treaty with them, and
 then restored to them the three captives, whom he advised them to
 keep under strict guard, and to make use of (as they had at first pro-
 posed) to recover their hostages from the *Romans*.

Polyb. P.
 3. c. 67.

Scipio, alarmed at the bloody treason of his *Gallie* deserters, and not
 doubting but the *Gauls* in general would quickly declare themselves
 in favour of *Hannibal*, thought it advisable to retire into a country
 where the friendship of the inhabitants was more to be depended upon.
 He decamped therefore about three hours after midnight, to pass the *Tre-*
*bia*¹, and take post upon the eminencies near that river, where he believed the
 enemy would not have the boldness to attack him. *Hannibal*, upon notice
 of this motion of the *Romans*, detached his *Nunidian* cavalry after them,

c. 61.

¹ A small river running northward into the *Po* near *Placentia*.

Y. R. 535. he himself soon following with the rest of the army. The *Numidians*, finding the *Roman* camp deserted, stopt to set fire to it, a delay very fortunate to the *Romans*, who, had they been overtaken in the plain, and before they had got their baggage over the river, would have been extremely embarrassed. But when the *Numidians* came up, the main body of the Consul's army, together with the baggage, had already passed the stream. There remained on the other side some of his rear guard only, of which the enemy slew a part and took the rest prisoners.

The Consul having fortified himself in his new camp, resolved to wait there the arrival of his colleague *Sempronius* with the troops from *Sicily*, and, in the mean time, to attend carefully to the cure of his wound, that he might be in a condition to act, when, after the junction of the two armies, a favourable opportunity should present. *Hannibal* advanced, and pitched his camp about five miles from that of the Consul, the *Trebia* running between them. Great numbers of *Gauls* from the circumjacent country flocked to the *Carthaginian*, and supplied him abundantly with arms and provisions.

C H A P. XIX.

The Battle of the TREBIA.

Hannibal passes over the Apennines into Hetruria.

Pol. h. B. 3.
c. 6.

WHEN the news came to *Rome* of the action upon the *Ticin*, though the publick expectation was much disappointed by the ill success, yet they endeavoured to account for it by reasons that would leave no discouragement upon their minds. Some imputed the misfortune to rashness in the Consul, stimulated by too eager a desire of fighting: others to perfidy in the *Gauls* of his army, whom they supposed to have designedly suffered themselves to be vanquished; a conjecture founded on the subsequent treachery of some of their countrymen; and as the *Roman* infantry remained unbroken, no danger to the republick was yet apprehended, from a defeat which the horse alone had sustained. The arrival of *Sempronius*, from *Sicily*, at *Ariminum*, with his legions, confirmed this confidence. It was imagined that when these had joined the forces of *Scipio*, the very appearance of so powerful an army would alone be sufficient to put the *Carthaginians* to flight.

Sempronius marched with all diligence from *Ariminum* to join his colleague. Having pitched his camp near him, and refreshed his legions, which had been fatigued by their voyage^a and march from *Lilybæum*, to

^a *Livy* sends the troops of *Sempronius*, all the city of *Rome*, and marching from the way from *Lilybæum* to *Ariminum*, by thence to *Ariminum*.
sc. *Polybus* represents them travelling

Ariminum, which took up forty days, he gave orders to get all things ready for battle. While these preparations were going forward, he made frequent visits to *Scipio*, enquiring of him all the circumstances of the late action upon the *Ticin*, and consulting with him upon future measures.

In the mean time *Hannibal* found means to get possession of *Clastidium*, a small town on the confines of *Liguria*, where the *Romans* had formed a magazine of arms and provisions. To give an impression of his clemency, and engage more of his enemies to have recourse to it, he treated the garrison with all gentleness. And as the governor had betrayed the place to him, he most richly rewarded him, in hopes thereby to allure other officers intrusted by the *Romans* to the like treachery.

Soon after this, having notice that certain *Gauls* who inhabited between the *Trebia* and the *Po*, and who had made alliance with him, continued nevertheless (that they might have a refuge in all events) to hold a secret correspondence with the enemy, he detached 2000 foot and 1000 horse to pillage and lay waste their lands. His orders were punctually executed, and the booty proved considerable; the plundered *Gauls* flocking to the *Roman* entrenchments to ask succour.

Sempronius, who had impatiently waited an occasion of fighting, seized this pretext. He sent out the greater part of his cavalry with a thousand light armed foot, who expeditionally passing the *Trebia*, attacked the *Gauls* that were carrying off the booty, put them to flight, and obliged them to retire within their intrenchments. But a vigorous rally being made from thence, the pursuers were repulsed, and obliged in their turn to fly to their camp. Hereupon *Sempronius* put all his cavalry and all his light armed troops in motion, so that the enemy were once more forced to retire. *Hannibal*, who was not prepared for a general action, and who thought it not the part of a prudent commander, to hazard one lightly, and without a premeditated design, contented himself with stopping the flight of his men, and making them face about. He forbade them by his officers, and by his trumpets, either to charge or pursue the enemy; who after they had continued some time upon the place, retreated to their camp.

The loss of men had not been very considerable on either side; but as the *Romans* had lost fewer than the *Carthaginians*, *Sempronius*, much elated with this trivial advantage, could think of nothing now but a decisive action. Nevertheless, he continued to observe the decency of advising with his colleague. *Scipio's* opinion was, that in prudence they ought to avoid fighting, till the troops, having been trained and exercised during the winter, might more reasonably be depended upon than at present: He added, that the *Gauls* were naturally too fickle and inconstant to keep long in friendship with the *Carthaginian*, and would infallibly turn against him, if they found him out of a condition to enterprize any thing of importance; and he therefore intreated *Sempronius* to

Y. R. 615. B. C. 217. lay aside, for some time, all thoughts of a *general battle*; an occasion, in which (he modestly added) he himself, when his wound was healed, might perhaps be of some use. *Sempronius* could not but be sensible, that this advice was judicious; but his passion to distinguish himself, overpowering his reason, and begetting a confidence of success, he, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of his colleague, bent his whole mind to bring on a general action, as soon as possible; that so neither *Scipio's* cure, nor the election of new consuls (the time for which drew near) might prevent his acquiring the sole glory of finishing the war. And thus, says *Polybius*, as he considered not what was seasonable for the publick, but for himself, it was impossible but he must take wrong measures.

Hannibal formed the same judgment as *Scipio* upon the situation of things, and was therefore no less desirous than *Sempronius* of coming to a decisive battle without delay. He was well aware of his present advantages in the favourable disposition of the *Gauls* to him, the inexperience of the *Roman* troops, and the inability of *Scipio* to be in the action: But his strongest motive was the necessity an invader is under of being almost incessantly active, and of performing repeated exploits, if he would preserve to himself the esteem, and keep alive the hopes of his confederates.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 74.

The *Carthaginian* had viewed and fully examined the ground between the two armies. It was an open plain, through which ran a winding rivulet. The banks of this small stream being pretty high, and also thick set with bushes and brambles, *Hannibal* perceived that it was easy not only for foot, but even for horsemen to be there concealed. Having imparted to his chief officers the design he had formed, and finding it universally approved, he after supper sent for his brother *Mago*, a young man of great spirit and a good soldier, and directed him to choose out a hundred horse and a hundred foot of the bravest men in the army, and to bring them before night to his tent. This done, and the general having exhorted the two hundred to behave themselves gallantly in the post he should assign them, he bid each man go and choose out of the corps to which he belonged, nine others, such as he knew to be the stoutest soldiers in it, and then to repair to him at a certain place in the camp. The whole number came, a thousand horse, and a thousand foot. He furnished them with guides, and under the conduct of his brother, to whom he signified the time when they should fall upon the enemy, sent them to the place he had chosen for the ambush.

The next morning, at day break, he assembled his *Numidian* cavalry, a hardy people inured to fatigue; and when he had promised ample rewards to every one that should distinguish himself in the discharge of his duty, he ordered them instantly to pass the *Trebia*, brave the enemy in their camp, skirmish with them if they sallied out, and, in skirmishing, retire and repass the river.

Hannibal's

Hannibal's view in making this movement so early in the morning, was to provoke the *Romans* to an engagement while they were yet fasting, thoughtless of fighting, and unprepared for it. Y. R. 535.
B. 4. C. 11.
217.
234. Cons.
P. 13. B. 3.
C. 73.

Sempronius no sooner saw the *Numidians* approach, but he sent out his cavalry to attack them. The cavalry were followed by 6000 day-men; and the general himself not long after came out of his entrenchment with all the rest of his army. His numerous forces, and the light advantage he had gained the day before, made him vain enough to think, that there needed little more than his appearance in the field to secure the victory.

It was yet winter, it snowed, the weather was extremely cold, and the soldiers had begun their march before they had eaten any thing to sustain them. And therefore, though they moved forward, briskly at first, and with an eager desire of fighting, yet when they came to ford the river, which, being swelled by the rain of the night before, was breast-high, they began to shrink; and when they had waded through it (the day being then pretty far advanced) they found themselves extremely pinched and weakened both with cold and hunger: Whereas on the other hand the *Carthaginians* had, by *Hannibal's* order, taken a good repast in their tents, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their arms before the fire.

When *Hannibal* perceived that the *Romans* had passed the *Trebia*, which was the favourable moment he had waited for, he instantly sent out, to the succour of his *Numidians*, the slingers of the *Baleares*, and his other light-armed infantry, to the number of 8000; after which he led forth his main army. His foot consisted of 20,000 men, *Gauls*, *Spondians*, and *Africans*. His cavalry, including the *Gauls* his allies, amounted to above 10,000. He drew up the whole horse and foot, in one line, about a mile from his camp, posting the horse on the wings. His elephants he placed before the points of his body of infantry.

In the mean time, *Sempronius* by a signal called off his cavalry, that were standing themselves to little purpose against the *Numidians*. For it was the custom of these to attack briskly; then on a sudden break their ranks, turn their backs and fly; and presently after return to the charge in as good order, and with as much boldness as at first: A manner of fighting, which being entirely new to the *Roman* cavalry, perplexed and disconcerted them.

The Consul's infantry consisted of ¹ 16,000 *Roman* legionaries, and 20,000 foot of the allies. He formed his battle after the usual manner of the *Romans*, the infantry in three lines, and the horse, amounting to 4000, upon the wings. In this order he advanced slowly towards the enemy. The light-armed troops on both sides began the action, much to the advan- c. 73.

¹ *Livy* says 18,000. He adds, that the Consul's army was strengthened by a body of the *Cenomani*, the only nation of the *Gauls* that continued faithful to the *Romans*.

Y. R. 525. *tage of the Carthaginians: for the dartsmen of the Romans, having suffered*
Bel. Car. cold and hunger ever since the morning, and having spent the most of
 2:4 Conf. *their darts against the Numidians, were by no means a match for those of*
Hannibal, who had but just left their camp well armed, fresh and vigorous.

When these skirmishing troops had retired through the intervals of the respective armies to which they belonged, a general charge ensued. The Roman cavalry being soon routed and driven from their ground by the superior numbers of the Carthaginians, left the wings of their infantry exposed to be attacked in flank. The Numidians who had been employed to provoke the battle, and the light-armed troops who had begun it, were ready on the part of Hannibal for this service, having, after their retreat, posted themselves to the right and left behind the Carthaginian cavalry; falling furiously therefore on the two wings of the Roman infantry in flank, they put them into great disorder, and disabled them from defending themselves against the elephants, that attacked them in front. These wings, utterly broken and put to flight, were chased into the river.

Pl. lib. I. 5. At the same time the 2000 men, who had lain in ambush in the brook
 525. before-mentioned, came out, and fell upon the rear of the Roman legions in the center, which caused a terrible confusion there. The foremost ranks of this center were the only troops of the Consul's army that could keep their ground. They fought a long time with undaunted bravery against the heavy armed forces of the enemy, and at length, urged by necessity, broke their way through them with great slaughter. But seeing that their wings were defeated, and not thinking themselves able either to succour them, or to return to their camp, by reason of the enemies numerous horse and the river that were in the way, they formed themselves into a close compact body, to the number of 10,000, and took the direct road to *Placentia*. Hither they retreated without the least danger, or opposition; and they were followed by all those of the rout, horse and foot, that could escape out of the field without passing the river. Of the remainder of the Roman army, some had the good fortune to get safely over the stream to their camp; but the greater part perished on the banks of it, either trodden down by the elephants or slain by the horse. The Carthaginians pursued the enemy no farther than to the river, which the rigour of the season restrained them from passing. They returned to their intrenchments. Their victory was complete, and their loss inconsiderable. A few only of the *Africans* and *Spaniards* remained upon the field; the Gauls suffered most. Yet after this victory the Carthaginians, through the inclemency of the weather, lost a great number both of men and horses; and of the elephants all died but one^m.

As

^m Livy, B. 21. c. 58, speaks of seven elephants, that, after this time, perished of cold, in a fruitless attempt which Hannibal made to pass the *Apennines*, being forced back from the top of those hills by a hurricane. The same author relates a battle

As for the Consul *Scipio*, and those that were with him, they stole away from their camp, the very night after the battle, crossed the *Trebia* upon boats or upon rafts, and got safe to *Placentia*; the enemy either not perceiving their flight, or not being able to pursue them, for cold and weariness.

Y. R. 515.
Bef. Ch.
27.
234 Count
1. B 21

Sempronius, to conceal the shame of his defeat, sent messengers to *Rome*, whose tidings imported only, that there had been a battle, and that the severity of the weather had snatched the victory out of his hands. This report passed currently at first, but the true situation of affairs was quickly known; that the *Roman* forces had been utterly vanquished; that the *Rout* had fled to the neighbouring colonies for refuge; that *Scipio* after his flight to *Placentia*, not to ruin that place by keeping too great a number of soldiers there, had crossed the *Po* with his part of the army, and retired to *Cremona*; that the troops had no provisions but what were brought by sea and up the *Po*; and lastly, that all the nations of the *Gauls* had declared for *Hannibal*.

C. 39.
Polyb. B. 3
C. 25.

Liv. B. 21.
C. 56.

The people of *Rome* were yet in their first fright and consternation at all this bad news, when *Sempronius* himself, after escaping many dangers from the enemies cavalry that were dispersed, in parties, over the country, arrived in the city. His business was to hold the *Comitia* by centuries, for electing new Consuls.

Notwithstanding the late disasters and the present distress, party favour had a greater share in the elections, than a due regard to the exigencies of the state. For (with *Cn. Servilius*) was raised to the Consulate *C. Flaminius*, a rash hot-headed man, who, when in the same station six years before, had signalized himself by his disobedience to the senate, and his contempt of religion. His merit with the people, and what now procured him the suffrages, was his having been the only man of the *Conscript* *Patres*, that assisted in promoting a law, which enacted, that no Senator, nor father of a Senator, should have a ship at sea, carrying above eight ton or thereabouts. A vessel of that burthen was thought sufficient for transporting to *Rome* the produce of any man's lands; and it was intended by this law to confine commerce to the *Plebeians*.

See p. 96.
and 97.
Liv. B.
21. c. 63.

Sempronius's year not being yet expired, he immediately after the elections returned to his winter quarters at *Placentia*.

The Senate provided for the next campaign. They made new levies amongst the allies, ordered troops into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, put garrisons into *Tarentum*, and other places where they were most wanted, and sent provisions to *Ariminum* and into *Hebruria*; through which country the army was to march against *Hannibal*. They also dispatched ambassadors to ask assistance of King *Hiero*, who furnished them with 500 *Cretan*

Polyb. B. 4.
C. 25.

battle that presently followed *Hannibal's* return into the plains, and was terminated by the night's coming on, when there had been no great slaughter on either side. *Polybius* says nothing of all this, and there is nothing of probability in the story, but a good deal of poetry.

archers,

Y. R. 535 archers, and 1000 other light armed soldiers. And lest the *Carthaginians* should from *Africa* attempt to land troops in *Italy*, they equipt
 Bel. Chr. 218. sixty quinqueremes to guard the coast. In a word, they omitted nothing
 218. C. 100. that was necessary for carrying on the war with the utmost vigour, it
 being the peculiar character of the *Romans*, says *Polybius*, that they are
 their most to be feared when they are most afraid.

Polyb. B. 3. On the side of *Spain* all was safe; for in that country during the late
 C. 75. unfortunate campaign in *Italy*, the arms of the republic, under the con-
 duct of *Cn. Scipio*, had prospered beyond expectation. He had entirely
 • See p. defeated *Hannibal**, the *Carthaginian* General, and reduced almost all the
 113. nations between the *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, to the obedience of *Rome*.

114. P. 21. As for *Hannibal*, he did not remain unactive after his victory at the
 C. 57. *Trebia*. Wounded and repelled in an attack upon one town belonging
 to the *Romans*, he assaulted and took another called *Vitumvici*, in *Lusitania*, and gave it up to be plundered by the soldiers.

Polyb. B. 3. The *Carthaginian*, during his winter quarters among the *Gauls*, with
 C. 75. whose levity he was well acquainted, and who, he feared, might repent
 of their newly contracted alliance with him, is said to have put in prac-
 tise some of his *Punic* arts, to preserve himself from their snares. He
 not only wore false hair, but at different times the habits of different
 ages, frequently changing his dress in order to disguise himself. And
 because the *Gauls* were extremely dissatisfied that their country conti-
 nued to be the seat of the war, and were impatiently desirous (from a
 hatred, as they pretended, to the *Romans*, but in truth, from an eager-
 ness to enrich themselves with plunder) of being led into the territories
 of the allies of *Rome*, he resolved to pass as soon as possible over the *Apennines*
 into *Hetruria*. Just before he entered upon this expedition, he
 assembled all his captives that were of the *Roman* allies, and when he
 had assured them that he was come into *Italy*, not as their enemy, but
 C. 77. their friend, to restore them to liberty and to the possession of the towns
 which the *Romans* had taken from them; and when he had exhorted
 them to join with him in the common cause, and to engage their coun-
 trymen to do the same, he dismissed them all without ransom.

C. 78. After this, having made enquiry about the several roads into *He-
 truria*, he learnt that there was one much shorter than any of the rest,
 but very difficult to pass, as it led through marshy grounds; the other
 roads more easy, but known to the enemy, and in their possession.
Hannibal for these reasons, or perhaps because he had naturally a turn
 for those dangerous enterprises, which are apt to raise mens admiration
 of a general, and strike his enemies with terror, chose the difficult road,
 which was now rendered more so by the overflowing of the *Arnus*.
 Having passed the *Apennines*, he entered the marshes. His *Africans*
 Polyb. B. 3. and *Spaniards*, who were inured to this sort of fatigue, and who march-
 ed first, went into the water without hesitation, and kept their order.
 The *Gauls* had more difficulty (the way being made much worse by the
 multitudes

multitudes of men and beasts of burthen that had gone before them) and many of them were killed with the fatigue: for to add to the distress, they were obliged to march thus in mire and water four days together, with but very little sleep, such as they could get lying upon their baggage, or upon the beasts which had carried it, and had perished in the mud. *Hannibal* himself was not without his share of the inconveniencies of this march, for though he rode upon an elephant (the only one remaining) his continual watchings, and the unwholesome damps, brought such a defluxion upon his eyes that he lost one of them. When he was come out of the marshes, he halted for some days that he might refresh his army, and enquire into the situation of the country, the strength and designs of the enemy, and the character and disposition of their General.

Y. R. 535.
Bel. Chr.
217.
234
C. 60.

Polyb. B.
c. 80.

C H A P. XX.

SECOND YEAR of the War.

The BATTLE of the Lake THRASYMENUS.

Fabius Maximus Cunctator is sent against Hannibal; who deceives him by a very singular stratagem.

Transactions in Spain.

FLAMINIUS, as was before observed, had obtained the consulship by the favour of the people, contrary to the inclinations of the Senate. Being apprehensive that the augurs, influenced by his enemies, would, to render his election invalid, pretend some defect in the auspices, he took a bold unprecedented step; left *Rome*, without performing the usual ceremonies of religion, went straight to *Ariminum* (where he had ordered the army to rendezvous) and was there invested in the consulate. The Senate, highly offended at this proceeding, sent two of their body to recal him to *Rome*, that he might perform those ceremonies which he had despised. But the Consul paid no regard to their orders. At the head of four legions (two of which he received from *Sempronius*, and the other two from the Prætor *Atilius*) he crossed the *Apennines*, and encamped his army under the walls of *Aretium* in *Ætruria*; and there he still was when *Hannibal* came out of the marshes.

Y. R. 536.
Bel. Chr.
216.
235
C. 61.

Polyb. B.
c. 61.

The *Carthaginian* having learnt that *Flaminius's* chief talent was hanging the people, in whose assemblies he was a leading man, but that he wanted the skill for conducting a war, was of a hasty disposition, easy to be inflamed, and confident of his own abilities, did not

Y. R. 536. doubt but he should be able, by provoking his high spirit, to lead him
B. of Chi. whithersoever he pleased. With this view, having put his army in
216. march, he laid waste, before the Consul's eyes, the fertile fields of *He-*
2.5 Conf. *truria*, and in seeming contempt of him, passed by his camp at *Are-*
tium, and advanced nearer to *Rome*, as if he intended to carry on his
Liv. B. 22. devastations to the walls of the capital. *Flaminius* beheld the lands of
C. 4. *Cortona* (one of the most considerable cities of *He-truria*) in a flame be-
 hind him. Enraged at being thus insulted by *Hannibal*, he immediately
 called a council of war, but would not listen to his officers who advised
 him to continue in his camp till he was joined by his colleague, and in the
 mean time content himself with sending out strong parties to hinder the
 enemy from ravaging the country. He rushed out from the council in
 great wrath, and gave orders for marching. And when word was brought
 him, that one of the standards stuck so fast in the ground that they could
 not pull it out, he asked the messenger whether he had not likewise
 brought letters from the Senate forbidding him to fight. He added,
since fear has not left the soldiers strength enough in their hands to pull up the
standard, bid them dig it up. He then began his march with a full reso-
 lution to fight *Hannibal* as soon as he could overtake him. And though
 his officers were greatly dissatisfied, yet the common soldiers applauded
 the confidence of their General, who to such an extravagant height had
 raised the hopes of the vulgar, that an immense number of them followed
 the camp in expectation of booty, and went loaded with chains for the
 multitude of enemies that were to be taken prisoners.

Polych B. 3. *Hannibal* was pursuing his march in the way towards *Rome*, having
C. 82. the lake *Thrasymenus* (now *Lago di Perugia*) close on his right, and the
 town of *Cortona* at some distance on his left, when he learnt that the
 Consul was following him. Upon this advice, he turned his thoughts
 to seek out a convenient spot of ground where he might draw the ene-
 my into an ambuscade. Nor was it long before he found a place fit for
 his purpose. He came to a valley, which, extending lengthways from
 the lake to a hill very steep and difficult of access, was lined on the two
 sides by ridges of little hills. Upon the steep hill *Hannibal* posted him-
 self with his *Africans* and *Spaniards* in open view. Behind the ridge of
 hills, on the right of the valley, he placed in a long line the *Baleares* and
 other light-armed infantry; and behind that on the left, his cavalry and
 the *Gauls*, who formed a line, the extremity of which reached to a narrow
 pass, whereby he had entered the valley. These dispositions being made
 in the beginning of the night, he continued the remaining part of it in
 quiet and silence in his camp.

It was late before the Consul arrived at the lake; he therefore encamp-
 ed that night by the side of it. But next morning by break of day, with-
 out examining the ground, he marched into the valley through the pass
 before mentioned. As soon as *Hannibal* was apprised that the *Roman* army
 were entered, and that their vanguard was not far from him, he gave
 orders

orders for a general onset. So thick a fog from the lake at this time covered the valley, that the *Romans* found themselves attacked in front, flank and rear, almost before they saw the enemy. Many of them were slain in the order of their march, not having had time to form themselves for battle: and so closely was the greater part hemmed in, that they could neither fight nor fly^a. Fifteen thousand were slaughtered in the valley, among whom was the Consul *Flaminius*. Great numbers being pushed into the lake, perished there. A body of six thousand men forced their way through the enemy. Could those brave legionaries have seen (says *Polybius*) what passed, they might, by facing about, and falling upon the backs of the *Carthaginians*, have given a turn to the fortune of the day. But they expecting to encounter new enemies, continued advancing on till they arrived at the summit of a hill: From which, when the fog was dispersed, seeing the total defeat of the rest of the army, they retreated to a neighbouring village. The *Carthaginian* General detached *Mabarbal* after them with a large body of horse and foot, to whom they surrendered next day upon a promise of their lives, and, if we may credit *Livy*, their liberties: Whence he takes occasion to reproach *Hannibal* with breach of faith, because when the next day he had assembled all his prisoners to the number of 15,000, and had separated the *Romans* from the other *Italians*, he delivered the former to his soldiers, to be kept in chains, and released only the latter. *Polybius* tells us, that *Hannibal* declared he did not think himself bound by the promise which *Mabarbal* had made, as being without authority from him; but then according to the same historian, that promise was only of their lives, which, if true, *Hannibal* cannot on this occasion be charged with breach of faith, whether he was in reality bound by *Mabarbal's* promise or not. The loss on the side of the *Carthaginians* amounted only to 1500 men, most of them *Gauls*.

The first report of the defeat of the *Roman* army spread an unspeakable consternation in *Rome*. The people flocked in crowds to the forum, calling upon their magistrates to give them an account of the battle. It being impossible for these to conceal or disguise the truth for any long time, the Prætor *Pomponius*, towards sun-set, mounted the *rostra*. All he said was, *We are vanquished in a great battle*. And the people, little accustomed to misfortunes in war, much less to hear their magistrates plainly and publicly own that they were conquered, could not bear this so heavy a calamity with patience and moderation. In this universal dejection the Senators alone preserved their steadiness. The Prætors assembled them, and kept them sitting several days together from sun-

^a *Livy* and *Plutarch* tell us that this battle was fought with so much eagerness and fury on both sides, that the combatants were not sensible of an earthquake, which happened during the engagement, and which ruined many cities in *Italy*, overturned mountains, and changed the course of rivers. *Livy* B. 22. c. 5. *Plut.* life of *Fabius*.

Y. R. 516.
B. C. 411.
216.
123 Conf.

rising to sun-set. Before they came to any fixed resolution in what manner to oppose the conqueror, they were alarmed with the news of a second defeat. The Consul *Servilius* having heard at *Ariminum* that *Flaminius* was following *Hannibal* with an intention to give him battle, had detached *C. Centenius* with 4000 horse to strengthen the Roman army. But this reinforcement had come too late. And *Hannibal*, after the action, hearing of *Centenius's* approach, had sent *Maharbal*, with the light armed foot, and part of the cavalry, to encounter him. Near 3000 Romans were killed in the engagement; the rest fled to a rising ground, but being invested by the enemy, were next day obliged to surrender.

It was thought by the Senate that the present exigency required a magistrate with dictatorial authority. Yet because there was no precedent of the people's naming a Dictator, and because their only Consul *Servilius*, to whom that nomination legally belonged, was absent, and all communication between him and *Rome* cut off by the enemy, it was agreed that the Comitia should create a magistrate, whose authority should be superior to the Consular, but somewhat inferior to the Dictatorial; and that he should be stiled Pro-Dictator. *Fabius Maximus* was the person pitched upon; and the only privilege he seems to have wanted of those belonging to a Dictator was that of naming his General of the horse. To this office the people appointed *M. Minucius Rufus*, a young man much in their favour. *Fabius* was a Senator distinguished for the coolness of his temper, and the great caution with which he proceeded in all his actions. He was as wary and circumspect in his conduct, as *Sempronius* and *Flaminius* had been rash and impetuous. The Pro-Dictator began the exercise of his office by acts of religion. The Sybilline books were consulted to know the causes of the present calamities; and the guardians of those oracles declared, that the misfortunes of the republic were owing to the undue performance of a vow to *Mars*; that it ought to be repeated, and four new vows made to several Deities, besides a dedication to Jupiter of all the pigs, lambs, kids and calves which should be produced in one spring. This last required the authority of the people; the other were made by the proper magistrates. This done, *Fabius* and *Minucius* immediately applied themselves to repair the fortifications of the city. They also posted guards in proper places, caused the bridges over the rivers to be broke down, and sent orders to the people all over the country through which it was thought *Hannibal* would pass, to burn their houses, destroy the fruits of the ground, and retire into places of strength and safety.

Before the Pro-Dictator took the field, he advised with the Senate concerning the troops that should serve under him. They allotted him the army of *Servilius*, and decreed that he should make what new levies he pleased, either at *Rome* or amongst the allies. *Fabius* raised but two new legions, which having commanded to repair to *Tibur* upon the

146. B. 22.
118

the *Anio*, he set out for *Oriculum*, a city of *Umbria*, there to meet the troops from *Ariminum* under the Consul *Servilius*. These forces he himself led to *Tibur*, where he was joined by the new recruits. And having been informed that a *Carthaginian* fleet had taken, near the coast of *Hebruria*, some *Roman* ships of burthen which were carrying provisions to the army in *Spain*, he sent the Consul *Servilius* to equip with all diligence what vessels were at *Rome* and *Ostia*, and with them to take upon him the guard of the coast of *Italy*. After these regulations *Fabius* began his march towards *Hannibal*, in which he proceeded with great caution, carefully searching all the places through which the army was to pass.

Y. R. 536
B. C. Chr.
216.
235 C. 116.

The *Carthaginian*, immediately after the defeat of *Centenius*, had led his army through *Umbria* and *Picenum* to the territory of *Adria*, a considerable town on the *Adriatic*, destroying the country wherever he passed, and putting to the sword all the *Romans* he found in his way, that were able to bear arms; such was his hatred to the *Roman* name. Here he halted for some time, because the country abounded with good provisions and store of old wines, which served to recruit the strength of his exhausted troops, who had contracted distempers from bad food, and the fatigues they had undergone. He armed his *Africans* after the *Roman* manner, out of the spoils he had taken from the enemy. And being now near the sea, for the first time since his coming into *Italy*, he laid hold of the opportunity, and sent to *Carthage* an account of his success. Then having ravaged the territories of *Asculum* and *Adria*, he proceeded to the countries of the *Præutiani*, the *Marssi*, the *Marucini*, the *Peligni* and *Frentani*. Last of all he entered *Apulia*, and was laying waste this country, when *Fabius* arrived and pitched his camp upon the hills near *Æce*, within six miles of him. *Hannibal* instantly led his army to the *Roman* entrenchments, and offered battle to the enemy. But the Pro-Dictator remaining quiet in his camp, the *Carthaginian*, after waiting some time, drew off his men, openly reproaching the *Romans*, (says *Livy*) that at length their martial spirit was broke, that the war was at an end, and that they plainly owned themselves vanquished. Nevertheless he was inwardly grieved to find he had to do with a General very different from *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, and was much more afraid of *Fabius*'s prudence than his strength. He had not yet tried his constancy. To provoke him to battle he made frequent incursions into the countries of the *Roman* allies, and destroyed them with fire and sword; employing likewise all his arts by sudden marches and counter-marches to ensnare him. All was to no purpose; he could neither surprise *Fabius*, nor make him leave his hills, where he kept himself continually on his guard against so active an ene-

Polyb. B. 1.
c. 20.

Liv. B. 22
c. 12.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 20.

• A town on the borders of *Apulia*.

Y. R. 536. my. He did not suffer his soldiers to stir out of their camp, except in large
 B. F. C. ut. bodies; he followed the *Carthaginians*, but at a considerable distance,
 216. because he would on no account hazard a pitched battle; yet he had
 216. C. ut. frequent skirmishes with the enemy, and intercepted such parties of them
 as ventured too far from their camp. And indeed this was the surest method to ruin *Hannibal*. The *Romans* were in no danger of wanting men or provisions in their own country; whereas the *Carthaginian* could only subsist by pillage, and when his men dropped off, had but small opportunities of recruiting. While the Pro-Dictator was thus baffling his enemy, he had the continual murmurs of his General of the horie, and of his soldiers to contend with. *Minucius* being a favourite of the people, and ambitious of the chief command, openly accused *Fabius* of real cowardice concealed under the appearance of prudence. But neither the invectives of this seditious man, nor the fresh devastations of *Hannibal*, who passed over the *Apennines* into *Samnium*, could make him alter his wise measures.

The *Carthaginian* having ravaged *Samnium*, and taken the town of *Teleſa*, resolved to penetrate into *Campania*, one of the finest countries in the world, and at the same time the most inaccessible. Except on one side where it is bounded by the sea, it is encompassed by a chain of high mountains through which there are but three passes, and those very narrow and difficult. It was a bold step in *Hannibal* to undertake this expedition in sight of a *Roman* army commanded by an expert General; but he had his reasons for it. He would thereby either force the enemy to a battle, or shew plainly to the neighbouring nations that he was master of all the open country; by which means he hoped to draw over some of the towns to his party, not one of which had hitherto fallen off from the republic. Add to this, that the cities of *Campania* were the richest of any in *Italy*, and their trade the most considerable. *Hannibal* entered *Campania* by a pass at the foot of mount * *Callicula*°, near the *Vulturnus*, and encamped on the banks of that river. *Fabius* was indeed surprized at the boldness of the *Carthaginian*, but *Minucius* and the rest of the army, transported with rage at the being thus insulted, impatiently demanded to be led to battle, insomuch that the Pro-Dictator was forced to pretend the same eagerness to fight, and march with much greater expedition than usual. But when he came near the enemy, he returned to his former conduct, encamped upon mount *Missicus*, and from thence quietly beheld the

* p. 151.
 C. ut. ut.
 216. C. ut.

* *Livy* tells us (B. 22. c. 13.) that *Hannibal* designed to enter *Campania* by a pass near *Casertum*, a town of *Latium*, beyond the *Liris*, because by guarding that pass he was told he might prevent the *Romans* from aiding their allies. But the *Carthaginian*, not pronouncing the word *Casertum* well, his

guides thought he had said *Casertum*, and accordingly led him to that town, which was situated on the *Vulturnus*, at the foot of mount *Callicula*. *Hannibal* was so enraged at the mistake, that he immediately ordered the chief of his guides to be crucified, for a terror to the rest.

Carthaginian

Carthaginian army gathering the fruits and rich harvests of the *Italian* fields. This so provoked his soldiers, that they called him in derision the *Pædagogus* of Hannibal. And *Minucius* joining in the insolent raillery, said, their General had chosen for them a fine theatre, from whence they might conveniently behold the ravages of *Italy*. He then asked the friends of *Fabius*, whether the Pro-Dictator did not think the earth an unsafe place for him, and was therefore going to pitch his camp in heaven, and cover himself with the clouds. When these things were told *Fabius*, he only replied, that he should indeed be more cowardly than they made him, if he changed his resolution through fear of idle railleries or reproaches. He added, *it is no inglorious thing, to fear for the safety of our country. That man is not fit to rule others who will be influenced by foolish calumnies, or subject himself and his government to the caprice of those whom he ought to command.* *Fabius* continued the same conduct the whole summer, though he was not ignorant that his caution was blamed at *Rome* as well as in the army.

Hannibal despairing of bringing the *Romans* to a battle, and therefore having got an immense booty, he began now to look out for a place in which to secure it, and where he might likewise take up his winter quarters; for though *Campania* abounded with fruits and wine, yet yielded not corn sufficient to subsist a numerous army for any considerable time. For these reasons *Hannibal* began to draw towards the pass by which he had entered this country. *Fabius* perceiving his design, detached 4000 men to seize the streight, which being commanded by mount *Callicula*, he encamped the rest of his army towards the top of that hill. From thence he sent a garrison into *Caslinum*, a town on the *Vulturinus*, on the other side the pass, and ordered *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, with 400 horse, to observe the enemy. This young officer rashly engaging with a party of *Numidians*, was himself slain together with the greatest part of the detachment. The same day *Minucius* joined *Fabius*. He had been sent to guard a pass at *Terracina*, a city of *Latium*, to hinder *Hannibal* from penetrating that way into the territory of *Rome*.

The *Carthaginian*, not being able to dislodge *Fabius*, contrived the following stratagem to be executed in the night. Being encamped at the foot of mount *Callicula*, he ordered *Asdrubal* to pick out 2000 of the strongest oxen, to cause faggots of dry wood to be tied to their horns, and then to keep the cattle, with the herdsmen, ready without the camp. After supper, when all things were quiet, the oxen were brought to the foot of an eminence not far from the pass, that was guarded by the 4000 *Romans*. Upon a signal given, the wood on the horns of those beasts was

* *Hannibal*, according to *Livy*, advanced towards *Fabius*, and sent his light horse to try once more to provoke him to battle. But though the Pro-Dictator had greatly the advantage of the ground, he would not

hazard a general action, but contented himself with skirmishing with the enemies cavalry, of whom he killed eight hundred, with the loss of only two hundred of his own men.

V. R. 536.
 Bef. Chr.
 216.
 238 Conf.

set on fire, and the herdsmen, who had been instructed to drive them if possible to the top of the eminence, immediately set out, being followed by the light armed infantry. These had orders to assist the herdsmen as long as the cattle kept together, but upon their dispersing, to seize the top of the hill, making as great a noise as they could, and be in readiness to defend themselves in case they were attacked by the enemy. In the mean time *Hannibal* led his army to the very entrance of the pass. The *Africans* marched first, next followed the cavalry, then the booty, and last of all the *Spaniards* and *Gauls*. The *Roman* detachment seeing the fires approach the top of the eminence, thought *Hannibal* was endeavouring to escape that way; they therefore left the pass in all haste, and marched up in order to oppose him. But as they came nearer the cattle, which now were running up and down, firing the bushes wherever they went, they knew not what to think of these lights, their imaginations suggesting to them a thousand fears. In this perplexity they began to skirmish with the *Carthaginians* on the top of the hill, but the cattle running in among the combatants separated them; after which both parties continued quiet waiting for day-light. *Fabius* was surprised at what he saw, but suspecting it to be some stratagem of the enemy, would not stir from his camp, lest he should be entrapped, or, contrary to his intention, be forced to hazard a general action. *Hannibal* finding the pass open, marched safely through it with his army and baggage: but that his light armed foot might not be overpowered by the *Romans* on the eminence, he, as soon as it was day, sent his *Spaniards* to their assistance, who brought off the detachment, with the slaughter of a thousand of the enemy. The *Carthaginian* continued his march to the neighbourhood of *Alife*, a city on the confines of *Samnium* and *Campania*.

IV. B. 22.
 18.

Fabius, though rallied by his soldiers by being thus over-reached, kept steady to his first resolution; he marched directly after *Hannibal*, but encamped on the eminencies near him. The latter having again pillaged *Samnium* and the country of the *Peligni*, returned to *Apulia*, where he took *Geronium*, the houses of which he turned into granaries, and pitched his camp under the walls. From thence he sent out two thirds of his army to forage; part of the remainder he kept to guard the camp, and the rest he disposed in different stations to protect his foragers. As these were in great number, and the country was very fertile, vast quantities of provisions were brought in daily. The Pro-Dictator, continuing to follow him, at length encamped in the territory of *Larinum*, in the country of the *Frentani*. From thence he was recalled to *Rome* to perform a solemn sacrifice which required his presence. Both the Senate and people were at this time much discontented with him. For beside that his caution had not succeeded to their wishes, *Hannibal*, by sparing the lands of *Fabius* in the general devastation, had rendered him suspected at *Rome* of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. And as he had, without consulting the Senate, agreed upon an exchange

of prisoners with *Hannibal*, and to purchase the redemption of 247 captives which the *Carthaginian* had more than he, the Senate refused him the money. *Fabius*, determined to keep his word and release his countrymen, directed his son to sell his lands, and paid the sum stipulated. And though most of the prisoners afterwards offered to reimburse him their respective ransoms, he would not consent to it.

Y. R. 536.
Bel. Chi.
216.
235 Conf.

Plur. life of
Fabius.

Fabius, upon his leaving the army, had advised, entreated, and by his authority commanded his General of the horse not to fight during his absence. But *Minucius*, even while the Dictator was making his exhortation, had his thoughts wholly intent upon a battle, which he was determined to hazard the very first opportunity. After *Fabius's* departure he indeed stayed some time on the hills in hopes that *Hannibal* would give him an opportunity of coming to an engagement with him there. But in this being disappointed, he marched down into the plain, and drew nearer the enemy. The *Carthaginian*, upon his approach leaving one third of his army to be employed in foraging, advanced with the rest from *Geronium* to meet him. Between the two camps there was a rising ground, that would be very commodious to which ever party should possess it. A detachment of 2000 *Carthaginian* light armed troops seized it by night. *Minucius* the next day drove them from it, and there entrenched his forces. As *Hannibal's* principal affair at this time was to provide abundantly not only for his men but for his horses, that they might be in good condition for action the next summer; and as the *Romans* did not for several days stir from their camp, the *Carthaginian* detached great numbers of his soldiers to forage. *Minucius* laid hold of this advantage, and marched his legions to the very entrenchments of the enemy, at the same time sending out his horse and the light armed men, in parties, to attack their foragers, who being dispersed over the fields, and loaded with booty, could make no resistance. Nor had *Hannibal* sufficient strength within his camp to venture out against those that assailed it. He was reduced to a situation the defensive, till *Adrubal*, informed of the danger by those who escaped the Roman horse, came from *Geronium*, with 4000 men to the assistance of his General. Upon the arrival of this succour he sallied out, and *Minucius* retired. The *Carthaginian* fearing lest the *Romans* should attack his camp at *Geronium*, and make themselves masters of the plunder and provisions he had laid up in it, returned thither, and after this time became more cautious in sending out parties to forage.

Plur. B.
Polyb. B.
3. c. 94.

When *Minucius's* success was known at *Rome*, his friends took advantage of it to extol his bravery and abilities above those of *Fabius*. *M. Metilius*, a tribune of the commons, assembled the people, and made a speech to them full of injurious reflections upon *Fabius's* conduct, and concluded with a motion to give the General of the horse an equal authority with the Pro-Dictator. The latter thought it to no purpose to defend himself in the assemblies of the people, since he had

Liv. B. 22.
c. 25.

Y. R. 536.
 Ref. Chr.
 216.
 135. Conf.

not a favourable hearing even in the Senate. There he endeavoured to convince the *Fathers* that their losses had been owing to the rashness of their Generals; and he did not scruple to say, that if the Dictatorial power continued in him, he would call *Minucius* to an account for disobeying his orders; that he hoped soon to make it evident to all the world, that fortune was of small moment to an able General, and that reason and good conduct sufficed; adding, that for his part he thought it a greater glory for a General to preserve his army (if he did it without ignominy) than to destroy many thousands of enemies. Having assisted at the sacrifice to which he had been called, and presided at the election of a new Consul, (*M. Atilius Regulus*, who was substituted in the room of *Flaminius*) he left the city the night before the *comitia* were to determine in his affair, that he might not be present at the affront which was going to be put upon him. Next day, when the people were assembled, though they were prejudiced against *Fabius* and zealous for *Minucius*, yet scarce any one had courage enough to harangue them in favour of *Metilius's* proposal. *C. Terentius Varro* was the only man that seconded the Tribune. *Varro* was the son of a butcher, had been a shopkeeper, then a pleader, undertaking poor mens causes right or wrong. By this practice, and by railing at the nobility, he had ingratiated himself with the multitude, and by their favour obtained successively the offices of Quæstor, Ædile and Prætor, and was now aiming at the Consulship. The motion in short was carried, *Minucius* was put upon an equal foot with *Fabius*, and the Senate confirmed the decree of the people.

Polyb. R.
 3. c. 103.

Fabius being arrived at the camp, it was agreed between him and his late Master of the horse, now his colleague, to divide the army equally between them. The former kept on the hills, and *Minucius* posted himself at the distance of 1500 paces below him. Between the entrenchments of *Minucius* and those of the *Carthaginian* at *Geronium* was an eminence from whence either camp might be annoyed. This post *Hannibal* resolved to seize, not doubting but *Minucius* would attempt to dispossess him; and he hoped to draw him into a snare. With this view he had over night cho[se] 5000 foot and 500 horse, divided them into bodies of 200 and 300 men each, and hid them in several cavities at the foot of the hill. And lest his ambush should happen to be discovered, he, to fix the attention of the *Romans* another way, sent a detachment to take possession of the eminence as soon as it was light. When *Minucius* perceived the *Carthaginians* upon the top of the hill, to dislodge them, he sent first his light armed foot, then his cavalry, and last of all (seeing that *Hannibal* sustained his own men by successive detachments) he followed in person with the legions. When the battle became general, the ambush, upon a signal given, rose on all sides. *Minucius's* army was quickly routed, and would have been entirely destroyed, but that *Fabius* had too much zeal for his country to let himself be swayed by private resentment. *We must make haste*, said he to those that

Plut. life of
 Fabius.

were

were about him, to rescue Minucius, who is a valiant man, and a lover of his country. And if he has been too forward to engage the enemy, we will tell him of it at another time. Instantly he gave orders to march to the relief of his colleague and his routed troops, who at his approach began to rally, and retire to him for protection. Hannibal, seeing a fresh army advancing against him in good order, was obliged to give over the pursuit and sound a retreat. He is reported to have said to some of his friends while he was retiring, *Have not I often told you, that that cloud which hovered upon the mountains would one day break upon us in a storm?* The Carthaginian, after the battle, having possession of the eminence, fortified it, and placed a guard on it to secure his camp on that side.

Minucius and Fabius returned each to his entrenchments. The latter did not drop a word which favoured of contempt for his colleague, and Minucius, now convinced of his error, did justice both to Fabius and himself. Having assembled his troops, he ingenuously owned to them that he had learnt by experience, he was not fit to command, adding, that both he and they for the future ought to obey the orders of Fabius. Then marching them to the Pro-Dictator's camp, he presented himself before him, made his acknowledgments, and resigned the dignity last conferred on him by the people. Fabius received him with great kindness, the soldiers embraced one another, and there was an universal joy. The Pro-Dictatorship being almost expired, Fabius sent for the Consuls Servilius and Atilius to take upon them the command of the army.

Servilius, with a fleet of 120 ships, had made an expedition into Africa, where as he was ravaging the coast, he fell into an ambuscade, and was forced to retire to his fleet with the loss of a thousand of his men. Weighing anchor in all haste he sailed to Lilybæum in Sicily, and from thence, after delivering up the fleet to the Prætor Otacilius, was returned to Italy.

The Consuls following the advice and example of Fabius, no action of moment happened between the two armies, though Hannibal still continued at Geronium, and the Romans held their camp so near him as to watch all his motions.

THE SAME YEAR, while the war was thus carried on in Italy, Scipio had great success, both by sea and land, against the Carthaginians in Spain. Ambassadors came to him from all the nations between the

Iberus

¹ The Romans at first divided this country into *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. Augustus Cæsar afterwards divided *Further Spain* into two provinces, *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, and gave the name of *Tarraconia* to *Hither Spain*.

Bætica, so called from the river * *Bæ-tis*, which runs through the middle of it, was the most southern province, and comprehended the present kingdom of *Granada*, *Andalusia*, part of *New Castile*, and *Estremadura*. *Cadiz*, called by the

Y. R. 536. *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, and a hundred and twenty cities surrendered to him. To add to this good fortune, his allies, the *Celtiberians*, defeated *Asdrubal* in two battles, killed 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. This was the state of the *Roman* affairs in *Spain*, when *P. Scipio*, the brother of *Cneius*, arrived there with the character of Pro-Consul. The view of the Senate in carrying on the war with vigour in this country, was to divide the forces of *Carthage*, who would be more jealous of her conquests in *Spain* than of those in *Italy*, and by sending powerful succours to *Asdrubal*, would be less in a condition to supply his brother *Hannibal*. *P. Scipio* brought with him thirty ships of war, 8000 *Roman* soldiers, and a great quantity of arms and provisions.

Asdrubal being employed in the *Celtiberian* war, the two brothers with joint forces passed the *Iberus*, and advanced to *Saguntum* without seeing an enemy. This city *Hannibal* had rebuilt, placed a garrison in it, and assigned it for the residence of all the young noblemen, whom he had obliged their parents to put into his hands as pledges of their fidelity. There was then at *Saguntum* a *Spaniard* named *Abelox*, of a good family, and considerable interest in his country, and hitherto looked upon as firmly attached to the *Carthaginians*. This man seeing their affairs declining in *Spain*, while the *Romans* were daily gaining ground, began to think of going over to the prevailing party. But considering at the same time that a deserter, how well born soever, makes but an indifferent figure, unless he can gain himself credit, by some important services to his new friends, formed a scheme to put the young hostages into the hands of the *Romans*. At this time *Bostar* commanded the *Carthaginians* in those parts, having been sent by *Asdrubal* to hinder the *Scipio's* from passing the *Iberus*; but not daring to wait

ancients, *Gades* and *Gadira*, is a town situated in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of *Andalusia*, about nine leagues from *Gibraltar*. It is said that *Hercules* having extended his conquests to the ocean, and imagining he was come to the extremity of the world, raised two pillars near *Gades*, as monuments of his victories. Geographers are not agreed about the place where these pillars were erected. *Bætica* was the most fruitful, the wealthiest and the most populous part of *Spain*. It contained two hundred cities, the chief of which stood on the *Bætis*, *Castulo* towards the source of that river, *Corduba* (the native place of *Lucan* and the two *Seneca's*) lower down, and * *Hispalis* nearest the sea. It's chief inhabitants were the *Turdetani*.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river *Durius*,

and on the south by the river *Anas*. Between these two rivers runs the *Tagus*. *Lusitania* included what is now called *Portugal*, together with part of Old and New *Castile*.

Terraconia comprehended the rest of *Spain*, that is to say, the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Valencia*, *Catalonia*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Biscay*, the *Asturias*, *Gallicia*, the kingdom of *Leon*, and the greatest part of the two *Castiles*. *Terraco* †, a city on the sea coast, not far from the *Iberus*, gave name to the province. Pretty near this town lay *Barcino*, which from it's name is thought to have been built by *Amilcar Barca* the father of the great *Hannibal*. The chief nations of *Terraconia* were the *Celtiberi* beyond the river *Iberus*, the *Cantabri*, where *Biscay* now lyes, the *Carpetani*, whose capital was *Tolosa*, and the *Overtani*, &c. Rollin. *Hist. Anc.* Tom. 1. p. 247.

for

Chapter XXI. Second Punic War.

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for them, he had retired to *Saguntum*, and encamped under its walls. *Bosar* was a good natured easy man, and placed great confidence in *Abelox*, which the latter abusing, insinuated to him that the *Romans* having now passed the *Iberus*, it would be no longer possible for the *Carthaginians* to keep *Spain* in obedience by fear; that *Saguntum* being threatened with a siege, he had an opportunity of attaching all the *Spaniards* to the interest of his republic, by restoring the hostages to their parents, who would think themselves under a perpetual obligation to him for so early providing for the safety of their children, and that if the *Romans* should by force or artifice get them into their hands, they would certainly act the part which he advised him to act, and by that means bring over many nations to their party. *Abelox* added, that if he was sent to conduct the hostages to their respective countries, he did not doubt but he should be able to represent the obligation in such a light to the *Spaniards*, as that they should continue firm to the interest of a Republic, who had given so eminent an example of her regard for her allies. The easy *Carthaginian*, deceived by an appearance of friendship, gave his consent to the proposal. *Abelox* hereupon stole away in the night to the *Roman* camp, acquainted the Pro-Consul with what he had done; and it was agreed between them that a detachment of *Romans* should lye in ambush the night following, and intercept the youths with their leader. The project was executed with success; and *Scipio*, by sending back the hostages to their relations, gained to himself a considerable interest in the country.

V. R. 636
Bel' Cui.
226.
235 Comf.

To return to *Italy*: The Senate at *Rome* was attentive to every thing that concerned the interest of the Republic. To maintain her dignity, and preserve to her the respect of foreign nations, they sent to *Pincus* the *Illyrian* king for the annual tribute he had engaged to pay, and to *Philip* of *Macedon* to demand the treacherous *Demetrius*, who had sheltered himself in his dominions, and was exciting him to take advantage of the misfortunes of *Rome*, and make a descent upon *Italy*; at the same time she refused to accept a present of forty vases of gold from the city of *Naples*, that the world might see her finances were not exhausted.

Liv. B. 22.
C. 33.

Polyb. B. 6.
C. 121.
Liv. B. 22.
C. 33.

'C H A P. XXI.

THIRD YEAR of the WAR.

BATTLE of CANNÆ.

THE time for a new election of Consuls drawing on, and the pre- sent Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius* not thinking it safe to leave the army, one of them, at the desire of the Senate, nominated a Dictator to

Liv. B.
22. C. 34.

Y. R. 536.
B. F. Chr.
216.
236 Conf.

to hold the *comitia*. *L. Veturius Philo* was the person pitched upon, but as he seems to have been attached to the interests of the people, it was probably for this reason that the Senators made the Augurs find some defect with regard to religion, in his nomination. After fourteen days exercise of his office he was forced to abdicate; and an interregnum ensued. *P. Cornelius Asina*, one of the *interreges*, convened the *centuries*; and then amongst the candidates for the consulship appeared *C. Terentius Varro*, who had scarce any thing to recommend him but his hatred of the nobility, and the zeal he had lately shewn for advancing *Minucius* the General of the horse to an equal authority with the Pro-Dictator *Fabius*. The *Patricians*, as the most effectual way to disappoint the hopes of *Varro*, set up against him competitors of such known merit, both out of their own body, and from among the *Plebeians*, as must naturally prepossess the people in their favour. But *Varro* happened to have among the tribunes of the commons a relation named *Q. Bebius Herennius*. This man, in a speech to the people, inveighed bitterly against the nobility. He asserted that it was the *Patricians* who had brought *Hannibal* into *Italy*; that an end might have been put to the war had not they fraudulently protracted it; and that the *Carthaginian* would never be conquered till a true *Plebeian*, not such a one as was only *Plebeian* by extraction, and being dignified and ranked among the nobility, had imbibed the patrician spirit, but a new man, not infected with their maxims, was at the head of the *Roman* armies. The people full of these impressions declared *Terentius Varro* Consul, and would name no other that day, that *Varro* might preside in the *comitia* for choosing his colleague. The nobility, vexed at their disappointment, prevailed with great difficulty upon *L. Æmilius Paullus*, an enemy to the *Plebeians* (on account of the affront they had put upon him after his victories in *Illyricum*) to offer himself as a candidate; and the other competitors yielding to him, he was chosen Consul in the next assembly. The other offices were bestowed with great judgment. *Servilius* and *Atilius* were directed to remain in quality of Pro-Consuls, at the head of the same armies they at present commanded. *P. Scipio* was continued Pro-Consul in *Spain*, *M. Cl. Marcellus* was appointed Prætor, in *Sicily*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* in *Cis-Alpine Gaul*. All these, except *Terentius Varro*, had born the same offices before; so careful were the *Romans* to have men of experience to conduct their affairs at so critical a time.

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chr.
215.
236. Conf.

See pag.
100.

The Senate also in the present exigence augmented the army to eight legions (each consisting of 5000 foot and 300 horse) without reckoning the allies.

B. 3. c.
100.

The usual practice (says *Polybius*) is to raise yearly but four legions, each of 4000 foot and 200 horse; and it is only in the most important conjunctures that these numbers are increased to 5000 and 300. The infantry furnished by the allies is only equal to that of the legions,

but

but the *cavalry* twice the number of the *Roman* horse. Generally speaking each Consul has two legions and one half of the auxiliary forces, and commands his army separately, against a different enemy. It rarely happens that the four legions, with proportionable number of auxiliaries, are employed in the same expedition. But in *this* the *Romans* employed not only four but eight legions, so great was their apprehension of the impending danger.

V. R. 837
Bel. Civ.
215.
236 Cons.

Though the Republic would not receive any presents from her dependents in *Italy*, she readily accepted at this time a very rich one from King *Hiero*, a statue of Victory of massy gold, and of great weight, 75,000 bushels of wheat, 50,000 bushels of barley, and a 1000 dartmen and slingers to oppose the *Baleares* and *Numidians*. The King's present was accompanied with an exhortation to the Senate to employ a fleet and some land forces to make a descent upon *Africa*. The *Conscript Fathers* returned him a grateful answer, and in pursuit of his advice ordered a reinforcement of twenty-five *quinqueremes* to *T. Otacilius* the *Pro-Prætor* in *Sicily*, (for *Marcellus* was not yet arrived there) giving him permission to carry the war into *Africa* if he thought proper. Before the Consuls took the field, the soldiers (which had never been done before) were required to take an oath to this effect, that they would assemble at the command of the Consuls, and not depart afterwards without leave; and whereas they had been accustomed voluntarily to swear that they would not forsake their ensigns through fear, nor go out of their ranks unless to take up a weapon, or to smite an enemy, or to save the life of a citizen, this oath also was now enjoined them by authority.

Livy, B.
22. c. 1.

While these preparations were making at *Rome*, the army under the *Pro-Consuls* *Servilius* and *Atilius* continued to observe the motions of *Hannibal*. As those Generals had received orders from the Senate not to venture a battle, but only to train and discipline their men, and harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes, all the spring passed, as the winter had done, without any considerable action on either side.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 106.

But the time of harvest being come, *Hannibal* decamped from *Geronium*, and to drive the enemy to the necessity of fighting, seized upon the castle of *Cannæ*, where the *Romans* had lodged the ammunition and provisions they had brought from *Canusium*. The town of *Cannæ* had been destroyed the last year; the castle was left standing, and *Hanni-*

* We read *thrice* in *Polybius*, doubtless through a mistake of the copyist. *Livy* says *four*, and this must be the truth, otherwise the cavalry of the *Roman* army at the battle of *Cannæ* (which is going to be related) would have amounted to 9600, and *Polybius* himself says they were little more than 7200. Here again there must be some mistake, it should be *little more than* 7000: for reckoning 300 horse to each of the

eight legions, and supposing the allies to have furnished double the Number that the *Romans* did, the whole amount will be 7200. and so *Livy*, who frequently copies *Polybius*, seems to have understood him in this place. Some historians, says he, write, that when the battle of *Cannæ* was fought the *Romans* were 87,200 strong (i. e. 80,000 foot and 7200 horse.) B. 22. c. 36.

bul,

Y. R. 537. *bal*, by possessing himself of it, threw the Roman army into great perplexity: for beside being master of those provisions, he was now in a post which by its situation commanded all the adjacent country. The Pro-Consuls dispatched messenger after messenger to ask instructions from the Senate, concerning the measures they should take. In their letters they represented that the country all around was ruined, that it was impossible to advance near the enemy without being obliged to fight; and that all the allies, attentive to the uncertain state of things, were in suspense waiting the event. The Senate judged it expedient to come to a decisive action with the enemy, but wrote to *Servilius* and *Atilius* to defer it, till the Consuls (whom they now sent from Rome) were arrived in the camp. Great dependance had the *Fathers* on the virtue and abilities of *Æmilius*; and indeed his known prudence, and the eminent services he had done his country some years before in the *Ilyrian* war, justified the confidence they reposed in him. At his departure from *Rome*, when they had represented to him the great importance of the present occasion, they urged him to exert himself, as a true citizen mindful of the majesty of the *Roman* name. Nor was *Æmilius* wanting either of a just sense of his country's danger, or of the warmest zeal for its preservation: So that when he was arrived at the camp, and had assembled the soldiers to impart to them the pleasure of the Senate, he made use of all the arguments he could think of to restore their courage, much abated by so many preceding disasters. He told them that several good reasons might be assigned for the defeat of the former armies; but that no excuse could be found if *this* should fail of victory. That the soldiers of those armies were new-raised men without discipline or experience, and entirely unacquainted with the sort of enemy they had to deal with: That those who fought at the *Trebia* were not recovered from the fatigue of their voyage from *Sicily* when they were led to battle: That at the lake *Thrasymenus* the *Romans*, so far from seeing the enemy before the battle, did not even see them during the conflict: That in none of the preceding engagements had there been two Consuls with two consular armies; but that now all circumstances were changed: "By frequent skirmishes with the enemy
 " you have learned their manner of fighting. You have not only both
 " the Consuls of the present year to conduct you, but both the Consuls
 " of the last year, who have consented to continue with us and share
 " the fortune of the day. With equal numbers you have seldom failed
 " of beating the enemy in small engagements: It would be strange
 " therefore, nay I think it impossible, that now when you are double
 " their number you should be vanquished by them in a general action.
 " But what need of further exhortation? The fate of *Rome*, the preservation of whatever is dear to you, depends at this time upon your
 " courage and resolution."

The next day the Consuls put their army in march towards the place where the *Carthaginians* were posted, and the day following pitched their camp within six miles of them. As it was a smooth plain, and the *Carthaginian* cavalry were far superior to the *Roman*, *Æmilius* judged it not proper to come to a battle in that situation. He was for drawing the enemy, if possible, to some ground where horse would have little opportunity to act. But the next day, it being *Varro's* turn to command, he, in spite of all that his colleague could say to dissuade him from it, decamped and drew nearer the enemy. *Hannibal* with his cavalry and light armed foot advanced to meet him, fell furiously upon the *Romans* in their march, and put them into great disorder. *Varro*, when he had sustained this first shock by means of some of the heavy armed foot, commanded his horse and dartmen to charge, and he had the prudence to mingle with these some of his legionaries; this gave him the advantage in the combat, to which the night at length put an end.

N. R. 517.
Bul. Ch.
215.
236 Cont.
Polyb. B. 1.
c. 100.

The day following, *Æmilius*, who was against fighting, and yet could not safely retreat, encamped two thirds of his army along the *Asfidus*, which lay to their left. The other third he led over the river, and made them intrench themselves at the distance of about 1300 paces eastward from his greater camp, and at somewhat more than that distance from the camp of the enemy, which lay to the south. By this disposition he could protect his own foragers and distress those of the *Carthaginian*.

Hannibal foreseeing that these movements of the *Romans* would infallibly bring on a general action, thought it adviseable, before he came to that hazard, to animate his soldiers for the occasion; lest their late repulse should have left some impression of fear upon their minds. Having called them together, he bid them cast their eyes over the country all around, and then tell him, "Whether, being superior as they were to the enemy in horse, they could possibly, had the Gods consulted their wishes, have desired any thing more to their advantage than to come to a decisive battle on such a spot." They all agreed that they could not have chosen better. He added, "Thank the Gods then

Livy differs from *Polybius* with regard to the particulars that happened before the battle of *Cannæ*. The *Latin* historian tells us that *Hannibal* had not yet removed from *Geronium* when the Consuls began their march from *Rome*; that he had then scarce ten days provisions in his camp, that the *Spaniards* were ready to desert him, and that he himself had thoughts of running away into *Gaul* with his cavalry, and leaving his infantry to shift for themselves. He adds several other circumstances as little worth relating as these.

And indeed, the accounts that he, *Ælian*, and the later writers, give of these affairs, are intermixt with so many things evidently fabulous, and often inconsistent with one another, that in the text *Polybius* has been chiefly followed, who wrote the nearest to the times he speaks of, was himself a soldier, and whose history is the most consistent and the most judicious.

The *Asfidus* runs through the *Apennines* into the *Adriatic*, and is the only river in *Italy* which takes that course.

Y. R. 537. " who have brought your enemies hither, that you may triumph over
 Def. Cam. " them; and remember also your obligation to me for having reduced
 215. " the *Romans* to the necessity of fighting: for, advantageous as the
 236. Conf. " ground is to us, here fight they must, there is no avoiding it." He
 concluded with reminding them of their former exploits, and with assuring
 them that one victory more would give a period to all their labours,
 and put them in possession of all their hopes, the wealth of *Rome*, and the
 dominion of *Italy*.

The *Carthaginian* after this entrenched his forces on the west side of
 the *Aufidus*, where lay the greater camp of the *Romans*, and the next
 day but one drew out his army and presented battle. *Æmilius* not lik-
 ing the ground, and being persuaded that want of provisions would
 very soon oblige *Hannibal* to quit his post, declined the challenge, but
 took great care to have his two camps well fortified and guarded. *Han-*
nibal, after waiting a while in the field, returned to his intrenchments,
 and detached some of his *Numidians* to pass the *Aufidus*, and fall upon
 certain parties that from the *Roman* lesser camp were coming to the river
 for water. The *Numidians* having easily put these to flight, advanced
 so far as to brave the *Romans* in their very camp; an insult so offensive
 to the soldiers in general as well as to *Varro*, that had it not been *Æmi-*
lius's turn to command, those of the greater camp would have instantly
 crossed the river to join their fellows, and offer battle to the enemy.
 " Their impatience to fight, says *Polybius*, was extreme; for when men
 " have once resolved upon a difficult and dangerous enterprize, no time
 " seems so tedious as the space between the determination and the exe-
 " cution."

The same author tells us, that when the news came to *Rome* of the
 armies being near each other, and of their daily skirmishing and picqueet-
 ing, the people, remembering their former defeats, were universally in the
 utmost anxiety and fear, well foreseeing the fatal consequences of a new
 overthrow; that they talked of nothing but oracles, extraordinary ap-
 pearances, prodigies seen both in temples and in private houses; and that
 their whole time was spent in vows and supplications: He adds, " for
 " in all public calamities and dangers the *Romans* are extremely careful
 " to pacify the anger of the Gods; nor of the many religious ceremonies
 " prescribed for such occasions, is there one, of which, how frivolous and
 " impertinent soever it may appear, they think the practice unbecoming."

At sun-rise in the morning after the insult by the *Numidians*, *Varro*,
 having the command, led his troops of the greater camp over the *Au-*
fidus, and joining them to those of the lesser, drew them up in the
 plain after the accustomed manner*, excepting that, in all the three
 lines, the battalions stood closer, and those in the first line were deeper
 than usual. The *Roman* knights, commanded by *Æmilius*, formed the
 right wing close to the river; the cavalry of the allies, under *Terentius*
Varro, made the left. The Pro-Consuls *Servilius* and *Atilius* led the

The battle
 of Cambr.
 Polyb. B. 3.
 c. 113.
 * See Vol. I.
 B. 3. c. 10.
 § 6.

main body consisting of 70,000 foot; for Varro had left 10,000 men in the greater camp, with orders to attack that of Hannibal when the armies should be engaged.

The Carthaginian " no sooner perceived the Romans in motion, but he sent over the Ausidus his slingers and the other light armed foot. The rest of the army followed, passing the river at two different places. He drew up his forces in one front. To face the Roman knights he posted his Spanish and Gallic cavalry in his left wing; next these were placed one half of his African infantry, then the Spanish and Gallic foot, then the other half of his Africans; and the Numidian horse made his right wing.

The Africans were armed after the Roman manner, out of the spoils taken from the enemy in former battles. The Gauls, naked from the waist upward, and the Spaniards, clothed in linen jackets trimmed with purple, were armed each after the manner of their country. They had shields alike; but the Gauls used long broad swords fit only for cutting strokes, and at a certain distance; the Spaniards short and well pointed blades proper both for striking and thrusting. The cohorts of these two nations being ranged alternately, this medley of troops of such different appearances, is said to have been terrible to behold. Strong of body, and furious in charging were the Gauls, but accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt; the Spaniards less eager and more wary, were neither ashamed to give ground when over-matched, nor afraid to return and renew the fight whenever it was practicable. As the impetuosity of the one, and the patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firm temper, so the place which they held in this battle added confidence to them both: For they saw themselves well and strongly flanked by the Africans, whose name was grown terrible in Spain by their conquests, and in Gaul by this their present war. Asdrubal commanded the cavalry of the left wing, Hannibal * the right; and Hannibal with his brother Mago took the conduct of the main body: This amounted to about 40,000 foot; the horse were 10,000. The armies were neither of them incommoded by the rising sun, the Romans facing to the south, their enemies to the north.

* R. 47.
B. 6. Ch. 1.
26.
266. Conf.

* Livy says
Mahanbal.

Plutarch reports that Varro's confidence and his numerous army alarmed the Carthaginians; that Hannibal with a small company went out to take a view of the Romans, and that one of his followers, called Gisco, saying to him, that the number of the enemy was very astonishing; Hannibal with a serious countenance answered, There is something yet more astonishing which you take no notice of, That in all that multitude there is not one man whose

name is Gisco. This jest made all the company laugh, who telling it to every one they met in their return, the laughter was continued till they reached the camp. The army seeing Hannibal and his Attendants come back laughing, imagined that without doubt this mirth proceeded from the good posture of their affairs, and their contempt of the enemy; which did not a little raise the spirits of the soldiers.

Y. R. 537.
Bel. Chl.

^{215.}
236 Conf.

Sir W. R.

The action began with the skirmishing of the velites or light armed troops, with little advantage to either side. During this skirmish the *Roman* knights came to an engagement with the *Spanish* and *Gallie* cavalry. Being shut in by the river on one side, and by their own infantry on the other, they could practise none of the evolutions and returns commonly used in fight by the horse in those days. There was no way but to bear forward in a right line; and both parties rushing violently on, the men came at length to grapple with one another, and many of them, their horses running from under them, fell to the ground, whence starting up again they fought on foot. In conclusion, the *Roman* cavalry were overborn and forced to recoil. This the Consul *Emilius* could by no means remedy, for *Asdrubal* with his boisterous *Gauls* and *Spaniards* was not to be resisted by the *Roman* knights, unequal both in number and horsemanship. The greater part of them, after they had defended themselves with the utmost bravery, were slain upon the spot, and most of the remainder, in their flight along the river; for *Asdrubal* gave no quarter.

Before this rout was quite finished, the heavy armed infantry on both sides joined battle. *Hannibal*, in advancing against the enemy, had caused his *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who held the middle of his line (and probably * made nine tenths of it) to march, some faster some slower, so as by degrees to form the figure of a *crescent*, the *convex* side towards the *Romans*, and the extreme points touching the *Africans* to the right and left. The middle or most prominent part of the curve being the thickest * (as it's figure of a *crescent* implies) and the best strengthened against all impression, sustained the shock of the enemy for some time, with great bravery and steadiness; till the *Roman* center, reinforced by some battalions from the wings, compelled, by its very weight, the curve to yield: but by the artful management of *Hannibal*, this curve so yielded and bent inward as at length to form a new curve, the *concave* side towards the enemy. The *Roman* legions following their supposed victory, and pressing still forward against the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, who continued retiring before them, came insensibly between the two bodies of *African* infantry, which had not yet moved from their posts, and the depth of whose files was, perhaps, at first concealed by the sides

* The reason for this opinion will be given hereafter.

* *Polybius* (B. 3. c. 115.) tells us that the *Gauls* were *thinly* ranged, and therefore easily broken. But if this be meant of the *whole crescent*, how will it accord with the stout fight which he himself says the *Gauls* maintained, or with the necessity which the *Roman* center, already deep, was under of being strengthened by draughts from the

wings, in order to break that *crescent*. I imagine therefore, that *Polybius* speaks here of the *sides* only of the *crescent*, the parts towards the horns, and not of the middle part, which though thick and strong, was already broken by the superior weight of the *Roman* center.

* Neither *Livy* nor *Polybius* say any thing of the proportion which the number of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* bore to that of the *Africans*;

sides of the concave into which the *Romans* entered, and was but gradually discovered in proportion as the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* recoiled. The two bodies of *Africans*, as the conjuncture itself dictated, facing one to the right, the other to the left, attacked the *Romans* in flank, so that these could fight no longer in the order * of a phalanx (which form they had taken during the conflict) but were obliged to divide themselves into platoons or small bodies, to make head against those unexpected enemies.

Y. R. 537.
B. C. Chr.
215.
236 Conf.

The Consul *Æmilius*, after the defeat of his cavalry, seeing that all depended upon the foot, had by this time put himself among the legionaries, animating them both by words and example. *Hannibal* acted the like part among the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, the conduct of whom he had taken upon himself from the beginning.

Hitherto there had nothing of moment happened between the * *Numidian* horse and the cavalry of the *Roman* allies, commanded by *Varro*; for the former would neither give nor sustain any charge: yet by making frequent offers, they kept their enemies so employed as to hinder them from assisting the legions. But now the last and fatal blow, which completed the destruction of the *Roman* army, was given by the same hand that gave the first. For *Asdrubal*, having cut in pieces almost all the horse of the *Roman* right wing, hastened to the assistance of the *Numidians*. The cavalry of the *Roman* left wing, perceiving his approach,

Africans; nor whether the *African* battalions were longer in rank or in file. Nor do they give us any light concerning those wonderful movements, by which *Hannibal* could, without confusion, form his center from a straight line into a crescent, the convex to the enemy; and afterwards, without confusion, invert its figure.

* Chevalier *Félar* (tom. 4. p. 377.) from the expression of *Polybius*, triumphantly concludes that the *Romans* were originally drawn up by *Varro* in a phalange coupée, that is, says the Chevalier, in columns with small intervals between them. The inference is not well deduced. For, supposing the *Romans* to have been ranged at first in three lines as usual, yet *Polybius* might well speak of them as in the order of a phalanx at this time. It was the constant practice for all the three lines to form themselves into one phalanx, whenever it happened that neither the first alone, nor the first and second united, could make any impression on the enemy. And that this was the present case with the center of the *Roman* army is plain from the necessity the Generals were under of bringing some battalions from the wings to strengthen

it. If the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Tuarii* of the center, united in one phalanx, had not failed in the attempt to break *Hannibal's* crescent, what occasion could there be of adding strength to them from the wings?

* According to *Livy*, when the two armies were just ready to join battle, 500 of these *Numidians* came galloping away from their fellows, with their shields cast behind their backs (as was the manner of those that yielded) and throwing down their arms, surrendered themselves. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them, but thinking them really disarmed, ordered them behind the lines. In the heat of the battle, these pretended deserters, having short swords under their jackets, flew upon the hindmost of the *Romans*, while all eyes and thoughts were bent another way, so that they did great mischief, and caused yet a greater terror. *Polybius* mentions nothing of this, which he would hardly have omitted had there been any foundation for it. Nor does he say any thing of a certain wind called *Fulturnus*, which, according to the *Latin* historian, proved very pernicious to the *Romans*, by blowing dust in their eyes.

did

Y. R. 477. did not wait to be attacked. They immediately fled. Hereupon *Asdrubal* ordering the light *Nomadic*, as fittest for that service, to pursue them, turned with his *Spanish* and *Galic* horse upon the rear of the *Roman* main body, which by this means was entirely surrounded. Then was the slaughter dreadful, and then fell the Consul ^b *Emilius* quite covered with wounds, nobly discharging in this conclusion of his life, as in all the former parts of it, the duties of a good citizen. The *Romans*, encompassed on all sides, faced every way, and held out for some time: But the outermost ranks of their orb being still mowed down, they were gradually forced into a narrow compass, and becoming at length a mere throng, unable to wield their arms, were all put to the sword.

During

^b *Livy* tells us that *Emilius* had been wounded in the action between the cavalry, yet being assisted by those of the *Roman* knights who had escaped from *Asdrubal*, he made head against *Hannibal*, and restored the fight in several places. At length, unable through weakness to manage his horse, he was obliged to dismount; his attendants did the like, and it being told *Hannibal* that the Consul had ordered his cavalry to quit their horses, he is reported to have said jestingly, *I had rather he had delivered them to me bound*. *Livy* adds, what is hard to be conceived, that some of the *Roman* knights, when they saw the battle irrecoverably lost, remounted their horses and escaped. One of them, *Cn. Lentulus*, a legionary tribune, galloping along, found the Consul covered with blood, and sitting upon a stone. *Lentulus* entreated him to rise and save himself, offering him his horse; but *Emilius* refused it, exhorting the tribune to shift for himself, and not to lose time, adding, that it was not his purpose to be brought again into judgment by the people; be an accuser of his colleague, or be himself charged with that day's loss. He further desired *Lentulus* to give the Senate notice to fortify *Rome*, and to tell *Fabius* that he had been mindful of his counsel to the last. The Consul had no sooner uttered these words, but first a multitude of his own men in the rout, and then the enemy in the pursuit came upon him: the latter, not knowing who he was, dispatched him with their darts. *Lentulus* escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

^c THE ACCOUNTS transmitted to us by *Polybius* and *Livy* of the battle of *Cannæ*,

are not sufficiently full and clear to convey to those who read them at this distance of time, distinct and satisfactory ideas of what passed in that memorable day; but have left much room for conjecture.

In the plans that are commonly given by the moderns of this battle, the *infantry* of the two armies are equal in front. *Hannibal's* center which he formed into a crescent, the *convex* side towards the enemy, makes but *one third* of his line of foot. How then came it to pass, that this crescent, when it yielded and retreated, so as gradually to invert its figure, and present a *concave* to the enemy, drew after it, and within it, *more* of the *Roman* infantry than had stood opposite to it, when the armies first faced each other? This may be answered from *Polybius*, who tells us, that during the conflict between the centers of the two armies, the *Romans*, by draught from their wings, thickened or deepened their center, which therefore broke, by its very weight, the *Carthaginian* center or crescent, consisting of the *Gauls* and *Spaniards*. He adds, that the *Romans* pressing unwarily after those *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, came at length between the *two bodies* of *African* infantry; which by a conversion, one to the right, and the other to the left, instantly pressed the *Romans* on their flanks; and that *Asdrubal* soon after came thundering upon their backs with his victorious cavalry.

All this is conceivable and credible: and we here see how not only the cohorts that were originally in the *Roman* center, but those which were drawn from the wings to deepen it, became totally encompassed

by

During the slaughter of the Roman foot, the Numidians were pursuing Terentius and the horse of the left wing. Of all the Roman cavalry

Y. R. 537.
B. C. Chr.
215.
156 Conf.

by the enemy; by the Gauls and Spaniards in front, by the Africans in flank, and by Asdrubal in the rear.

But the great difficulty still remains: For it is generally agreed (and indeed Polybius's words seem to import) that the whole, or almost the whole of the Roman infantry, in one deep phalanx, pressed after the retreating Gauls and Spaniards, and so became at length wedged between the two bodies of Africans. Now, how could this happen, if the space between those two bodies was but one third of Hannibal's line of foot? For is it credible, that the Roman Generals could be so infatuated as, in the heat of the battle, to contract the front of their army to one third of its first extent, draw all the battalions of the wings to the center, and leave no troops to oppose the two wings (two thirds) of Hannibal's line, that were standing before them in battle array? And if those Generals, to open their center, only thinned their wings (as Chevalier Filard supposes) what advantage could Hannibal hope from drawing the center within his two wings? Since the wings, while employed in attacking the flanks of that center, would themselves be exposed to be attacked both in flank and rear by the remainder of the Roman wings; which, if we suppose them diminished by one half, were still equal in number of men to the Carthaginian wings.

It would seem therefore that the plans which represent Hannibal's crescent, as making but one third of his line, must be extremely faulty.

Chevalier Filard, though he speaks as if he were a perfect master of the subject, is unsatisfactory in his account of the battle of any writer before him. His plan of it (Ann. 4. p. 391.) represents Hannibal's curve, but one third of his line of foot: but being one of the small number of Africans in the Carthaginian army, much too small to make up other two thirds of the line (as they do in the Jewish plan) he represents the curve as consisting of only a part of the Gauls and Spaniards; the remainder of which troops he extended to the right and left from the horns of the crescent, and between it

and the Africans, who make only the extremities of the line, or the outer parts of the wings.

The employment which the Chevalier finds for these wings, is not to give upon the flanks of the Romans that were advanced within the hollow of the inverted curve, but to wheel, extend themselves, and attack both in flank and rear the Roman wings, which he supposes to be still subsisting, though much weakened by the imprudence of their leaders.

This account of the action has not the least foundation in Polybius, who does not say, that the Romans of the center, by rashly pursuing the Gauls and Spaniards of Hannibal's crescent, came between other Gauls and Spaniards of his wings (as they must do according to the Chevalier's plan) but between the two bodies of Africans. The Africans are the only troops the historian speaks of as coming upon the flanks of the Romans. Nor does he say any thing of the Africans wheeling and extending themselves to attack the Roman wings in flank and rear, but that turning or inclining (ἐκτρέφειν) one part of them to the shield, the other to the spear, i. e. one facing or turning to the right, the other to the left, they pressed upon the flanks of those Romans that were pursuing the Gauls and Spaniards of Hannibal's crescent or center.

The Roman wings, says the Chevalier, still subsisted, though much weakened by the draughts made from them. I know not how much the Chevalier would allow them to be weakened. But if we suppose them to be diminished by one half, they were still equal, (as I said before) in number of men to the Carthaginian wings; and it is hardly credible that the Roman wings having at this time no enemies to contend with but the Carthaginian wings, should stand still while these were wheeling and extending themselves to come upon their flank and rear; or that the Carthaginians should find their account in such an attempt.

I shall observe, by the way, that Polybius never speaks of any part of the Roman army being attacked in rear by the Carthaginian foot. This was left for Asdrubal and his horse.

cavalry seventy only escaped with the Consul to *Venusia*, and about three hundred more into other neighbouring towns, two thousand were taken prisoners, the rest were slain.

The

horse, who could hardly have performed this part without riding over the *Africans*, had these inclosed the *Romans* behind.

What seems to have driven the Chevalier into all these deviations from his author, is his fundamental error of forming *Hannibal's* crescent out of but one third of his line.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* has gone into the other extreme. To account for the whole Roman army's being inclosed by the enemy he supposes that *Hannibal's* crescent was of such extent, as to make his whole front; that the *Romans* saw nothing before them but that crescent; that the *Africans* (deep in file) were hid behind its two corners, and not discovered by the *Romans* till they were attacked by them. "For it is agreed," says he, "that the *Romans* were encompassed *unawares*, and that they behaved themselves as men who thought upon no other work than what was found them by the *Gauls*. Neither is it credible, that they would have been so mad, as to run headlong with the whole bulk of their army into the throat of slaughter, had they seen those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashness of inferior captains: but since the Consul *Paulus*, a man so expert in war, being vanquished in horse, had put himself among the legions, it cannot be supposed that he and they did wilfully thus engage themselves."

That *Hannibal's* crescent of *Gauls* and *Spaniards* made the whole of his front, cannot be reconciled with *Polybius* or *Livy*, who expressly relate, that the *Carthaginian* drew up all his infantry in one line, of which the *Africans* made the two points or wings; and *Polybius* more than once in describing the action, calls this crescent *ἡ μέση* the middle or center of *Hannibal's* battalia, and the *Africans* are spoke of, not as hid, but as appearing to the enemy armed after the Roman manner.

But it is not credible, says Sir *Walter*, that the *Romans* would have been so mad as to run

with the whole bulk of their army between the *Africans*, had they seen them at first.

I will not pretend to remove this difficulty. All I can aim at,* is, in some measure to lessen it.

Hannibal's infantry is said to have consisted of about 40,000 men, extended at first in one trait line. Of this line the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* (who afterwards formed themselves into a crescent) made the middle or center, and the *Africans* the wings. Now if that middle part, instead of being but one third, was at least nine tenths of the line, as there is good reason to believe, it will much lessen our wonder, that the *Romans*, when they had forced that middle part to give ground, should imagine themselves secure of the victory, and unwarily engage themselves between the *Africans*, who made so narrow a front, as only a tenth of the *Carthaginian* line, that is to say, at each extremity a twentieth.

That the *Africans* made but a very narrow front, in respect of the rest of the line, may, I think, be fairly collected from the small number to which we are obliged to reduce them, and from the manner in which it is reasonable to believe they were drawn up.

It cannot be supposed that the *Africans* amounted to above 8000 men. *Hannibal* brought into *Italy* but 20,000 foot, of which number 12,000 only were *Africans**, and the other 8000 *Spaniards*. At the battle of the *Trebia*, his heavy armed infantry, *Spaniards*, *Africans*, and *Gauls*, were but 20,000 in all. He lost some of his *Africans* in this battle, some at the lake *Tibrasymenus*; and doubtless the *Africans* suffered with the rest of the troops in their march through the fens of *Ettruria*, and in their other fatigue. *Hannibal* had now been three years in *Italy*, and had received no recruits from *Africa*; and from all these considerations we may well conclude, that his *Africans* were diminished by one third at least, before the battle of *Cannæ*.

Now supposing the *Africans* to be but 8000 of *Hannibal's* 40,000 foot, and supposing his battalia to be every where equal

* See p. 727.

The whole of the infantry that had been in the battle, was cut off except about 3000^a who fled, most of them to *Canusium*. Among the dead were, beside the Consul *Æmilius*, the two Pro-Consuls *Servilius* and *Attilius*, *M. Minucius* late Master of the horse to *Fabius*, two military *Quæstors*, twenty-nine legionary *Tribunes*, with eighty persons who had either been Senators, or had born such offices as entitled them to be chosen into the Senate. Those of the infantry who were taken prisoners had not been in the fight. *Varro*, by the advice of *Æmilius*, had left 10,000 foot in his greater camp, with orders to attack the camp of *Hannibal* during the battle. The Consul's view in this was, to oblige the *Carthaginian* either to abandon his baggage, or to leave a greater part of his forces to guard it than he could well spare from the general action. The design so far succeeded, that *Hannibal* was just upon the point of losing his camp, when (after his victory in the field) he came

Y. R. 137.
B. 2. c. 11.
236
Liv. B. 2.
c. 19.
Polyb. B.
c. 11.

equal depth, it is plain that the *Africans* could make no more than one fifth part of the *Carthaginian* front, or one tenth of it at each extremity of the line. But if we consider, that *Hannibal's* intention, from the beginning of the day, was to draw the bulk of the *Roman* army between his *Africans*, it is reasonable to believe that he so disposed those *Africans* as to hide their strength as much as possible; and that he gave them no more extent in front, than was necessary to be their depth when they should face, one part of them to the right, and the other to the left, to attack the flanks of the *Romans* pressing after the retiring *Gauls* and *Spaniards*; and if so, it is probable that the front, which the *Africans* made, was not so much as a tenth part of the line, or, at each extremity a twentieth. And this being granted, it will not be so astonishing that the bulk of the *Roman* army should run precipitately between them. That the whole did, strictly speaking, engage themselves between the *Africans*, I do not conceive necessary to be supposed, in order to account for the event of the battle. For it seems from *Polybius's* relation, that none of those who did so engage themselves, escaped destruction. Yet we find according to the same author, that 3000 of the *Roman* foot escaped from the battle, and according to *Livy*, a much greater number. These might be of the troops that were in the points of the *Roman* battalia, and who probably took to their heels as soon as they saw *Asdrubal* with his horse coming upon the rear of the legions.

^a *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* agrees nearly with *Polybius* as to the number of men the *Romans* lost in this battle. Of 6000 horse (says he, *Antiquit. B. 2. p. 37.*) there remained only 370, and of 80,000 foot there escaped somewhat more than 3000. But *Livy* differs from them, and is not very consistent with himself. According to the first account he gives, the sum total of those that were slain and taken prisoners amounted to about 59,400, and of those that escaped to about 5670. In which reckonings (supposing, as he seems to do, that the whole *Roman* army at *Cannæ* consisted of 87,200 men) there are above 18,000 omitted. He afterwards tells us (*B. 22. c. 45. 49.*) that there were got together of the fugitives 10,000 at *Canusium*, and 4070 at *Venusia*. In this case the number of the prisoners and the slain would be 73,130. But (*c. 56.*) he makes *Varro* write to the Senate from *Canusium* (after he had brought to that place those that had fled to *Venusia*) that the whole remains of the *Roman* army were only 10,000 men. And yet in the same book (*c. 60.*) *M. Torquatus* tells the Senate, that if the captives who petitioned to be ransomed, and who (as one of themselves had said a little before) amounted to 8000 men, were added to the forces at *Canusium*, the republic would have there an army of 20,000 men. According to *Appian*, the whole *Roman* army at *Cannæ* consisted of 70,000 foot and 6000 horse, of which 50,000 were slain, a great number taken prisoners, and about 10,000 escaped to *Canusium*.

In Hanni-
bal. c. 323.

Y. R. 537.
Bel. Cim.

236 Conf.

Polyb. B.
3. c. 118.

to the assistance of the few troops he had left to defend it. Upon his approach, the assailants fled to their own entrenchments; where being invested, they surrendered themselves prisoners, after they had lost 2000 of their number^c.

Hannibal's loss of men on this important day amounted to no more than 4000 *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, 1500 *Africans*, and 200 horse^f.

The consequence of this victory (says *Polybius*) was such as both parties had expected^g. *Hannibal* became master of almost all *Great Greece*.

^e *Livy* relates that 7000 *Romans* fled out of the battle to the lesser camp, 10,000 to the greater, and that 2000 took refuge in the village of *Canusium*. These last were immediately surrounded by *Carthago*, and taken prisoners. The soldiers in the greater camp, who were without leaders, and but half-armed, sent a messenger to those in the lesser, desiring they would come over to them in the night, that they might march together and take refuge in *Canusium*, a city not far distant. But the troops in the little camp could not be prevailed upon to hearken to this proposal, fearing to be intercepted by the enemy in their passage. Nevertheless 600 of them, encouraged by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, a legionary tribune who commanded them, drew themselves up in the form of a wedge, and casting their shields upon their right arms, to defend themselves from the darts of the *Numidians*, to which they were exposed upon that side, made their way through the enemy to the great camp, from whence, in conjunction with another large body, they escaped to *Canusium*. Next day *Hannibal* having invested the little camp, the *Romans* surrendered upon terms. They had leave to depart each with one garment, upon paying a certain ransom. In the mean time about 4000 foot and 200 horse escaped from the great camp in straggling parties to *Canusium*. The rest yielded upon the conditions granted to those of the little camp.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 52.

^f According to the *Latin* historian the loss of the *Carthaginians* amounted to 8000 men.

^g *Livy* thinks it might reasonably have been expected that *Hannibal* should have taken *Rome* immediately after the battle of *Canusium*. When the *Carthaginian* officers (says that author) flocked round their General, congratulating him on his victory, and ad-

vising him to spend the rest of that day, and the following night, in refreshing himself and his wearied Troops. *Mabarbal*, on the contrary, pressed him not to lose a moment's time. *That you may know* (said he) *the importance of this victory, follow me, I will instantly march away with the cavalry, and be at Rome before they have notice of my coming. In five days we shall surround the capital.* *Hannibal* commended his zeal, but told him that what he had proposed was of too great moment to be suddenly resolved upon, and that he would take time to consider of it. *Nay then* (said *Mabarbal*) *I find that no one man is endued by the Gods with all talents.* *Hannibal* knows how to conquer, but he knows not how to make advantage of his victories. It is generally believed (adds *Livy*) that this day's delay was the preservation of the city and empire of *Rome*.

Several of the antients have joined with *Livy* in blaming *Hannibal* for not laying siege to *Rome* without delay, but whether justly or not may very well be a question. If the advantages he had gained were, as *Polybius* says, chiefly owing to the superiority of his cavalry, those could be of little use in a siege, and the *Roman* infantry not inferior to his, would be invincible behind walls. *Rome* was provided with every thing necessary to sustain a siege. After the battle of *Thrasymen*, its fortifications had been repaired, (*Liv. B. 22. c. 8.*) and *Polybius* takes notice of the care of the Senate upon the present occasion to put the city in a posture of defence, (*B. 3. c. 11.*) *Rome* abounded with soldiers well trained to war. *Livy* speaks of four new legions and 1000 horse raised in the city by *P. Perseus*, who was made Dictator immediately after the battle of *Canusium*. (*Liv. B. 22. c. 57.*) And exclusive of these the same Dictator led out an army of 25,000 men (*ibid.*)

B. 23.

B. 22. c.
51.

Greece^b. Nay, the *Carthaginians* were not without hope, by some sudden stroke, to possess themselves of *Rome*. The *Romans*, on the other hand, despairing of being able to retain the dominion of *Italy*, and, every moment expecting to hear of *Hannibal's* approach, were in the utmost anxiety for themselves and for their country. The Senators nevertheless preserved their fortitude and dignity; they all zealously applied themselves to put the city in a posture of defence, and did every thing that could be done for the common safety. And though the *Romans* were now undoubtedly vanquished, and yielded, for the present, in military glory, to their enemies, yet by their courage, steadiness, and unwearied labours, the wisdom of their counsels, and the constitution of their government, they not only recovered the empire of *Italy*, but totally subdued the *Carthaginians*, and in a few years after became lords of the world.

Y. R. 537.
B.C. Clu.
215.
236 Conf.

B. 23. c. 14.) which he would not have done, had not he thought he had left troops enough in the town to defend it. *Marcellus* had also sent from *Ostia* 1500 men to strengthen the garrison of *Rome* (Liv. B. 23. c. 57.)

Now what forces had *Hannibal* to bring against so powerful a city? His army after the battle of *Cannæ* consisted of scarce 45,000 men, 9800 of which were cavalry. He was moreover intirely unprovided of implements for carrying on a siege. And had he marched directly to *Rome*, it is not probable any of the nations of *Italy* would have gone over to him. At most they would have waited the issue of the siege, in which, if he had not succeeded, they would have been the less disposed to venture themselves under his protection. Nor perhaps would it have been prudent in him, when not one city in *Italy* had declared for him, to neglect the other towns (that were beginning to waver in their fidelity to the *Romans*) to go and besiege the capital; especially since his hopes of success in this undertaking must have depended more on the terror of his name, than the force of his arms. And that both these would have been insufficient seems plain from the little effect they had upon *Nola* and *Naples*, which cities were twice in vain attempted by *Hannibal* soon after his victory at *Cannæ*, (Liv. B. 23. c. 1, 14, 16.) *Nuceria* also and *Casertum*, two inconsiderable towns, gave him a great deal of trouble before he could reduce them. The latter held out more than a whole winter, though defended by

only 960 men. (Liv. B. 23. c. 15, 17, 18, 19.)

Add to this, that had *Hannibal* laid siege to *Rome*, it is not likely that the *Latin* nations, and those other of the allies who always continued steady to her interest, would have quietly looked on till the city had been taken. And that these allies were not yet exhausted of soldiers, is plain from the great levies made among them in the course of this war. In the Dictatorship of *Junius Pera*, just after the defeat at *Cannæ*, the *Roman* armies in *Italy* (reckoning the remains of *Cannæ* at 15,000) amounted to above 84,000 men, as appears from Livy, B. 22. c. 57. and B. 23. c. 14. The year after, the Republic had twelve legions on foot, and the year after that eighteen legions (Liv. B. 24. c. 11.) The third year after the battle they had twenty-one legion, and the fourth, viz. in the Consulship of *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, twenty-three Legions. (Liv. B. 25. c. 3.)

Upon the whole, *Livy's* censure of *Hannibal's* conduct seems not well founded, and the rather as we do not find that *Polybius* has any where blamed him up on this article.

^b The nations that revolted to the *Carthaginians* after the battle of *Cannæ* are thus reckoned up by *Livy* (B. 22. c. 61.) The *Atellani*, *Celatini* and *Hydruntini*, part of *Apulia*, the *Samnites* except the *Pentri*, all the *Bruttians*, the *Lucanians*, the *Surrentini*, and almost all Great *Greece*, the *Tarentines*, *Metapontines*, *Crotonianes*, *Locri*, and all the *Cislypian* Gauls.

C H A P. XXII.

The extreme terror, with which the Romans were struck, by their defeat at Cannæ. Their reception of Terentius Varro at Rome. They refuse to redeem the prisoners. Hannibal gets possession of Capua, and winters there. He sends to Carthage an account of his victories. The Romans create a Dictator for the sole affair of filling the many vacant places in their Senate.

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chi.
215.
236 Conf.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 53.

AMONG those Romans, who had fled from the late battle to *Canusum*, were four legionary Tribunes. Of these the soldiers chose two, to be their chief commanders, *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the son of the Pro-Consul in *Spain*. Whilst *Scipio* (who was now about nineteen years of age) was deliberating with his colleague, and some others, what measures to take, notice was brought them, that certain young men of the best families of *Rome*, at the head of whom was *L. Cecilius Metellus*, giving all up for lost, had resolved to embark at the first port, and fly from *Italy*. So base a thought stirred up *Scipio's* indignation. Turning therefore to the company, he said, *Let those who value the preservation of Rome follow me.* They all went immediately to the house where the young Patricians were assembled. *Scipio*, as he entered their chamber, *I swear*, said he, drawing his sword, *that I will never abandon the Republic, nor consent that any of her citizens forsake her; I call the great Jupiter to witness this my oath:* And then addressing himself to *Metellus*, he added, *Do you, Metellus, and all that are here present take the same oath, or not a man of you shall escape this sword.* His look, his action, his menaces so terrified them all, that they readily came into the engagements he required.

The consternation and despondency of the people at *Rome* almost equalled those of *Metellus* and his companions. For it was there currently reported that both the Consuls were killed, and their armies so entirely destroyed, that not an officer, nor hardly a single soldier remained alive; and that *Hannibal* was master of *Apulia*, *Samnium*, and all *Italy*. The *Conscript Fathers*, the pilots of the state, did not, however, leave the helm because the storm blew high. For want of Consuls the two Prætors assembled them. As *Fabius's* cunctation, that lingering war, he had counselled and practised against *Hannibal*, was discovered, by the present calamity, to have been the dictate of wisdom, he now was principally listened to. He advised, that some horsemen well mounted should be sent out upon the *Appian* and *Latine* roads, to learn, if possible, of such as they met, the true state of affairs, what was become of the Consuls; to what place the remains of the army, if there were any, had retreated; where *Hannibal* was encamped; what he was doing, and what he designed to do: That the women should be forbid to appear in public, disturbing the city with their lamentations:

That when any courier arrived, he should be brought privately and without noise to the Prætors; and that no person should be suffered to go out of the city.

Not long after, a messenger arrived from *Terentius*; his letters imported that the *Roman* army had been defeated; that his colleague *Æmilius* was slain; that he himself was retired to *Canusium*, where he was assembling the remains of the troops; that about 10,000 men of different corps, and for the most part without officers, had joined him; and that *Hannibal* was still at *Cannæ*¹.

At the same time a bark arrived from *Sicily* with advice from the Pro-Prætor *Otacilius*, that one *Carthaginian* Squadron was ravaging the coast of *Syracuse*, while another appeared off the *Ægates* ready to make a descent at *Lilybæum*; and that it was necessary to lend a fleet thither with all speed. The *Conscript Fathers*, not dejected at these additional cares, prepared for the defence both of *Italy* and *Sicily*. *Marcellus*, appointed Prætor for the last named province, and now at *Ostia* aboard the fleet, was ordered to resign the conduct of it to *P. Furius Philus*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, and to go and take upon him the command of the army at *Canusium*. As for *Terentius Varro*, the Senate recalled him to *Rome*; and nothing has been more wondered at, than the respect with which he was received at his arrival. Multitudes of people of all ranks went out to meet him, and the Senate returned him thanks for that he had not despaired of the commonwealth. How different this conduct, says *Livy*, from that of the *Carthaginians*, who were wont to put their unsuccessful Generals to the most cruel deaths²!

As

¹ *Livy* says that *Hannibal*, after this famous battle, acted more like a man that had finished his conquests than one that had a war to carry on, and that he was sitting at *Cannæ* bargaining about his plunder and the captives, in a manner very unbecoming a great General (*Liv. B. 22. c. 56, 58.*) It thus be not a calumny, at least the *Carthaginians* did not continue long thus employed; for the same author begins his 23d book by telling us, that *Hannibal*, after the battle of *Cannæ*, having taken and plundered the *Roman* camps, marched immediately (*confestim*) from *Apulia* into *Samnum*.

² The Reception *Varro* met with at *Rome*, and his being afterwards intrusted with the command of an army, seem to have been the effects of just policy in the *Romans*. This General had done nothing irregular, nothing contrary to orders. The Senate and people had sent him to fight *Hannibal*, not to follow him at a distance like *Fabius*. *Scævola*, it is true, was against fighting at that time; and he was an able Ge-

neral. But what then? *Varro* was not obliged to follow his advice. In a dispute they had had a little before about marching, *Æmilius* had no officer of his opinion, except the late Consul *Scævola*, as we are informed by *Livy*. And there is reason to think that it was not only the general inclination of the soldiers, but agreeable to the judgment of most of the officers, that *Varro* should fight, when he did. No objection is made to the order of his battle. If a fatal error was committed during the action, through the rashness of the infantry imagining themselves victorious, this was no more imputable to *Varro* than to *Æmilius*. In short, as *Varro* does not appear to be chargeable with any thing worse, than the having such a dependence on the number and valour of his troops, as to venture a battle contrary to the advice of his colleague, it ought not perhaps to be so surprising that the Senate and people received him in the manner they did. They could not have treated him with rigour without

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chr.
216.
236 Conf.

Liv. B. 22.
c. 61.

X. R. 537.
Bel. C. 22.
156.
45 Conf.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 57.
F. B.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 21.
Florus, B.
2. c. 6.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 56. 58.
c. 59.

As the present situation of things required an absolute magistrate to govern the state, *M. Junius Pera* was, by the authority of the Senate, named Dictator, and *Sempronius Gracchus* to be his General of the horse. *Junius* made it his whole business to put the army in a condition to resist the enemy. Four legions and a thousand horse were raised among the citizens of *Rome*. The two *Latins*, the *Municipia*, and the colonies furnished their contingents as usual; and to all these were added 8000 slaves, whom the Republic bought of their masters, and who were called *idones*, from the word *volo* (I will) which every one returned in answer, when he was asked, whether he would serve in the troops. To recruit the treasury, which was greatly exhausted, and to put the public revenues under a good regulation, three men of eminent prudence and integrity were chosen for that trust. And then, the Senators giving the example, and being followed by the knights, the whole people in general of the *Roman* tribes brought all their gold to the public treasury; the Senators only reserving their rings, and the *bullæ* about their childrens necks. The silver coin was now, for the first time, alloyed with copper.

While they were thus employed at *Rome*, *Hannibal*, to get a supply of money, and with the further view of abating the obstinate resolution of the *Romans* in battle, by the hopes of being ransomed, in case they should be defeated and taken, gave leave to his *Roman* prisoners, to redeem themselves. These chose out ten of their body, to send to *Rome*, to negotiate their redemption; and *Hannibal* exacted no other security for their return than an oath. They were accompanied by a noble *Carthaginian*, named *Carthalo*, who, in case he found the *Romans* inclined to peace, was empowered to declare upon what terms *Hannibal* would grant it. Upon the first report of *Carthalo's* arrival, the Dictator sent a lictor to order him out of the *Roman* territory. The ten deputies were admitted to an audience of the Senate. *M. Junius*, the chief of them, pleaded with great earnestness in behalf of the captives. He justified them from the charge of cowardice in having yielded themselves prisoners to the enemy. He alledged that they had been left in the camp to defend it, that they had done nothing cowardly or unworthy the *Roman* name, but by the adverse fortune of the day, the troops in the field being all cut off, they had been under a necessity of surrendering to the conqueror. He cited precedents of the regard had to prisoners in former times, and urged the advantage it would be to the Republic, to have in her army 8000 *Romans*, redeemed at a less^m price than the purchase of so many slaves would

without discouraging their Generals, which might have been of dangerous consequence at this juncture. Nor is it much to be wondered at that they employed him again. He was very humble after his defeat at *Cannæ*, and behaved himself to the general satisfaction of both Senate and people. However, they never put him at the head

of a great army; he seldom had the command of above one legion.

^l The ransom of each horseman he fixed at 500 *denarii* (16 l. 2 s. 11 d.); that of each soldier at 300 (9 l. 3 s. 9 d.); and that of each slave at 100 (3 l. 4 s. 7 d.) *

^m This (says Sir W. Raleigh) is but a tale devised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings.

would amount to. His discourse was seconded by the multitude, whose concern for their relations in captivity had brought them together; and they implored the clemency of the *Fathers* in a suppliant manner.

The Senate debated the matter for some time, being much divided in opinion; but at length they concluded absolutely against the redemption of the captives: For having penetrated into *Hannibal's* views, they would convince their soldiers, that they must either conquer or be at the mercy of their enemies.

Hannibal, after his victory at *Cannæ*, marched without delay from *Apulia* into *Samnium*. *Compsæ*, a city of *Hirpini*, almost at the head of the *Alfides*, surrendered to him, and was the first which fell off from the *Romans*. Having here placed a garrison, together with all his plunder and baggage, he divided his army. One part of it he gave to his brother *Mago* to reduce the towns and fortresses of this country and of all *Bruttium*; and with the other he himself marched towards *Naples*, to get possession, if practicable, of that maritime city, which would open to him an easy communication with *Africa*. But though he drew a part of the garrison into an ambuscade, and cut them off, yet the strength of the place deterred him from laying siege to it.

From thence he turned towards *Capua*. This city, which had been formerly governed by *Roman* laws, and a *Roman* prefect, was now a *Municipium*, and chose her own magistrates; and the *Capuans* had the uncommon privilege of intermarrying with the *Romans*. After the battle of the lake *Trafymenus*, one *Pacuvius Calavins*, a man of the greatest interest among the people, and then governor of the town, had laid a design to assassinate the Senate, who were odious both to himself and the people, and deliver up the place to *Hannibal*: But afterwards he thought that to assume a kind of sovereignty himself there, would be a better scheme, than that of introducing a stranger to usurp it. The only difficulty he had was to engage the Senators, who were universally for adhering to the *Romans*, to favour the project of his ambition. To this end, he told them that the people had sworn to cut their throats, and to surrender up *Capua* to the *Carthaginians*; but that if they would leave themselves to his conduct, he would preserve them. The Senators trusted him, upon his oath, and suffered him to

ing, as if they had been severe, when as added they were suitable to the present fortune, poor and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proof, that *Hannibal* valued these *Roman* slaves whom he had taken in the camp among their masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common *Ther's* ransom: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat he thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for slaves might have been made, than was by the state at home, in dealing with

private men; yet must we withhold ourselves, that these private men did only *sell* their slaves for a while unto the commonwealth, and were afterwards contented to *re-buy* the price of them, until the war should be ended. [*Liv.* B. 24. c. 18.] If *Hannibal* would have given such long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have been his chapmen: but seeing he dealt only for ready money, they chose rather to say we *would not* give, than we *did not*. *Hist. of the World*, part 1. B. 5. ch. 3. § 9.

But

Y. R. 537.
Bef. Chr.
415.
236 Conf.

shut them up in the temple, where they were then assembled, and to set a guard at the door. He then called the people together, and acquainted them, that the Senate were now entirely in his power, and that he would abandon those detestable slaves of *Rome* to their resentment, to be treated according to their demerits; but he insisted that (in order to preserve the old form of government, which ought not to be destroyed) as soon as any one of them had received sentence, and before he was executed, the people should name some man of probity, to succeed him; by which stratagem, *Pacuvius* saved the lives of all the Senators; for the multitude could not agree upon this man of probity. Some disqualification or other was still objected to whoever was named; so that in the end, the people finding that they could not rid themselves of their present Senate without choosing a worse, desired that all the prisoners might be released; and from this time the Senate courted the people by all manner of kindness and adulation, and (if we may credit *Livy*) *Pacuvius* acquired an absolute ascendant over both.

After the defeat of the *Romans* at *Cannæ*, the *Capuans* were again disposed to side with the *Carthaginians*. Two reasons restrained them; the intermarriages before-mentioned, and the consideration that the flower of their nobility were in the service of the *Romans*, in *Sicily*, and were therefore as so many hostages for their fidelity. And the relations of these young men prevailed to have a deputation sent to the Consul *Terentius*, then at *Venusia*, to offer him succours. These deputies found the Consul so dejected and desponding, that, weighing the circumstances of things, they thought the time now come to shake off the *Roman* yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But to do this with the more decency, they first sent ambassadors to *Rome*, with such proposals as they knew would not be received. They demanded, that for the future *Rome* and *Capua* should be upon a perfect equality, and that every year one of the Consuls should be chosen out of the *Capuans*.

The *Conscrip*t *Fathers* having haughtily rejected the demand, it was carried by a majority of voices, both of the Senate and people of *Capua*, to send deputies to treat with *Hannibal*. They demanded entire liberty and independence, and that three hundred *Roman* knights should be put into their hands, to be exchanged against the same number of *Capuan* youths in the service of *Rome*. *Hannibal* readily granted all that was asked; and then the people contrived to have all the *Romans* in the city shut up in the public baths, and there suffocated. One *Decius Magius*, a man of a *Roman* spirit, and a friend to the *Romans*, loudly declared against these proceedings of his countrymen, warning them not to receive a *Carthaginian* garrison, and putting them in mind of *Pyrrhus*'s tyranny over the people of *Tarentum*; but his discourse was despised. When *Hannibal* was to make his entry, all the town crowded to meet him, except this *Magius*, and some few of the nobility, among whom was *Perolla*, the son of *Pacuvius*, who though not governor of *Capua*

Capua at this time, had been the soul of all the late proceedings. *Pe-* Y. R. 517
rolla was afterwards obliged by his father to go and pay his homage to *Hannibal*; nevertheless having deeply imbibed the sentiments of *Magius*, he formed a resolution to stab the *Carthaginian* General, at a magnificent entertainment which *Pacuvius* and some other of the principal citizens were to give him: But the young man, having communicated the design to his father, was by his tears and entreaties dissuaded from it. The next day the Senate assembled, and *Hannibal* complaining to them of the disaffection of *Magius*, this brave man was delivered up to him, loaded with irons, and put on board a ship bound for *Carthage*. A tempest drove the vessel into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the kings of *Egypt*; there the prisoner finding means to get to a statue of *Ptolemy Philopater*, and laying hold of it, the *Carthaginians* durst not drag him from that sanctuary. The *Cyrenians* conveyed him to *Alexandria*, where he chose to continue under the protection of *Ptolemy*. Liv. B. 11. c. 10.

About this time *Hannibal* dispatched his brother *Mago* to *Carthage* with an account of his success. *Mago* reported to the Senate, "That their General had defeated six Consular armies, slain above 200,000 *Romans*, and taken more than 50,000 prisoners; that *Bruttium* and *Apulia*, with a part of *Samnum*, and a part of *Lucania*, had revolted to the *Carthaginians*; that *Capua*, the chief city, not of *Campania* only, but (in the present low estate of *Rome*) even of *Italy*, had surrendered to *Hannibal*:" and he concluded with saying, "That for so many and so great victories it was meet to return solemn thanks to the immortal Gods." To verify his report, he spread abroad in the Senate house, some say one, others three bushels of gold rings taken from the *Roman* Knights and Senators. Having thus prepossessed the Senate in favour of his brother, he proceeded to solicit for him supplies of men, corn, and money, that he might be enabled to carry on so successful a war. The request was universally applauded; and *Himilco*, a Senator of the *Barchine* faction, turning towards *Hanno*, as it were to insult him, "Well, *Hanno*, are you still dissatisfied that we entered into a war against *Rome*? Are you still of opinion that we ought to deliver up *Hannibal*? Come, declare against our giving thanks to the Gods for our success; speak, *Hanno*, let us hear the language of a *Roman* in a *Carthaginian* Senate." *Hanno* rose up; "To day, Fathers, if I had not been compelled to speak, I should have held my peace, that, in this concert of your common gladness, no discordant word might drop, from me. But to be silent when thus interrogated by a Senator, would argue either pride or disaffection to the state, a disregard of other mens liberty or of my own. To *Himilco*, therefore, I answer, that I do still condemn the war, and that I never shall cease to blame our invincible General, till I see it ended by a peace upon some tolerable conditions. The exploits which *Mago* has boasted of, have caused much joy to *Himilco* and his friends. Liv. B. 11. c. 13.

V. R. 537. "To me too they may prove matter of joy, if a proper use be made of
 B. I. Chr. "them for bringing about an honourable peace. But what is the
 26 Conf. "ground of all this exultation? To what does it amount? *I have slain,*
 "says *Hannibal*, *whole armies of enemies: Send me soldiers.* What else
 "could he have asked had he been vanquished? *I have taken two camps,*
 "full, doubtless, of wealth and provisions: *Supply me with corn and money.*
 "What other demand could he have made, had he lost his own camp,
 "with every thing that was in it? And, that I alone may not wonder
 "at all this, I would have *Himilco* (for as I have answered him, I
 "have now surely a right to interrogate); I say, I would have *Himilco*
 "or *Mago* answer me some questions. The Roman empire, it seems,
 "was overturned at the battle of *Cannæ*, and all *Italy* is revolting: Is
 "any one, I pray, of the *Latine nations* come over to us? Has any one
 "man of the *five and thirty tribes* deserted to *Hannibal*?" When *Mago*
 "had to both these answered in the negative: "There remain then (re-
 "plied *Hanno*) a huge number of enemies still to be subdued. And this
 "multitude, what heart, what hope have they?" *Mago* answered, *That*
be knew not. "And yet (returned *Hanno*) there is nothing easier to be
 "known. Have the *Romans* sent any ambassadors to *Hannibal* to treat of
 "peace? Has intelligence been brought you, that any mention of peace
 "was made at *Rome*?" No, said *Mago*. "Why then (replied the other)
 "the progress made in this war, is exactly the same, as when *Hannibal*
 "first entered *Italy*. The vicissitude of our fortune in the first *Roman*
 "War many of us here present can well remember. Our affairs were
 "never in a more prosperous course both by land and sea, than just be-
 "fore our defeat at the *Ægates*. Should the like turn of fortune
 "(the Gods avert the omen!) happen to us again, can we hope to obtain,
 "when vanquished, that peace, which when we are victorious we dis-
 "dain to think of? Were it now in debate to offer or to accept a peace,
 "I know what I should say: If you ask my opinion concerning the
 "supplies which *Mago* demands for the army, my answer is, That if
 "they be truly conquerors, they little need them; and if they deceive
 "us with vain hope, they less deserve them." *Hanno's* speech made no
 "impression on the Senate. It was carried by a great majority to send to
 "1937501. *Hannibal* from *Africa*, 4000 *Numidians*, 40 elephants, and 1000 talents
 "of silver *. And one of the magistrates was immediately commissioned
 "to go with *Mago* into *Spain*, and there hire 20,000 foot and 4000 horse
 "for recruiting the armies in that country and in *Italy*. These prepara-
 "tions however went on slowly, as is usual in times of prosperity. On
 "the other side, neither the character, nor the present circumstances of
 "the *Romans* would permit them to be dilatory in their proceedings.
 "L. B. 23. The Senate neglected nothing, deferred nothing, that was necessary for
 "C. 34. supporting the war. The Consul *Varro* shewed himself extremely dili-
 "gent in whatever belonged to his office; and the Dictator *Junius Pera*,
 "after performing the usual ceremonies of religion, marched out of *Rome*

at the head of 25,000 men. This army was composed of two legions, which had been raised in the beginning of the year for the defence of the city, of some cohorts from *Picenum* and the *Gallic* territory¹, of the 8000 *Volones* before-mentioned, and of 6000 prisoners for crimes and debt, whom *Junius* had released, upon the condition of their enlisting themselves in the troops, and whom he had armed out of the spoils *Flaminius* had formerly brought from *Gaul*.

As for *Hannibal*, having settled his affairs at *Capua*, he made a second attempt upon *Naples*, with as little success as in the first. From thence he marched to *Nola*, in hopes that the populace, who were inclined to his party, would deliver up the town to him. But their Senate, alarmed at the danger, had sent for assistance from *Marcellus*, who commanded the Roman army at *Canussum*, and who came in all haste to the defence of the place. *Hannibal*, disappointed here, once more attempted *Naples*. As this city had lately received a Roman garrison, under the command of *M. Junius Silanus*, the *Carthaginian* soon despaired of being able to reduce it by force; and he turned his arms against *Nuceria*, a town not far from the other. The inhabitants, for want of provisions, were obliged to capitulate: Yet he could not prevail upon any of them to serve in his army. After he had plundered and burnt *Nuceria*, he again sat down before *Nola*. *Marcellus* sallied out upon him at three several gates, and killed 2300 of his men, with the loss only of 500 of his own. The *Carthaginian* being thus repulsed, laid siege to *Acerra*, a small town on the banks of the *Clanis*, near *Nola*, and took it. Here he learnt that the Dictator was approaching to *Casertum* with his army. Whereupon being afraid lest the neighbourhood of the enemy might occasion some sinister accident at *Capua*, he drew near to this city, and at the same time sent a part of his forces to attack *Casertum*. These not succeeding, he himself marched thither with his army, and besieged the town in form. It was not garrisoned by *Campanians*. A body of *Prænestini*, to the number of 500 men, happening to pass that way, had found the inhabitants wavering in their fidelity to *Rome*; and had therefore cut their throats in the night, and possessed themselves of the walls. The *Prænestini* were afterwards reinforced by about 400 *Perusini* from *Umbria*, and some *Romans* and *Latins*. All these being men of bravery and resolution, made a vigorous resistance. Winter approaching, *Hannibal* discontinued the siege, intending to renew it in the spring. He left a small body of troops before the town, and retired to *Capua* with the rest of his army.

Livy and some other historians tell us, that both *Hannibal* and his soldiers were extremely softened by the effeminate life they gave themselves up to, this winter at *Capua*, and are very particular in their descriptions of the luxury of the *Carthaginians*, making *Capua* prove as fatal a place

¹ This was a tract of land between the some Roman citizens by virtue of a law
and the *Esuli*, formerly taken from lately enacted.
Esuli Senones, and divided amongst

Y. R. 537. to them as *Cannæ* had been to the *Romans*. It does not however appear by their after behaviour, that they had lost much of their martial
B. I. Chr. ardour. The principal cause of the decline of *Hannibal's* affairs in *Italy*
215. after the battle of *Cannæ*, seems to have been his not receiving supplies from his own country. He had not men enough to oppose to
236 Conf. many armies as the *Romans* sent against him, and at the same time to garrison the towns and protect the countries, that had submitted to him. And that his residence at *Capua* had abated nothing of his wonted activity, seems plain from *Livy* himself, who informs us, that as soon as the rigour of the season began to soften he renewed the siege of *Casfilinum*, and this in sight of an army, which without reckoning the allies, amounted to 25,000 men. This army was now under the conduct of *Sempronius*, General of the horse, the Dictator having been recalled to *Rome* on account of some religious affair. *Sempronius* continued quiet in his camp; for he had received orders not to fight. *Marcellus* (according to *Livy*) would have gone to the assistance of the besieged, if he had not been hindered by the swelling of the *Vulturnus*, and by the people of *Nola*, who feared that the *Capuans* would attack them if the *Roman* garrison should withdraw. In the mean time *Casfilinum* was reduced to great extremities for want of provisions, insomuch that many of the soldiers threw themselves from the walls, or exposed themselves without defence to the darts of the enemy. *Sempronius* attempted to relieve them, first by throwing barrels of meal into the *Vulturnus*, that ran through the town, and afterwards by scattering in the stream great quantities of nuts, which the besieged stopped with hurdles. These convoys of provisions being discovered and cut off, the garrison were reduced to live upon rats, and what other vermin they could find; nay, they pulled off the leather that covered their shields, boiled it soft in water, and eat it. And when *Hannibal*, to hinder them from gathering any weeds or roots that grew close under the wall, had ploughed up the ground, they threw turnip seed out upon the mold; which when the *Cartbaginian* heard of, he cried out, *What! am I then to sit here till their turnips are come to maturity?* And from this time he became more willing to grant them terms. They were at length allowed to march out of the town, provided each freeman among them paid seven ounces of gold. The condition was accepted; they remained prisoners till the money was paid, and the *Cartbaginian* put a garrison of 700 men into the place.

c. 20. The inhabitants of *Petilia*, in *Bruttium*, gave likewise a signal proof of their attachment to the Republic, and shewed how agreeable her government was to her subjects. They resolutely stood a siege, though refused assistance from *Rome* on account of the distress she was in; and *Himilce*, one of *Hannibal's* Lieutenants, found almost as much difficulty in subduing them, as the General had met with, in reducing the garrison of *Casfilinum*.

c. 21. About the same time couriers arrived from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with complaints from the Prætors of those two provinces, of the want of

of provisions and pay for their armies and fleets. The answer was, Y. R. 538 that they must shift for themselves as well as they could; for that B. I. C. Rome was not in a condition to help them. King *Hiero* supplied the 236 C. Prætor of *Sicily* with what money he wanted, and six months provisions; and the cities of *Sardinia* in alliance with the Republic raised contributions among themselves for the Prætor of that island.

And now the Senate began to think of filling up the many vacant U. V. B. 1 places in their assembly. When this matter was in debate, *Sp. Carvilius* C. 235 proposed that the present opportunity might be taken to oblige the *Latines*, those antient and faithful allies of *Rome*, by admitting two out of each nation of them to sit among the Fathers: but the motion was rejected with indignation; and *Fabius* reproved *Carvilius* for his imprudence in exposing the Senate to a shameful innovation, or to the danger of affronting the *Latines*, at so critical a conjuncture. He added, that it was of the utmost consequence to observe a strict silence upon this head, that so the allies might never know such a proposal had been made. The matter was kept secret; no mischief followed.

As there were no Censors in being, to fill up the vacancies in question, and the Dictator was now with the army, the Consul *Terentius*, by order of the Senate, nominated *M. Fabius Buteo*, the oldest of the former Censors, to be a second Dictator, whose office should be confined to this affair. And never did Dictator discharge his trust with more modesty C. 235 and prudence. The first upon his list were all those who since the last Censors had obtained *curule magistracies*, but had not yet been ranked among the Fathers; then all those, without exception, who had been Tribunes of the people, *Plebeian Ædiles* or *Quæstors*; and lastly, such of the citizens as could shew the spoils of enemies by them vanquished, or had been rewarded by their Generals with a Civic Crown. By this impartial election the *Romans* had the happiness to see 177 new Senators created without jealousy or contention. *Fabius* was highly applauded for his conduct, and when he had finished his list, he immediately abdicated the Dictatorship, though he had been named to it for six months.

C H A P. XXIII.

THE FOURTH YEAR of the War.

A Roman army destroyed by the Gauls. King Philip of Macedon enters into league with Hannibal against Rome. Favourable accounts from Sardinia and from the Scipios in Spain. After the death of King Hiero, Syracuse takes part with the Carthaginians.

THE next affair, at *Rome*, was to appoint the great officers of Y. R. 538 the state for the new year. *T. Sempronius Gracchus* (General of B. I. C. the horse to the Dictator *Junius*) and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, now at 237 C. the

Y. R. 5. 8.
 Bef. Chr.
 214.
 237 Conf.
 Livy, B. 23.
 c. 30.

the head of an army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, were elected Consuls. Then the several Prætors were named, and *Marcellus* had the power and title given him of Pro-Consul; because, of all the *Roman* Generals in *Italy*, he was the only one who had gained any advantage over the enemy since the battle of *Cannæ*. The elections being over, *Junius* returned to his camp in *Apulia*, but *Sempronius* continued in the city, to consult with the Senate about the operations of the approaching campaign. While they were deliberating on these things, news came to *Rome* that *Posthumius Albinus* (one of the Consuls elect) with all his army, was destroyed by the *Gauls*. The fortitude of the *Romans* enabled them to surmount this last calamity of so unfortunate a year. *Sempronius* assembled the Senate, and endeavoured to raise their dejected spirits. "The defeat of *Cannæ* ought to have hardened us against every adversity that can happen in war. Shall we be discouraged by moderate losses, after having supported the greatest calamities? The war with the *Gauls* may be deferred. Let us have no more armies in *Gaul*, but turn all our forces against *Hannibal*. When he is once driven out of *Italy*, the rebellious nations will soon be reduced again." This advice was followed, and all the *Roman* forces were ordered to the provinces near *Hannibal*.

In the new disposition of employments, *Terentius Varro*, notwithstanding his former ill success, was intrusted with the command of an army in *Apulia*, and had the character of Pro-Consul. His behaviour since his misfortune had softened every body to him. He had let his hair and beard grow, and had never taken a meal lying on a bed, as was the manner of the *Romans*. Nay, it is said, he modestly declined the Dictatorship, to which the people, still well affected to him, would have raised him.

Livy, B.
 23. c. 31.

It now remained to choose a new Consul in the room of *Posthumius Albinus*; and *Marcellus* being sent upon a commission to the army, it was suspected, and complained of in the Senate, that he was kept out of the way on purpose that he might not be present at the *comitia*. *Sempronius* therefore deferred convening the centuries till the return of *Marcellus*, and then he was unanimously chosen Consul. But, as it had happened to thunder during the assembly, the augurs laid hold of this accident to declare the election disagreeable to the will of the Gods. Their true reason for opposing it was his being a *Plebeian*, for *Sempronius* also being of that order, should *Marcellus's* election be confirmed, *Rome* would have two *Plebeian* Consuls. Hereupon *Marcellus* abdicated, and *Fabius Cunctator* was chosen (the third time) in his stead.

* According to *Livy* (B. 23. c. 24.) the *Gauls* made use of a very extraordinary stratagem upon this occasion. *Posthumius* being to pass through a wood, they, against his coming, had, on each side the road, fixed all the trees so far that a little force would serve to cast them down. When

therefore the whole army had entered this dangerous passage, the *Gauls* that lay about the wood, began to throw down the trees, which falling one against another, those that were nearest the head came upon the heads of the *Romans*, so that scarce ten men of them escaped being crushed.

And

And now the *Romans* began to be in motion. *Fabius* put himself at the head of those troops which the late Dictator had commanded. *Scipio* was General of the *Volones*, and of 25,000 auxiliaries. The troops that had escaped from *Cannæ*, and which after that battle had served under *Marcellus*, and all the weak foldiers in the army lately under the conduct of *Junius Pera*, had been sent into *Sicily*, there to serve as long as the war should last in *Italy*. In the room of these, *Marcellus* led to his camp near *Suessula* (a city nine miles from *Nela*) two legions that had been raised for the defence of *Rome*. The Prætor *Lævinus* was ordered to cover *Apulia* with two legions, which arrived from *Sicily*, and to defend the coast from *Brundisium* to *Tarentum*, with a fleet of twenty-five ships. A like number of vessels was sent under *Q. Fulvius Placcus*, the other Prætor, to guard the coast near the capital. The legion under *Varro* being commanded into *Sicily*, he was ordered to make new levies in the country of *Picenum*, and to continue there to protect that and the neighbouring territories.

While the Prætor *Lævinus* lay encamped at *Luceria* in *Apulia*, a company of *Macedonians* were to his great surprize brought before him.

At the head of them was an *Athenian* named *Xenophanes*. These strangers had landed not far from the *Lacinian* promontory, and were making their way to *Hannibal's* camp near *Capua*, when *Lævinus's* Scouts intercepted them. Being examined by the Prætor, the *Athenian* answered that he was commissioned by King *Philip* of *Macedon* to treat of an alliance with the *Roman* Republic. *Lævinus* overjoyed at this, shewed great respect to the ambassador, and furnished him with guides to conduct him to *Rome*. It is not known by what artifice he got to *Hannibal's* camp: But the league which, in his master's name, he made with the *Carthaginian*, is preserved to this day°. Having finished his commission

° The form of the league as it is in *Polybius*, B. 7. c. 2. runs thus.

The treaty confirmed by oath, 'which *Hannibal* the General, *Mago*, *Myrian*, *Barca*, and all the Senators of *Carthage* that are with him [*Hannibal*] and all the *Carthaginians* that serve under him, have concluded with *Xenophanes* the *Athenian*, the son of *Clomachus*, whom King *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, hath sent to us, in his own name, and in name of the *Macedonians*, and of his allies.

In the presence of *Jupiter*, and *Juno*, and *Isis*; in the presence of the tutelary Divinity of the *Carthaginians*, and of *Heracles*, and of *Iulius*; in the presence of *Venus*, of *Triton* and *Neptune*; in the presence of the Gods who accompany our expedition, and of the sun, the moon, and

the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the fields, and the waters; in the presence of all the Gods who rule over *Carthage*; in the presence of all the Gods who rule over *Macedon* and the rest of *Greece*; in the presence of all the Gods who preside over war and at the making this treaty; *Hannibal* the General hath said, and all the Senators of *Carthage* that are with him, and all the *Carthaginians* that are in his army.

If it seem good unto you and to us, this shall be a treaty of amity and good will between you and us, as friends, allies, and brethren, upon condition that King *Philip*, and the *Macedonians*, and all the other *Greeks* that are in alliance, shall protect and defend the *Carthaginian* Lords, and *Hannibal* the General, and those that are with him, and the Governors of provinces dependent

Y. R. 538.

B. C. 214.

Conf.

Livy, B. 23

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Y. R. 538. commission he returned to his ship, and *Mago*, *Bostar*, and *Gisco*, three
 B. C. 214. ambassadors from *Hannibal*, embarked with him. They were scarce
 27 Conf. out at sea when the vessel was descried by *P. Valerius Flaccus*, whom
Levinus had appointed to command the fleet. She was soon obliged to
 strike to some ships sent after her. *Xenophanes* endeavoured to escape
 a second time, by the same story of his embassy from *Philip* to the Se-
 nate; adding only, that not having been able to reach the capital, be-
 cause the enemy infested the roads, he had negotiated his business with
 the Prætor *Levinus*. He would have imposed upon *Flaccus*, but for
 the habit and language of the three *Carthaginians*. The *Roman* having
 discovered the truth, detached five galleys under the command of *Vale-
 rius Antias*, to transport the *Athenian* and his companions to *Rome*.

J. B. 23. To return to *Hannibal*. *Campania* was now the chief seat of the
 C. 35. war; and the *Campanians* themselves, to assist him, raised an army of
 14,000 men. These having, in vain, solicited *Cumæ*, a city in the
 neighbourhood, to join with them; endeavoured, with no better success,
 to surprise the *Cumans* by treachery. After which *Hannibal*, at the re-
 C. 36. quest of the *Campanians*, laid siege to the place. *Fabius* was then en-
 camped at *Cales*, but durst not cross the *Vulturnus*, to go to the assistance

dent upon the *Carthaginians*, and those that
 use the same laws with them; and the in-
 habitants of *Utica*, and of all the cities
 and countries subject to the *Carthagi-
 nians*, and all the soldiers and allies, and
 all the cities and nations in confederacy
 with us in *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Liguria*, and
 all those in this country who are in friend-
 ship and alliance with us. In like manner
 the *Carthaginian* armies, and the inhabi-
 tants of *Utica*, and all the cities and na-
 tions subject to *Carthage*, and the soldiers
 and allies, and all the nations and cities
 with which we have amity and alliance in
Italy, in *Gaul*, in *Liguria*, and with which
 we may contract amity and alliance in this
 country, shall preserve and defend King
Philip, and the *Macedonians*, and all their
 allies amongst the *Greeks*. We will not
 secretly devise evil against one another.
 We will not lay snares for one another.
 We [the *Macedonians*] with all affection and
 good will, without guile or fraud [declare
 that we] will be enemies to the enemies of
 the *Carthaginians*, except to those Kings,
 cities and ports with which we are in
 friendship and alliance. In like manner,
 we [the *Carthaginians*] will be enemies to
 the enemies of King *Philip*, except to those
 Kings, cities and nations with whom we
 are in alliance and friendship. You [the

Macedonians] shall engage in the war we
 have with the *Romans* till it please the
 Gods to give success to our arms and yours.
 You shall assist us with what is necessary,
 according as shall be agreed upon between
 us. But if the Gods shall not grant to you
 and us a happy issue of the war against the
Romans and their allies, and if we be re-
 duced to make peace with the *Romans*,
 we shall treat in such a manner as that
 you shall be included in the treaty; and on
 condition that they shall not be allowed to
 declare war against you; that the *Roman*
 shall not be masters of the *Corcyraei*, nor of
 the *Apollinates*, nor of the *Dyrrachini*, nor
 of *Pharus*, nor of *Dymallæ*, nor of the *Par-
 thoni*, nor of *Antintquia*. They shall like-
 wise restore to *Demetrius Pharius* all his
 friends and relations who are in the *Roman*
 dominions. If the *Romans* shall declare
 war against you or against us, we will stand
 each other as the occasion shall require.
 We will act in the same manner in case
 any other shall declare war against us, ex-
 cept the Kings, cities and nations with
 whom we are in alliance and friendship.
 If either of us shall judge proper to add any
 thing to this treaty, or retrench any thing
 from it, it shall not be done without the
 consent of both of us.

Chap. XXIII. *Second Punic War.*

of the besieged, because of unlucky omens and prodigies. *Sempronius* had a little before entered the place, and he defended it. He is said to have slain in a sally 1300 of the *Carthaginians*. *Hannibal* the next day presented battle, in hopes the Consul, flushed with his success, would venture to fight: But the *Romans* keeping close within the walls, he at length drew off his men, and returned to his camp, which was on mount *T. Jata*.

Whilst *Sempronius Gracchus* was thus defending *Cuma*, the *Roman* armies prospered in two other places. Another *Sempronius*, surnamed *Longus*, gained a victory over *Hanno* in *Luccania*, and drove him from thence into *Bruttium*. And *Lævinus* retook three cities of the *Hirpini*, which had revolted to *Hannibal*.

About the same time the intercepted ambassador from King *Philip*, and his letters, were brought to *Rome*. And the Senate finding that the treaty was actually concluded, came immediately to the wise and noble resolution of keeping the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, by carrying the war into his country.

And now *Fabius*, having made expiation for the prodigies, at length passed the *Vulturinus*, and both the Consuls carried on the war in concert together. *Fabius* recovered some towns that had declared for *Hannibal*, and had received *Carthaginian* garrisons. At *Nola*, the people still disaffected to *Rome*, were secretly plotting to destroy their Senators, and betray the city to *Hannibal*. To prevent this, *Fabius* sent *Marcellus* with his army into *Nola*, and he himself removed to the Pro-Consul's camp near *Suifula*. There he continued quiet while *Marcellus* made frequent incursions into the lands of the *Hirpini* and the *Samnites* about *Caudium*. Deputies from these two nations came to *Hannibal* to inform him of the devastation of their country, and to desire relief. They even added reproaches to their complaints. "We believed (said they) that so long as you were safe and our friend, we might have banished all fear, not only of the *Romans*, but (were it lawful so to speak) even of the angry Gods themselves. Yet certain it is, that whilst you are not only safe and victorious, but so near us too, that you can see the burning of our houses, and almost hear the cries of our wives and children, we have been miserably harassed this summer by *Marcellus*, as if he, and not you, had been conqueror at *Cannæ*. The *Romans* give out that you are like a bee that can sting but once."

Hannibal

* The *Roman* historians frequently reproach *Hannibal* with inaction after the winter he spent in *Capua*, and *Livy* upon this occasion has put very severe reflections upon him into the mouths of the *Samnite* deputies. The truth of the matter seems to be this: The *Romans* had now learnt by such defeats that they were not a match for

Hannibal in the open field. It was a long time before they would yield this point; but the battle of *Cannæ* seems to have convinced them. At first they sent our Consul to oppose him with the usual army of two legions (consisting of about 4000 men each) with a proportionable number of auxiliaries. The misfortune at the *Trebia*

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B. C. 214.
237 Conf.

Hannibal returned a civil answer to the deputies, and encouraged them to hope for a happy issue of the war. "Of the victories I have gained, said he, the last has always been the greatest. That of the lake *Thrasymenus* was more considerable than that of the *Trebia*, and the victory of *Cannæ* surpassed them both. I shall soon gain a fourth victory superior to all the past." With this answer, and rich presents, he dismissed the deputies.

Liv. B. 23.
c. 47.

Hannibal, being soon after joined by *Hanno* with some troops from *Bruttium*, invested *Nole*, which was defended by *Marcellus*, who (if we may credit the *Latine* historian) boldly marched his troops out of the town, and came to a pitched battle with the *Carthaginian* before the walls: victory declared for the *Romans*, and *Hannibal* lost 5000 men.
About

c. 44.

and what immediately followed it, obliged them to send the other Consul with his army to join his colleague. These being defeated at the *Trebia*, the Republic increased her armies the next year. *Flaminius* had alone the command of four legions, and his colleague of two. The former being vanquished at the lake *Thrasymenus*, and *Fabius's* dilatory arts not having any sensible good effect, the *Romans* seemed resolved to exert their whole strength, and ruin *Hannibal* at a blow. They doubled their legions, increased the number of men in each, and sent both their Consuls at the head of an army of near 90,000 men to fight a decisive battle. The victory over these at *Cannæ* was so complete, that the *Romans* saw plainly they could not hope to conquer the *Carthaginian* in a general battle, and that they must change their manner of carrying on the war. Accordingly they divided their troops into many armies, never risked their whole strength in one action, but contented themselves with waiting *Hannibal's* forces in small engagements, harassing his allies, and protecting their own. This very year they besieged him, as it were, with armies. *Fabius* commanded one at *Liternum*, *Sempronius* had another at *Cumæ*, and *Marcellus* a third at *Stessila*, all in *Campania* where *Hannibal* was. *Lævinus* defended *Apulia*, and *Tiberius Varro*, *Picenum*. Each of these Generals had at least two legions under him, except *T. Varro* who had but one. Beside these, *Livy* mentions a *Sempronius Longus*, who had an army in *Lucania* sufficient to defeat a considerable part of the *Carthaginian* army under *Hanno*, of which 2000 were slain in the action. All these

forces joined together would have made a greater army than the *Romans* had at *Cannæ*, but the Republic had now altered her measures. Nay so steady was she in pursuing this new method of carrying on the war, that though *Hannibal* was many years hemmed in among the *Bruttians*, in a corner of *Italy*, without supplies from his own country, and in great want of men and money, she never ventured to unite her forces, in order to compel him to a general battle. Now considering the small number of his troops, his want of money, the many armies he had to deal with, the towns he had to garrison, and the several allies he had to protect, it is more to be wondered at that he kept footing so long in *Italy*, than that he made no progress in conquest.

¹ *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and others, relate several victories gained by *Marcellus* over *Hannibal*. But *Corn. Nepos* (in *Vit. Hannib.*) tells us, that the latter was always victorious in *Italy*, and that after the battle of *Cannæ* no one ever ventured to pitch a camp in the plain against him. *Quamdiu in Italia sunt, nemo ei in Acie restitit, nemo adversus eum, post Cannensem pugnam, in Campo Castra posuit.* *Polybius's* history of the *Roman* affairs after the battle of *Cannæ* is not entire; but we have several considerable fragments of it remaining, none of which mention any victory over *Hannibal* in *Italy*. From a passage in B. 9 c. 3, it is plain, that *Hannibal* was never defeated by any *Roman* General before the siege of *Capua*, and consequently not by *Marcellus* this year. Who (says the historian) "can help admiring the *Romans*? That they who durst not draw out an army in battle against *Hannibal*, but

" stood

Chap. XXIII. *Second Punic War.*

About this time, 1272 of his *Spanish* and *Numidian* horse went over to the enemy. These deserters continued faithful to *Rome*, and did her important services, for which they were recompensed with lands in their own countries at the end of the war. The *Carthaginian* General raised the siege of *Nola*, sent *Hanno* again into *Bruttium* with the forces he had brought from thence, marched himself into *Apulia*, and pitched his camp near *Arpi*, where he purposed to winter. As soon as he was gone, *Pabius* made two incursions, with the greatest part of his army, into the flat country of *Campania*, gathered in all the corn, and carried it to his camp at *Stessula*, which he put in a condition to serve him for winter quarters. He then ordered *Mercellus* to keep no more soldiers at *Nola* than were necessary to defend the town, and to send the rest to *Rome*, that they might neither be a burden to the allies nor an expence to the Republic. The Consul *Sempronius* marched his legions from *Cume* to *Ischia* in *Apulia*; from thence he dispatched the Praetor *Laevinus* with the army under his command to *Brundisium*, to guard the coast of *Stelluntum*, and provide what was necessary for the *Macedonian* war.

While affairs in *Italy* were in the situation that has been described, good news came to *Rome* from *Sardinia* and *Spain*. The Praetor, *Manlius Torquatus*, had defeated the rebel *Sardinians*, though assisted by an army sent from *Carthage* under the command of *Asdrubal* the Bald. Twelve thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, *Asdrubal* himself, with *Hanno* and *Mago* his chief officers, taken prisoners, and the island entirely reduced.

The *Scipios* had been equally fortunate in their wars in *Spain*. However, they wrote to the Senate, that the troops wanted their pay, clothes to cover them, and provisions to subsist them. As to the first indeed, they added, that if the public treasury was exhausted, they would find means to get money from the *Spaniards*; but that the other necessities must be sent from *Rome*, otherwise they could neither keep the province in obedience, nor support the army. The Senators were all sensible of the reasonableness of the request; but how to comply with it was the difficulty. They considered the numerous forces they already had to maintain both at land and sea, and what a large new fleet must presently be equipped, if a war with *Macedon* should be commenced: That as to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which, before the war, brought in considerable subsidies to the treasury, they were now scarce able to maintain the forces necessary for the defence of these provinces; and that

"used to lead their legions, and that with
"difficulty, along the hills, should venture
"a day's march to a strong city, while they
"themselves were harassed by an enemy
"whom they dared not to think of en-
"countering in the field. But the *Car-*
"*thaginians*, who had been conquerors in
"every battle, suffered no less than the

"vanquished, &c." And in Book 1. c. 16.
he expressly asserts, that *Zama* was ne-
ver vanquished before the battle of *Zama*.
And in chap. 11. he repeats, *Hannibal*,
just before that battle, reminding his sol-
diers, that they had been victorious in every
battle they had fought in *Italy*.

R. 138. to tax the citizens at home for the supply demanded, would quite oppress and ruin them. The result of all was, *that Fulvius the Prætor* *Be. Conf.* *should assemble the people, and lay before them the necessities of the state, and earnestly press all those who were grown rich by farming the public revenues, to lend the public, for a while, a part of what they had gained by it, and furnish the army in Spain with necessaries, under a promise of being reimbursed the first of any of the public creditors, when the treasury should be in a condition to discharge debts.* The Prætor accordingly represented the matter to the people, and also appointed a day when he would bargain for clothes and corn, to be sent to the troops in Spain, and for other necessaries to equip the fleet.

When the day came, three companies of nineteen persons each, presented themselves as undertakers; but they insisted on two demands, *That while thus employed, they should be exempted from serving in the war: And That, if what they shipped were taken by the enemy, or cast away by storm, the public should bear the loss;* both which conditions being agreed to, they undertook this affair, so that now the Roman armies were subsisted by the purses of private subjects; nor was any thing wanting to carry on the war in Spain more than if the treasury had been full.

The *Scipios*, thus supplied, immediately took the field, and (according to *Livy*) performed strange things, as shall hereafter be related.

Livy, B. 24. The accounts from *Sicily* were not so satisfactory as those from *Spain* *C. 4.* and *Sardinia*. King *Hiero* was dead, and had left his dominions, by *B. 23, 30.* will, to his grandson *Hieronymus* (whose father *Gelo* had rebelled against the old King the year before his death, and had come to an untimely end) under the tuition of fifteen guardians; whom he had entreated, a little before his decease, to keep up a good understanding with the *Romans*, as he himself had done for fifty years past. *Hieronymus*, being *Polyb. d.* *Virt. & Vit.* *Exc. lib. 7.* suffered by his guardians to take the reins of government into his own hands at fifteen Years of age, ran into many excesses of vice and cruelty. He affected an extravagant pomp, was difficult of access, gave audience with an air of contempt, and often added insulting jests to refusals. Three lords of distinction engrossed his favour, *Andronicus* and *Zoippus* (his two uncles in law) and *Tbrafo* surnamed *Ubarcarus*. *Liv. B. 24.* *C. 5, 6.* This last was a friend to the *Romans*; the other two favoured *Carthage*. *Tbrafo* being put to death, upon a false accusation of treason, the uncles easily persuaded their nephew to enter into a negotiation with *Hannibal*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the Roman Prætor in *Sicily*, sent a deputation to the King, to renew the alliance formerly made by his grandfather with the *Romans*. *Hieronymus* insulted the deputies, asking them, *What fortune they had at the battle of Cannæ? because, said he, Hannibal's ambassadors have given most incredible accounts of it; and I would fain know the truth, that I may take my measures accordingly.* The *Romans* only answered, that when he had learnt to give audience to ambassadors in a serious manner, they would come to him again; and then

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then having rather admonished, than requested him, not rashly to violate the antient league, they departed and returned to the Prator, ~~who~~ ^{V. R. 56.} ~~then~~ ^{237. Conf.} ~~sent~~ ^{237. Conf.} ambassadors to *Carthage*, to ratify a treaty he had already made with *Hannibal*; the substance of which was, that he and the *Carthaginians* should divide *Sicily* between them, when they had jointly conquered the whole island. But being afterwards persuaded to think that he had himself a title of inheritance to all *Sicily*, by being descended from *Nereis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus* (who had been declared King of it) he sent a new embassy, with instructions to lay before the Senate of *Carthage* his pretended rights, and to conclude only a treaty of mutual assistance with them. The *Carthaginians* were glad at any rate to draw off *Syracuse* from the *Roman* interest, and readily yielded to the proposals.

Not long after, this foolish King being at *Leontini*, a town situate on the frontiers of his dominions, was there assassinated in the presence of his guards, by some conspirators among his own subjects; an event which promised no great benefit to the *Romans*: for though the *Syracusians*, fond of liberty, seemed much inclined to change the monarchy into a commonwealth, they seemed no less inclined to side with the *Carthaginian* Republic.

C H A P. XXIV.

FIFTH YEAR of the War.

The wise and public spirited conduct of the Romans in several instances. They gain some advantages over Hannibal in Italy, and over King Philip in Greece.

IN *Italy*, the campaign of this year being ended, *Fabius* took the road to *Rome*, to hold the *comitia* by centuries for the new elections. The prudent Consul did not enter the city, but appeared at the assembly in the *Campus Martius*, on the day appointed, in his military habit, and attended by his *Lictors* with their axes as well as fasces. It fell by lot to the tribe of the *Anio*, to vote first, and of this tribe to a century which consisted of the younger men; and the majority of this prerogative century voted to the Consulship, *T. Otacilius* (a relation of the president) and

After the thirty-five tribes were completed, the Centuries, which formed the *centuriata*, were divided among the tribes, and became parts of them; and then in these assemblies it was decided by lot which of the tribes should vote first, and the tribe upon which the lot fell was called the prerogative tribe. Then lots were again cast among the centuries of this prerogative tribe, to determine which of those should vote before the rest; and the Century upon which the lot fell was called the prerogative century, *Rosin.* p. 466.

M. Æmilius

Y. R. 538. *M. Aemilius Regillus*, men, neither of them, of such abilities as the present exigency required. *Fabius* therefore thought fit to interrupt the election, and harangue the assembly. He first excused the irregularity of his proceeding, by the present dangers which threatened the state. He then represented to them the importance of chusing Consuls qualified to enter the lists with *Hannibal*; that *Otacilius* had given no cause to think him equal to that enterprise, not having performed any one thing for which the command of the fleet had, this year, been intrusted to him; and that *Amilius*, as high-priest of *Quirinus*, could not be absent from *Rome*. Romans (he added) *do you name such Consuls as you would wish to be conducted by, if you were this moment to give Hannibal battle. I pronounce, That the prerogative century give their suffrages again. Heralds, proclaim my orders.* *Otacilius* at first made some opposition to this; but the *Lictors* with their axes surrounded him, and soon forced him to silence. Then the prerogative century returned to the voting place, and gave their suffrages for the president himself, *Q. Fabius Verrius* †, surnamed *Cunctator*, or the *Lingerer*; and *Claudius Marcellus* ‡, who was absent; and the other Centuries unanimously followed the example of this. *Rome* had never seen two greater men together at the head of her affairs. And though *Fabius*, by an irregular proceeding, had procured his own continuance in the Consular dignity, against law and custom, yet no one accused him of ambition or tyranny, or of being actuated by any motive but a zeal for his country. The *Romans* were convinced of the necessity of continuing the commanders of their armies more than one year in office; and they now therefore made little alteration in the disposition of military employments.

Livy. B. 34. c. 1. As a law had been made the last year (at the motion of *Oppius*, a tribune of the people) to restrain the luxury of women, forbidding them to wear above half an ounce of gold in toys, and to ride in a chariot within a mile of *Rome*, except to a public sacrifice; so now the Censors, *M. Atilius Regillus*, and *P. Furius Philus*, made a strict enquiry into offences committed by the men, to the detriment of the public. *Cæcilius Metellus* and the other young nobles who with him would in despair have left *Italy* after the battle of *Canne*, those of the ten deputies from the prisoners taken at that battle, who had not returned to *Hannibal* according to their oath, and about 2000 young men of military age who had neglected, without just cause, to enrol themselves for the service, were all degraded. The Senate also decreed that all who were stigmatized by the Censors, should be sent into *Sicily*, and there be obliged to serve on foot, amongst the runaways from the battle of *Canne*, till the war should be at an end. The *Romans* never exerted their virtue and disinterested zeal for their country in a greater degree than in this second *Punic* war; private men voluntarily advanced money for the public works; the masters who had sold their slaves to the Republic, would not accept of payment till the war was ended; scarce a centurion or trooper demanded his

Y. R. 538.
Bel. Chr.
114.

237 Conf.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 8.

Y. R. 539.

Bel. Chr.

213.

238 Conf.

c. 9.

* 4th time.

† 3d time.

* Liv. B.

24. c. 18.

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his pay, and if any one had so little generosity as to receive it from the Quaestor, he became the jest of his legion. Nay the money of the widow and the orphan was freely brought into the treasury, so great was the confidence in the public faith.

Such being the dispositions of the people, the new levies were soon completed. Six legions were added to the twelve already on foot. The *Sicilian* expedition seemed to require the most dispatch: and *Ota-*
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What remained now, was to march the land forces, and begin the campaign in *Italy*. *Hannibal*, who had spent the winter in *Apulia*, returned to his camp on the *Tifata*, at the request of the *Capitans*, who thought their city threatened. He had ordered *Hanno*, with an army of 17,000 foot, and 1200 *Numidian* horse, to come from the country of the *Bruttians* and seize *Beneventum*; but *Sempronius*, with his army of *Volentes*, prevented him, and possessed himself of that defenceless city. From thence he marched to give *Hanno* battle; and to engage his *Volentes* to exert themselves, he promised every man his liberty, who should bring off the head of an enemy. The Senate had given him power to enfranchise whom he pleased. But this promise had like to have ruined his affairs. For though his troops fought bravely at first, they lost much time in cutting off the heads of the enemies they had slain, and the ardour of those who had performed the condition of obtaining their freedom, was immediately abated: so that he was forced to publish a new declaration through all the ranks of his army, *That they should obtain their liberty, unless the Carthaginians were routed*. Hereupon the *Volentes* renewed the fight with impetuosity, and gained so complete a victory, that scarce 2000 of the enemy escaped*. We are told however that 4000 of those legionary slaves did not behave themselves in the battle so well as the rest, and were afraid to pursue the enemy to their camp; and that apprehending punishment for their cowardice, they retired after the action to a hill. *Sempronius* had compassion for their weakness, and sent a Tribune to invite them back: And then, to perform his promise, he pronounced all, without exception, free. Nevertheless, that some distinction might be made between the brave and the cowards, he forbade the latter to eat sitting or lying down, all the time of their service, unless they were sick.

* The reader has been already cautioned concerning *Livy's* tales of Roman victories in this war.

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B. 2. C. In the mean while, *Hannibal* endeavoured to surprize *Puteoli*. Fail-
214. ing in this attempt, he went and pillaged the country about *Naples*.
273 Conf. From thence he moved towards *Nola*, whither the populace (who were
Liv. B. 24. still in his interest, in opposition to their Senate) had invited him. *Mar-*
c. 17. *cellus* being joined by the army from *Suessula* (now under *Q. Pomponius*)
 attacked and killed 2000 of his men, with the loss only of 400; and
 would have entirely ruined him, had *Claudius Nero*, whom the Consul
 had ordered with some squadrons out of *Nola* to make a tour, and fall
 upon the *Carthaginians* in the rear during the action, come up in time.
Marcellus offered *Hannibal* battle again the next day; but the latter
 declined it, decamped the night following, and marched towards *Ta-*
rentum.

He had entertained strong hopes that this city would open her gates to
 him, upon his first appearance before it. Some *Tarentine* prisoners, whom
 he had formerly released without ransom, had engaged a great number
 of the young men of that place in his interest, and these invited him thi-
c. 20. ther. But *M. Livius*, who commanded in the place, took such effectual
 measures to prevent the designs of the factious, that *Hannibal* was again
 disappointed. He quitted the enterprize, and marched towards *Salapia*
 in *Apulia*, where he resolved to spend the winter. Thither he ordered
 corn to be brought from *Lucania*; and his foragers having found in
Apulia about 4000 colts, *Hannibal* ordered them to be broke; and with
 them he remounted his *African* horsemen. These were all his exploits
 during the whole campaign.

But whilst the *Carthaginian* was on his march to *Tarentum*, *Fabius* be-
a. 19. sieged *Casilinum*, and sent to *Marcellus* to come with some legions and
 cover the siege, apprehending an attack from the *Capuans*. The garri-
 son in the place consisted of 2000 *Campanians* and 700 *Carthaginians*;
 and they made so vigorous a defence, that *Fabius*, by the daily slaughter
 of his men, was much discouraged. He would have raised the siege, if
Marcellus had not represented to him, That a wise General should well
 consider all the difficulties of an enterprize before he undertakes it; but that,
 when it is once undertaken, he ought to go through with it: and that to desert
 now from the siege, would much lessen the credit of the Republic among her
 allies. Upon this *Fabius* renews his attacks with more ardour than
 ever; and the *Campanians* were so intimidated by it, that they sent to
 him an offer to quit the place if they might retire in safety to *Ca-*
puta. *Fabius* consented; but *Marcellus* taking his opportunity, before
Plot. life fifty of them were come out of the city, seized the gate, entered the
of Fabius. place, and put all who opposed him to the sword, without distinc-
 tion. The prisoners he sent to *Rome*. After the taking of *Casilinum*,

* This story ill agrees with the character given by the historians of *Marcellus*, but well
 with his, after behaviour at the siege of *Syracuse*.

Marcellus

Marcellus returned to *Nola*, and *Fabius* marched into *Samnium*, laid waste the country, and took several towns.

Hannibal still depended upon his alliance with the king of *Macedonia*, and indeed *Philip* began to draw towards *Italy*. He first besieged *Apollonia*, but not succeeding in this enterprize, he turned his arms against *Oricum*, and took it. The inhabitants sent notice of their misfortune to *Lævinus* at *Brundisium*, who in two days after the news, arrived before the place. The king had left a small garrison in it, and was returned to the siege of *Apollonia*. *Lævinus* easily took *Oricum*, and, while he was there, deputies came to him from the people of *Apollonia*, begging assistance against the *Macedonians*. He sent thither 2000 foot under the command of *Q. Nævius Crissa*, who got into the town without being perceived by the enemy. *Nævius* soon after and finding that the *Macedonian* camp was very negligently guarded, broke into it in the night, and, if his soldiers had obtained from slaughter, might have taken *Philip* prisoner; but the groans of the dying waked others, who carried off the King half naked to his ships. He returned into *Macedon*, and the *Roman* fleet wintered at *Oricum*.

C H A P. XXV.

Transactions in Sicily. The Carthaginian interst prevails in Syracuse. Marcellus besieges it, but soon turns the siege into a blockade.

HANNIBAL made himself some amends for his disappointment on the side of *Macedon*, by the troubles he found means to raise in *Sicily*. *Hippocrates*, and *Epiusdes*, two brothers of *Syracusan* extraction, whom he had sent to conclude the treaty with *Hieronymus*, had worked themselves into that Prince's favour, and, at the time of his death, commanded a body of 2000 *Syracusians*. Upon the news of the King's assassination, these Generals, being abandoned by their soldiers, repaired to *Syracuse*, as thinking this the safest place for them in the present conjuncture. At their arrival they found that the heads of the conspiracy, who were favoured by the people, had come to an accommodation with *Andranodorus*, the late King's uncle-in-law, and chief of the royal party, and that he, *Themistius*, and those leaders, had been chosen Prætors to govern the state with the assistance of a Senate. The two *Hanniballists*, doubtless believing that this change of government had changed the dispositions of the *Syracusians* with respect to *Hannibal*, to prevent all suspicion of their designing to raise disturbances, applied themselves to the Prætors, and by their means obtained an audience of the Senate. They spoke to this effect. "We came hither on the part of *Hannibal* to treat with his friend *Hieronymus*. We have only obeyed the commands of our General, and desire now to return to him; but as our journey is not like to be with safety to our persons,

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Y. 21. 539. the Roman forces so much infesting *Sicily*, we request that we may
 Bel. 213. have a convoy as far as *Lecri* in *Italy*." Their suit was easily obtain-
 238 Conf. ed; for the assembly had no unwillingness to be rid of these Generals of
 the late King, men extremely bold and enterprising, of great ability in
 war, and of narrow fortunes. The Senate however were too dilatory
 in executing their own desires; and the brothers took advantage of the
 delay. Sometimes to the soldiers, with whom they were very intimate
 and familiar, sometimes to the deserters from the *Roman* fleet, and oc-
 casionally to the meanest of the populace, they whispered calumnies
 against the senators and other principal men of the city, accusing them,
 that under colour of renewing the league with *Rome*, they designed to
 betray *Syracuse* to her, in the view, that their own faction, having the
 sole merit of the pretended new alliance, might lord it over the rest.

These rumours being spread and believed, and drawing every day
 crowds of people to *Syracuse*, gave not only *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*,
 but also *Andranodorus*, who at the pressing instances of his ambitious
 wife *Demarata*, the daughter of *Ilicro*, aimed at the royalty, good
 hopes of changing the government, and effecting their several designs.
Andranodorus having concerted his scheme with *Themistus*, the husband of
Harmonia, *Hieronymus*'s sister, unadvisedly imparted the secret to *Aristo*,
 a tragedian, who discovered it to the Prætors. *Aristo*'s profession was
 not dishonourable among the *Greeks*: He was a man well descended,
 and of a good estate, and the Prætors therefore had no reason to reject
 his testimony; and it being confirmed by several corroborating circum-
 stances, they, in concert with some of the oldest senators, placed guard
 at the door of the senate-house, who slew *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* as
 soon as they entered. This extraordinary action, most of the senators
 being ignorant of the cause of it, raised a great commotion and tumult
 in the assembly. *Aristo* put an end to their fears. Being introduced by
 the Prætors, he informed the Senate, "That a plot had been laid to
 cut off all the chiefs of the republic, and to seize ^b *Ortygia* in the
 name of *Andranodorus*, and that this was to have been executed by
 the help of the *Spanish* and *African* mercenaries, who had served
 under *Hieronymus*." He then entered into the particulars of the con-
 spiracy, declaring the names of all the conspirators, and the several
 parts they were to have acted. His evidence obtained full belief, and the
 assembly passed a decree, pronouncing the death of *Andranodorus* and
Themistus no less just than that of *Hieronymus*. In the mean time the
 people without doors had taken the alarm at this proceeding; and it
 was necessary to quiet them. The Senate therefore deputed *Scpatu*, one
 of the Prætors, to harangue the multitude.

This orator began with invectives against *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*,
 as if he had been accusing them at the bar, charging them, as the tur-
 bers and counsellors of *Hieronymus*, with all the injustices, oppressions

^b A well fortified island to the South of *Syracuse*, and joined to the town by a bridge.

and cruelties, committed by the order or authority of that King, and with many other atrocious crimes perpetrated since his death. In the conclusion of his speech he intimated that they had been incited up by their wives, the ambitious daughter and grand-daughter of *Hiero*, to aspire to royalty by the destruction of the people's liberty. At this the whole multitude cried out, that neither of those women ought to live, nor any one of the royal race be suffered to remain on the earth. The Prætors, taking advantage of the people's present fury, immediately put it to the vote, and it was no sooner proposed than carried, *that all who were of the royal family should be destroyed.* In pursuance of this decree certain officers, commissioned by the Prætors, quickly dispatched *Damarata* and *Harmonia*. There was another daughter of *Hiero*, named *Heraclea*, the wife of *Zoippus*, who had been sent ambassador by *Ptolemy* to King *Ptolemy*, and had chosen to continue at the Egyptian court in a voluntary exile from his country, rather than be a spectator of its miseries. This lady with her two daughters the same executioners inhumanly murdered, and with so much expedition, that an express from the magistrates (who on second thoughts relented) came too late to save them. But now the people also began to repent of their own precipitation, and to pity the fate of the dead. Their pity soon turned into rage against the first authors of the cruelty. They furiously called out for an election of Prætors in the room of *Andromedorus* and *Theophilus*; an election that was not like to be to the satisfaction of those already in power.

When, on the day appointed, the assembly was formed, it happened beyond all expectation, that somebody from the farther end of the crowd named *Epicyles*, and another a little after named *Hippocrates*, and straight almost the whole multitude joined their suffrages for these two agents of *Hannibal*. The Republic, being very young, no method was yet settled for voting; all were indifferently admitted into the voting place, citizens, strangers, and Roman deserters. The magistrates in vain opposed the people's choice. Fearing a sedition they gave way to numbers, and *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* were declared Prætors.

The two *Hannibalists* did not immediately discover their intentions. They were much dissatisfied, that deputies had been sent to *Appius Claudius* to renew the ancient alliance between *Rome* and *Syracuse*, yet they thought it best to conceal their dissatisfaction till a more favourable opportunity should present to embroil affairs. *Appius* was then at *Murgatta* with a fleet of a hundred ships, waiting to see what the revolutions among the *Syracusians* would produce.

At *Rome* it had been resolved, from the apprehension that a dangerous war might arise in *Sicily*, to send the Consul *Marcellus* to take upon him the direction of affairs in that island. He was just arrived in his province; and *Appius* referred the *Syracusan* deputies to him for a final answer. The Consul approving the conditions, dispatched ambassadors

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to conclude the treaty with the Prætors at *Syracuse*. But those ambassadors found the state of things there very different from what they had expected. A *Cartaginian* fleet had appeared off *Cape Pachynum*, and *Hippocrates*, and *Epicydes* had laid hold of this advantage to attempt something in favour of *Carthage*, by infusing anew into the minds of the people a jealousy of the Partisans of *Rome*, a suspicion of their intending to betray *Syracuse* to the *Romans*. This jealousy was the more readily entertained, as *Appius* to encourage the *Roman* party in the town was come with his fleet to the mouth of the port. The populace ran tumultuously to hinder the *Romans* from landing in case they should attempt it.

In the perplexity occasioned by these commotions, the magistrates thought it proper to call an assembly of the people. The multitude were for some time divided in opinion. At length *Apollonides*, one of the chief citizens, with great calmness, and as a man unbiassed by any private or party views, represented to them "the necessity of unanimously adhering to the one or the other of the rival Republics. The choice, he said, was of much less importance than unanimity in choosing: yet in his opinion, they had more encouragement to follow the example of *Ihero* than of *Hieronimus*, and to prefer a treaty with *Rome*, whose friendship they had happily experienced for 50 years, to the uncertain advantages of an alliance with *Carthage*, who, in times past, had not proved very faithful to her engagements. Nor was it a consideration of small moment, that they must have immediate peace with the *Romans*, or immediate war with them; whereas should they reject the friendship of the *Cartaginians*, a war with them might yet be at a great distance." The more dispassionate *Apollonides* appeared, the greater weight his advice had with the people; and as they were in no condition to support a war with *Rome*, it was in conclusion agreed, that the treaty with that Republic should be renewed, and a deputation sent to *Marcellus* for that purpose.

A few days after, the *Leontines* having demanded of the *Syracusians* a body of troops to defend their frontiers, the government thought this a favourable opportunity to get rid of a multitude of soldiers and officers, who were very turbulent in the city; and it was determined that *Hippocrates* should march to the assistance of the *Leontines* at the head of 4000 men, most of them deserters or mercenaries. This Prætor, glad of an opportunity to create disturbances, readily accepted the commission, and soon after his arrival among the *Leontines*, began to make stolen incursions into the *Roman* province, laying waste the country. *Appius*, informed of these hostilities, sent a body of soldiers to protect his allies. Those troops *Hippocrates* openly attacked, and put most of them to the sword. Hereupon *Marcellus* ordered deputies to *Syracuse* to complain of the infraction of the treaty, and to remonstrate, that a firm and lasting peace between *Rome* and *Syracuse*, was not to be hoped for so long as

Hippocrates

Hippocrates and *Epicydes* continued in *Sicily*. The latter, fearing to be accused in the absence of his brother, and desirous of having some share in exciting a war, repaired in all haste to *Leontini*. There, in conjunction with *Hippocrates*, he represented to the inhabitants, "that *Syracuse*, while she provided for her own liberty, had expressly covenanted with the *Romans*, that she should have dominion over all the cities formerly subject to *Hieronymus*: But that the *Leontines* had as good a right to liberty as *Syracuse*; and that they ought therefore to refuse acceding to her treaty with *Rome*, unless that covenant were taken out of it." The multitude was easily persuaded; so that when deputies from *Syracuse* complained of the slaughter made of the *Roman* troops, and desired the *Leontines* would concur with the *Syracusans*, to banish *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* out of the island, the citizens haughtily answered, "that they had given no commission to the *Syracusans* to make a peace for them with *Rome*, nor were they bound by a treaty concluded without their participation." The *Syracusans* acquainted *Marcellus* with this answer, and at the same time declared, that they would not only adhere steadily to their engagements with the *Romans*, but would join with them in besieging *Leontini*, on condition that this city, after its reduction, were restored to the dominion of *Syracuse*. *Marcellus* agreed to the proposal, assembled all his forces, sent for the Prætor *Appius* to come to his assistance, and prepared to attack *Leontini*.

About this time, a great company of those *Roman* soldiers who had fled from the battle of *Cannæ*, and who had been condemned, by a decree of the Senate, to serve in a separate corps in *Sicily* as long as the war should last in *Italy*, came, with the permission of their commander *Fortulus*, and earnestly begged of the Consul to be incorporated in his legions. *Marcellus* wrote to *Rome* in their favour: The Consular Fathers returned answer, that it was their opinion, the Republic ought not to put any confidence in the courage of soldiers who had deserted their companions at the battle of *Cannæ*; yet if *Marcellus* thought otherwise, he might act in this matter as he pleased, provided none of them received any military rewards, or were suffered to return to *Italy* before the end of the war.

Leontini was taken upon the first assault, but *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* made their escape to *Erbesfus*. A body of 3000 Men from *Erbesfus*, under the command of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, marching to join *Marcellus*, were met at the river *Mylos*, by a man who told them, that *Leontini* had been sacked, and all, without distinction, able to bear arms, put to the sword. This false story (occasioned by the execution of 2000 deserters, whom *Marcellus* had taken in the place) made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail with them to proceed to *Leontini*, but were forced to turn aside and lead them to *Megara*. From this place the Prætors marched them soon,

Y. P. 119. overturned them: Inſomuch that the *Romans* were utterly diſcouraged,
 B. 4. Ch. 213. and *Marcellus* obliged to remove to a further diſtance. It was reſolved
 238 Conf. in a council of war, to attack the place no more, but ſhut up all the
 avenues of it, in order to reduce it by famine.

C H A P. XXVI.

SIXTH YEAR of the War.

The Roman arms proſper in Italy. Syphax a Numidian King is gained by the Scipios to make war upon the Carthaginians in Africa. The blockade of Syracuſe is continued, while Marcellus reduces ſome other towns in Sicily.

Y. R. 545. A T Rome, Q. Fabius Maximus, the ſon of Fabius Cunctator, and
 Liv. Ch. 239. T. Sempronius Gracchus, were choſen Conſuls for the new year,
 239 Conf. and appointed, in concert with the Prætorian armies in Italy, to conduct
 the war againſt *Hannibal*. *Marcellus* continued in Sicily, and had the
 government of the country formerly ſubject to *Hiero*. *Lentulus*, with
 the title of Pro-Prætor, commanded the Roman province in that iſland,
 and T. Otacilius Crefſus guarded the coaſt with his fleet. The two
Scipios, *Lævinus* and *Servilius* managed the affairs of Rome in the re-
 ſpective countries of Spain, Greece and Sardinia. And the Republic
 employed this year, in her ſeveral armies, twenty-one Roman legions,
 beſides the troops of her allies.

All the regulations neceſſary for beginning the campaign being diſ-
 patched, young *Fabius* ſet out from Rome, and took upon him the com-
 mand of the army at *Sueſſula*. His father ſerved under him.

Liv. B. 24. C. 45. While the *Fabii* continued here, *Decius Altinus*, one of the chief
 men of *Arpi*, who had engaged that city to revolt to *Hannibal*, came
 and offered, for a reward, to reſtore it into the hands of its former
 maſters. The affair being brought before a council, ſome were for
 treating the villain as *Camilius* had treated the ſchool-maſter of *Palerii*;
 but old *Fabius* repreſented to them, that though ſuch traitors ought never
 to be truſted as friends, yet in the preſent circumſtances of the Republic,
 no diſcouragement ſhould be given to thoſe of the rebels who were diſ-
 poſed to return to their former obedience; and he adviſed, that *Altinus*
 ſhould only be kept in an eaſy confinement till the end of the war, when
 it would be time enough to judge whether he had made ſufficient amends
 for his revolt. This advice was followed, and the traitor ſent to *Calva*,
 where in the day-time he was ſuffered to walk abroad with a guard, but
 confined cloſe priſoner at night. As ſoon as he was miſſed at *Arpi*, the
 inhabitants ſent notice of it to *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* was in
 no manner of pain at the news; he had long conſidered *Altinus*, as a
 man

man in whom he could place no confidence, and was glad of this pretext to seize his riches, which were very great. But that he might appear to act rather from the motive of revenge than avarice, he lent for the wife and children of *Altinius*, and having put them to the torture, partly to discover the traitor's designs, but chiefly to learn what money he had left behind him; he ordered them to be burnt alive.

V. R. 540.
B. C. 11.
212.
239 Conf.

The *Fabii* opened the campaign with an assault upon *Arpi*, in which was a garrison of 5000 men. The *Romans* in a dark rainy night surprised and entered the place on the strongest side, where it was least guarded. Nevertheless the garrison, assisted by 3000 of the townsmen, whom, through suspicion of them, they placed in the front, made a stout defence. At length the citizens, and, after their example, 1000 *Spaniards*, went over to the *Romans*. The *Spaniards*, according to *Livy*, bargained that the rest of the garrison should have leave to depart in safety, which they accordingly did, and joined *Hannibal* at *Salapia*.

In the mean time 112 of the chief men of *Capua* having, under the pretext of pillaging the enemy's lands, got permission to leave the town, went to the *Roman* camp above *Suessula*, and yielded themselves to the Pretor *Fulvius*, upon a promise of being restored to their estates, when *Capua* should be reduced to the obedience of the Republic.

Nothing further of great moment happened in *Italy* this campaign. The Pretor *Sempronius Tuditanus* took *Aternum* by assault, and in it 7000 prisoners, and a good deal of money. *Sempronius* the Consul had several slight skirmishes with the enemy in *Lucania*, and reduced a few towns, but none of any note. Two petty nations of *Bruttium* returned to their former obedience. *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* defeated a Præfect of the *Roman* allies in that country, and cut off almost all his army, which consisted of raw undisciplined men. *Hannibal* marched from *Salapia* to *Tarentum*, in hopes of having that city betrayed to him. He spent the summer near it to very little purpose, only some inconsiderable towns of the *Salentini* revolted to him.

Liv. B. 24.
c. 47.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 1.

In *Spain*, the two *Scipios* not only made considerable progress there, but extended their views even to *Africa*. They engaged *Syphax* King of *Masæsia* (the western part of *Numidia*) to take arms against *Carthage*: And *Statorius*, one of the three officers, whom the *Scipios* had sent upon the negotiation, continued with the *Numidian* King at his request, to discipline his troops. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the motions of the *Masæsian*, prevailed with *Gala* King of *Masæsia* (the eastern part of *Numidia*, and the nearest to their territory) to join with them, to divert the threatened storm. *Gala* gave the command of his forces to his son *Masiniissa*, a youth of about 17 years of age, who, in conjunction with the *Carthaginian* army, defeated *Syphax* in a great battle, and slew 30,000 of his men. The vanquished King retired into *Mauritania*, and made new levies there, intending to pass the streights, and join the *Scipios* in *Spain*: But *Masiniissa* following him close,

Liv. B. 24.
c. 48.

Y. R. 540. kept him so employed in *Africa*, that he had not leisure to cross the
 Bef. Chr. seas.

212.
 239 Conf.

Liv. B. 24.
 c. 35.

In the mean while the blockade of *Syracuse* continued. *Marcellus*, not thinking all his forces necessary for that purpose, left two thirds of the army before the place under the command of *Appius Claudius*, and marched with the remainder, to reduce some towns of *Sicily* which had gone over to the *Carthaginians*. *Pelorus* and *Erbesus* surrendered to him, and *Megara* he took by force and plundered. About this time *Himilco* arrived from *Africa*, with an army of 25,000 foot, 3000 horse, and 12 elephants, and soon made himself master of *Heraclea* and *Agri- gentum*. Upon this news, *Hippocrates* left his brother *Epitydes* to command in *Syracuse*, and sallying out of the town with 10,000 foot and 500 horse, broke through the *Roman* lines in the night, and marched to join *Himilco*. This detachment *Marcellus* surprized, as they were pitching their camp near *Acrille*, and he cut in pieces the infantry: But *Hippocrates* escaped with the cavalry, and, joining *Himilco*, turned against the Pro-Consul, in hopes of overtaking him before he could reach his camp at *Syracuse*. Disappointed in this expectation, and not daring to attack *Marcellus* in his entrenchments, the *Carthaginian* Generals employed their forces to reduce the *Sicilian* cities that were in the interest of *Rome*. *Murgantia* opened her gates to them, and betrayed the *Roman* garrison into their hands. *L. Pinarius*, the Governor of *Enna*, dreading the like fate, massacred all the inhabitants of that town, and pillaged it. *Marcellus* approved the fact, and granted the plunder of *Enna* to the soldiers of the garrison. The news of this barbarity, committed in a city held in great veneration all over the island, and sacred to *Proserpine* (whom *Pluto* was said to have carried off from that neighbourhood) alienated the minds of the *Sicilians* from *Rome*; and many of their towns embraced the party of the *Carthaginians*. Winter approaching, *Marcellus*, having dismissed *Appius Claudius*, who had a mind to stand for the Consulship, gave the command both of the fleet and the army before *Syracuse* to *Quintius Crispinus*, and took up his own quarters about five miles from the town.

Liv. B. 25.
 c. 1.

During these transactions in *Sicily*, all was peaceable at *Rome*. Only religion suffered by the introduction of foreign Gods and foreign rites, which the superstition of a multitude of people from the country, driven by poverty and fear to shelter themselves in *Rome*, had, in this uncertain state of things, made them prone to receive. Foreign priests and diviners had dispersed among them books, containing prophecies, forms of prayer, and particular methods of sacrificing. The antient worship was almost forgot. It seemed, says *Livy*, as if a new set of Gods were, on a sudden, come into being; or that a new species of men was risen. The evil became at length so general, that the *Conscrip't Fathers* were forced to interpose. The *Prætor* having assembled the people, read to them a decree of the Senate, and, in conformity thereto, his own edict; which

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which commanded all persons, who had books of divination or prayers, or containing instructions about the rites of sacrifices, to bring them to him before the first of April; and forbid all persons to offer sacrifice in public, or in any sacred place whatsoever, according to any new or foreign ceremonies. Thus were the innovations suppressed, and religion settled again upon the ancient footing.

Y. R. 440.
Bef. Chr.
212.
239 Conf.

C H A P. XXVII.

SEVENTH and EIGHTH YEARS of the War.

The city of Tarentum betrayed to Hannibal. He besieges the citadel.

Capua besieged by the Romans.

Syracuse taken by Marcellus.

Hannibal marches into the neighbourhood of Rome; retires thence; defeats a Roman army; and marches to Rhegium.

Capua surrenders to the Romans.

They gain some advantages over King Philip in Greece.

THE time for the elections drawing on, and the present Consuls being both engaged abroad in the war, one of them nominated *C. Claudius Centho* Dictator, to hold the *Comitia*. And there *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, were chosen Consuls for the new year. It was thought fit to add two legions to the twenty-one already on foot; a surprising multitude of soldiers, to be all raised out of the citizens of Rome, and exclusive of the troops of the allies, which were at least as numerous as the Roman legionaries! But the making these new levies was interrupted; and the departure of the Consuls delayed for some time, by an incident, which revived the hatred of the people to the publicans.

Y. R. 541.
Bef. Chr.
211.
240 Conf.

Liv. B. 25.
c. 3.

It has been observed before, that the publicans undertook to supply the Roman armies in Spain with provisions; and the Senate had agreed to indemnify them, in case of losses at sea. *Posthumius*, an avaricious wretch, took advantage of this condition to practise rogueries, and impose upon the public. He placed to their account many shipwrecks which had never happened; he also put small quantities of goods of little value on board old shattered vessels; which, after he had brought off the seamen in boats ready for that purpose, he sunk; and then pretended the cargoes had been extremely rich. By this means he made his losses run very high, and demanded great sums in consideration of them. But his knavery was at length discovered, and two Tribunes of the people threatened to have him fined 200,000 asses of brass: in order to which they cited him to appear and take his trial before the *Comitia* by

645l. 16s. 1
8d. Ar.
buthnot.

Tribes.

V. E. 147.
Bef. Chr.
211.
140 Conf.

Liv. B.
25. c. 3.

Tribes... Hereupon the friends of the accused applied themselves to *Servilius Casca*, a relation of *Posthumius*, and one of the Tribunes: But *Casca* not daring, through shame and fear of the people, to protect against the proceedings of his colleagues, the publicans, who were all interested in the affair, had recourse to violence, and insulted both the people and their magistrates. And they were just ready to come to blows, when the Consul *Fulvius* said to the Tribunes of the commons, *You see how little respect is shewn to your persons. If you do not dissolve the assembly, the affair will end in sedition*; the Tribunes followed his advice; and, being afterwards authorised by the Senate, changed the nature of the process, and made the affair capital. *Posthumius*, and the other publicans who assisted him in the riot, were cited to appear as criminals before the *Comitia by Centuries*. Some were dragged to prison, for want of the sureties required of them; others went into a voluntary banishment; *Posthumius* left his bail and fled; and *Rome* was delivered from a gang of bold and avaricious villains.

Polyb. B. 8.
c. 19.
Liv. B. 25.
c. 8.

In the end of the winter *Hannibal* had surprized *Tarentum*. The inhabitants of this place had long been disaffected to the Republic, and lately provoked by the cruel execution of some hostages, they had sent to *Rome*, and who had attempted to make their escape. Thirteen of the principal citizens entered into a plot to deliver up the city to the *Carthaginian*. *Nico* and *Philomenus* were at the head of them. They made hunting their pretence for night-excursions. The game they brought home, and with which they furnished the table of *Livius*, the commander of the *Roman* garrison, pleased him so much, that without the least suspicion he allowed them the liberty of going out and coming in at pleasure. By this means the conspirators had frequent conferences with *Hannibal*, and having engaged him to promise, *That when he should become master of Tarentum, the inhabitants should enjoy their laws, liberties, and estates, without infringement; that they should not be subject to pay any tribute, or to receive a Carthaginian garrison, without their own consent; and that the effects of the Romans only should be given up as free booty to his troops*, they undertook to bring him into the town. *Hannibal* was at the distance of three days march from *Tarentum*, and feigned himself sick in his camp, that his long stay there might not occasion suspicion. At length *Philomenus* gave him notice, that a favourable opportunity offered to put their project in execution. The *Carthaginian* came away with a detachment of 10,000 men, and concealed himself in a valley fifteen miles from the city. Hither *Philomenus* brought him word, that the next night the *Roman* Governor was to be at an entertainment, and would probably drink to excess; and that when he was fast asleep, it would be the proper time for the attempt.

All preparations being made by the conspirators, both within and without the city, *Hannibal*, conducted by *Philomenus*, approached the walls about midnight. The *Carthaginian*, then giving a part of his forces

forces to the *Tarentine*, silently drew near with the rest to the gate *Temenides*, and gave the appointed signal to *Nico*, who at the head of his party in the town, without much noise made himself master of the gate, slew the guard, and admitted the *Carthaginians*. The General, for the greater security in case of accidents, left 2000 horse without the gate, and advancing with the rest of his troops into the Forum, took possession of it. In the mean time, *Philomenus* had marched with 1000 *Africans* to another gate, at which he used to be admitted when he returned from hunting. He was followed by two young men carrying a wild boar of an enormous size, and when the wicket was opened, and the centinel upon guard stood examining the beast, *Philomenus* ran him through with a hunting spear. Then 30 *Carthaginians* entered in an instant, broke down the gate, and let in their companions, who, as had been agreed upon, joined *Hannibal* in the Forum. After this the general seized the principal posts in the town, sent parties of men into the different quarters, and with each of them several of the conspirators. His view in this was, that the inhabitants might be distinguished and preserved, while all the *Romans* were put to the sword. To draw these out the more effectually, some men, prepared on purpose, sounded a charge in the theatre with *Roman* trumpets, and after the *Roman* manner. The slaughter continued all that night and part of the next day; but *Livius* with his domestics, in the beginning of the tumult, escaped in a bark to the citadel, which was strongly fortified, and where all that remained of the garrison took refuge.

In order to secure the *Tarentines* against all attacks from the *Romans*, *Hannibal* proposed to cast up a rampart over-against the wall of the citadel, and as he knew the enemy would endeavour to hinder the work, he prepared to receive them. The rampart was no sooner begun, than the *Romans* made a vigorous sally. *Hannibal* defended himself but faintly till he observed that the greatest part of the garrison was got over their ditch: when falling furiously upon them, he drove them with such slaughter within their walls that they did not think proper to attack him a second time; and he had leisure to carry on his works. Besides the rampart abovementioned, he ordered a ditch to be drawn, and another rampart to be raised upon the brink of it, and within that a wall, so that the inhabitants might, without the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, easily defend their town against all attempts from the citadel. Having left a part of his troops to finish and guard the works, in conjunction with the *Tarentines*, he encamped with the rest of his army on the banks of the *Eurctas* (otherwise called *Galesus*) five miles from the city. When the fortifications were completed, he returned and besieged the citadel in form; but the garrison having received a reinforcement from *Metapontus*, a *Roman* city on the gulph of *Tarentum*, sallied out, burned his machines in the night, and made him lay aside the thoughts of reducing the place by assault.

However,

Y. R. 541.
Bel. Chr.
211.
240 Cons.

However, it was necessary to secure the *Tarentines* a free passage to the sea, which was at present cut off by the citadel, that stood at the entrance of the port. No vessel could safely go out, or come in; and this made the *Tarentines* apprehend a scarcity of provisions. *Hannibal*, who was not to be discouraged by difficulties, formed a scheme (which the antients have much admired) to remedy this evil. There were a good number of ships in the haven of *Tarentum*; and he caused them to be transported to the sea by land, on carriages made for that purpose. These vessels anchored before the mouth of the haven; so that the citadel, which before commanded the sea, could now receive no provisions that way; and the city was supplied. After this, *Hannibal* returned to his winter quarters, leaving the citadel blocked up by sea and land.

The Consuls *Fulvius* and *Appius*, when their affairs at *Rome* were dispatched, took the field, and marched with joint forces into *Samnium*. As the *Capuans* expected to be besieged by them, and began already to feel the miseries of famine (for the *Roman* armies had not permitted them to sow their lands) they sent a deputation to *Hannibal*, then near *Tarentum*, to beg he would order them a supply of corn from the towns in their neighbourhood, while the roads were yet open. The *Cartbaginian* sent *Hanno* with an army from *Bruttium* to their relief. *Hanno* having pitched his camp near *Beneventum*, gave notice to the *Capuans*, to send their waggons to fetch the corn, which he had collected for them in vast quantities. So indolent and lazy were these effeminate wretches, that they sent but four hundred carts, and a few mules. The *Cartbaginian* could not forbear expressing his indignation at such intolerable negligence, and fixed a day when a greater number of carriages should come to remove the rest of the corn. In the mean time the Consuls had notice of what was doing, from the people of *Beneventum*; and *Fulvius* with his troops marched thither with all expedition. He entered the town in the night, and the next morning appeared by break of day before the enemy's camp, while *Hanno* was absent foraging with a part of his army. Two thousand *Caphan* carts were arrived there, and the carters and peasants mixing with the soldiers caused a good deal of disorder. Nevertheless, as the camp was situated upon an ascent, it was very difficult to take it by assault; the *Roman* soldiers signalized their bravery on this occasion, beyond the expectation of their General, who was for quitting the enterprise, or at least suspending it, till his colleague should come to his assistance. One *Vibius*, who commanded a cohort of the *Peligni*, and, after his example, *Pedanius* a Centurion of the third *Roman* legion, threw each a standard over the enemy's rampart, to excite the soldiers to recover them. The stratagem succeeded, the *Cartbaginian* entrenchments were forced, and the slaughter was great. As for *Hanno*, having lost his camp, he was forced to return to *Bruttium* with the remainder of his army; and the *Capuans* sent a new deputation to *Hannibal*, to press him to come to their assistance, being now
more

Liv. B. 25.
c. 13.

c. 14.

more than ever apprehensive of a siege. The *Carthaginian* answered, that he would take care of *Capua*; and for the present sent them 2000 horse to defend their territory from the enemy's incursions. He had still hopes of reducing the citadel of *Tarentum* by famine; but a convoy of provisions having forced its way through the *Tarentine* galleys, entered the place, and disappointed his expectations. His design upon *Thurium* succeeded better. *Hanno* and *Mago* defeated the *Prætor Atinius*, who sallied out of the place; after which, the inhabitants opened their gates to the conquerors. The *Metapontines* also, when left by the *Roman* garrison, which went to the relief of the citadel of *Tarentum*, submitted to the *Carthaginians*.

During these things, the Consuls entered the territory of *Capua* with a design to besiege the city in form; and believing undoubtedly, that *Hannibal* would come to its relief, they ordered *Sempronius Græccus* to leave *Lucania*, and draw near to *Capua*, with his horse and light armed infantry, that they might be the better able to withstand the enemy's cavalry. *Sempronius* having left his legions under the command of *Cn. Cornelius*, his *Quæstor*, was preparing for his march, when one *Flavius*, a *Lucanian*, and hitherto zealous in the *Roman* interest, changed his inclinations on a sudden, and in order to recommend himself to the *Carthaginians*, betrayed the *Pro-Consul* to them. He pretended to *Sempronius*, that the heads of the *Carthaginian* faction in *Lucania* were disposed to a reconciliation with the Republic, and only desired a private conference with him. The *Roman*, not suspecting any deceit, suffered himself, attended only by his lictors and a troop of horse, to be led by the traitor into an ambush, where *Mago* with a body of *Carthaginians* surrounded them; and then *Flavius* went over to the enemy. The *Pro-Consul*, seeing himself betrayed, dismounted, and wrapping his left arm in his paludamentum, for want of a buckler, rushed sword in hand to the place where he saw *Flavius*, in hopes to kill the traitor before he fell himself; but he perished in the attempt, though the *Carthaginians* endeavoured to take him alive. The body of this brave *Pro-Consul* was carried to *Hannibal's* camp, who erected a funeral pile for him, and did honour to his memory.

While the Consuls were pillaging the country about *Capua*, *Mago* with his cavalry and some of the *Capuans* fell upon the *Romans*, of whom he slew 1500. Upon this news *Hannibal* advanced towards the city and offered battle to the enemy. *Appius* and *Fulvius* accepted the challenge, and the engagement was begun, to the disadvantage of the *Romans*, when *Cn. Cornelius* appeared with the *Volones* which had been commanded by *Sempronius*. Each side apprehending, that assistance was coming to the other, immediately sounded a retreat. The Consuls, to draw *Hannibal* from *Capua*, decamped in the night, divided their armies, and marched the one into *Lucania* and the other towards *Cume*. The *Carthaginian* next day set out for *Lucania* in pursuit of *Appius*, who had

V. R. 511.
B.C. Chr.
211.
220 Cons.

had taken that road, but the latter, fetching a compass, returned by another way to the neighbourhood of *Capua*. There happened to be at this time in *Lucania* one *M. Centenius Penula*, who by the credit of the Prætor *Cornelius Scylla*, and by promising great things, had obtained of the Senate the command of a body of 8000 men, which he had increased to near double that number. *Hannibal*, missing the Consul *Appius*, turned his arms against *Centenius*, entirely defeated him, and cut off almost all his whole army. The *Carthaginian* then marched into *Apulia*, and attacked the Prætor *Fulvius*, who commanded 18,000 men in that country. The victory was complete, 16,000 of the *Romans* being slain, and their camp taken. And to add to the misfortunes of the present campaign, the *Volones* disbanded themselves. Notwithstanding these discouragements the Consuls were busy at *Cosillimum*, preparing all things necessary for the siege of *Capua*. They sent for the Prætor *Claudius Nero*, with the forces he commanded at *Suessula*; and the three Generals with their united armies besieged *Capua* in form.

Livy, B. 25.
. 23. & 24.

During this siege, *Marcellus* made himself master of *Syracuse*. He took the opportunity of a festival, when the soldiers and citizens had drunk plentifully, to make a detachment scale the walls of *Tyche*, in that part of it which was nearest to *Epipolæ*, and which was ill guarded^a. He presently after possessed himself of *Epipolæ*; whereupon the inhabitants of *Neapolis*, as well as *Tyche*, sent deputies to him, and submitted. *Marcellus* granted life and liberty to all of free condition, but gave up those quarters of the city to be plundered.

Notwithstanding this, there was a great deal yet to do. *Acbradina* and *Ortygia*, which were strongly fortified, still held out; *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* arrived with their troops to the relief of the besieged; and the *Romans* were forced to exert all their bravery and skill to maintain the advantages they had gained.

But now a plague made terrible havock in both armies. At the first breaking out of the pestilence, the *Sicilius*, who served under *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, disbanded themselves, and returned to their respective homes; but all the *Carthaginian* soldiers perished, together with those two Generals. The *Romans* suffered less by the infection, because, having been a long time before *Syracuse*, they were seasoned to the air and water of the country.

About this time *Bomilcar* arrived on the coast of *Sicily* from *Carthage* with a fleet of 130 galleys and 700 ships of burden, but was long hindered by contrary winds from doubling the cape of *Pachynum*. *Epicyles*, fearing the *Carthaginian* might sail back to *Africa*, left the command of *Acbradina* to the Generals of the mercenaries, and went

^a Though this account be taken from *cellus* into *Syracuse* by night. *Liv.* B. 26. *Livy*, yet he afterwards tells us, in two or three places, that *Sofis* a Brazier let *Mar-* c. 21, 30 and 31.

to *Bomilcar*, in order to persuade him to fight the *Roman* fleet. The Admiral would not engage, but sailed away to *Tarentum* with all his galleys, ordering his ships of burden to return to *Africa*. *Epycides*, thus frustrated of his hopes, and knowing himself unable to defend a city already half taken, retired to *Agrigentum*; whereupon the *Syracusians* massacred the commanders appointed by him, chose new Prætors to govern in the town, and sent deputies to *Marcellus* to treat of peace. In the mean time the deserters, fearing to be given up to the vengeance of the *Romans*, persuaded the mercenaries that they also would have the same fate. Instantly the soldiers ran to arms, put to death the new Prætors, together with many of the *Syracusians*, and plundered part of the city. After this slaughter, they chose six Generals, three to command in *Acradina*, and three in *Ortygia*. Upon the return of the deputies from *Marcellus*, the mercenaries finding that their case was different from that of the deserters, and that there was no design against their lives, became perfectly satisfied, and the negotiation went on. During the course of the treaty, *Marcellus* found means to corrupt *Mericus*, a *Spaniard*, one of the six Generals chosen by the soldiers, and engaged him to admit the *Romans* into that part of the city where he commanded. *Mericus*, the better to accomplish this design, feigned an extraordinary zeal for the preservation of the place; pretended not to like, that deputies should have leave to go out and in at pleasure; and proposed, that for the greater security of the town, each General should have a distinct quarter assigned him, and be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. The motion was agreed to, and, upon the division, that district of *Ortygia*, which extended from the fountain of *Aretbusa* to the mouth of the great port, fell to his care. *Marcellus*, informed of what was done, took his measures accordingly. He sent a body of troops to that side where *Mericus* commanded, and the *Spaniard* admitted them at the gate of *Aretbusa*. At the same time the Pro-Consul ordered a false attack to be made on *Acradina*, which drawing almost all the soldiers of the garrison thither, *Ortygia* was in a manner left defenceless. Foreseeing this, he had detached another party of soldiers to take advantage of it. These entered *Ortygia* almost without fighting; upon which the deserters made their escape, the *Romans* giving them way; and the *Syracusians* in *Acradina*, thus delivered from the fear of the deserters, immediately opened their gates to *Marcellus*, who thereby became master of the whole city.

And now the conqueror, who is said to have wept, during the siege, with compassion for the inhabitants, gave up both *Ortygia*, and *Acradina*, to be plundered by his army, after he had secured the late king's treasures for the use of his Republic, and the statues, paintings, and principal ornaments of *Syracuse* to illustrate his triumph. The soldiers had orders to spare the lives of the citizens; but they were cruel in their avarice, slew many of them, and, among the rest, the incomparable *Archimedes*.

Y. R. 541. He was very intent on a demonstration in geometry, and calmly draw-
 Bet. Chr. ing his lines, when a soldier entered the room and clapped a sword to his
 211. throat. "Hold! (said *Archimedes*) One moment, and my demonstration
 240 Conf. "will be finished." But the soldier, equally regardless of his prayer and
 Plut. life his demonstration, killed him instantly. There are different accounts of
 of Marcellus. the manner of his death; but all agree, that *Marcellus* regretted it extremely, and shewed singular favour to his relations for his sake.

The consular year being ready to expire, the Senate ordered, that one of the Consuls should come from *Capua* to hold the *Comitia* for the great elections. *App. Claudius* repaired to *Rome*, and presided in the assembly, which transferred the fasces to *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*. *Apulia* was to be their province; while the late Consuls were in quality of Pro-Consuls to continue the siege of *Capua*. But as these proposed to reduce the place rather by famine than force, they turned the siege into a blockade.

X. R. 542. At *Rome*, *Cn. Fulvius*, the late Prætor, was called to account for
 Bet. Chr. the defeat he had suffered in *Apulia*. One of the Tribunes of the people cited him to appear before the *Comitia*, purposing only to get him fined for his cowardice and ill-conduct. When the witnesses came to be examined, the charge appeared so heavy, that all the people cried out, *The process ought to be made capital*; and a day was appointed for the trial. *Fulvius* sent to his brother, the Pro-Consul before *Capua*, urging him to come to *Rome* and employ all his credit to avert the impending storm. The Pro-Consul would willingly have complied; but the *Conscript Fathers* thinking it a case wherein the publick interest was greatly concerned, absolutely refused him leave to come: So that the accused, having no hopes, went into exile without waiting for his sentence; and the *Comitia*, after his departure, condemned him to banishment.

In the mean time the *Capuans*, greatly distressed for want of provisions, sent a messenger to acquaint *Hannibal* with their present situation. A *Numidian* horseman had the address to pass undiscovered through the *Romans* in the night, and carried the message to the *Cartaginian* General. Upon this advice, leaving the greatest part of his baggage behind him, he marched away with all expedition, arrived before *Capua*, and pitched his camp near the *Roman* entrenchments. At first he endeavoured by skirmishes to provoke the enemy to a battle, but this not succeeding, he almost besieged them in their camp, frequently assaulting it with bodies of infantry, which relieved one another, while some troops of horse covered them, and threw darts upon the enemy. All his attempts to draw the *Romans* to a battle, or to break into the town, proved ineffectual: Nor was it possible for him to stay long in the neighbourhood of *Capua* for want of forage; because the enemy, foreseeing his coming, had ruined the country all around. Add to this, that there being several armies in the field against

Polyb. l. 9.
 c. 3. & seq.

he feared lest they should join and attack him, or cut off his provisions, and so reduce him to extremities. Convinced that it was impracticable to raise the siege by force, he formed a design, much extolled by the antient writers. He resolved to leave his camp silently, march with all expedition, and appear before the walls of *Rome*. By this means, he hoped the affright of the citizens might produce some accident in his favour, perhaps might give him an opportunity of surprizing the town: If that should not happen, the Pro-Consuls, he thought, would either quit the blockade of *Capua*, or at least divide their army, and send a part of it to the defence of the capital. In this last case he did not doubt but he should have an easy victory, both over those that staid before *Capua*, and those that marched away. Before he put this scheme in execution, he took care to acquaint the besieged with his intention, lest upon his departure they should in despair surrender the town. Every thing being ready for his expedition, he set out in the night, and, to deceive the enemy, left fires burning in his camp. Having marched through *Sannium*, he crossed the *Anio*, and pitched his camp within five miles of *Rome*, designing to attack the city next day, if practicable. The *Romans*, terrified at his approach, for he had never been so near their walls before, at first imagined he had made his way thither by the slaughter of their army at *Capua*. Their fears however did not lessen their resolution; and it happened luckily for them that the Consuls had already raised one legion, which was to rendezvous at *Rome* that very day, and had also called together the citizens in order to select from amongst them another legion: By which means there was very seasonably a great concourse of men in the town. *Sulpicius* and *Fulvius*, the Consuls, marched out with an army, and encamped before the walls. *Hannibal* seeing the *Romans* prepared to make a stout defence, lost all hopes of being able to take the town, and therefore fell to pillaging the country. The Consuls boldly advanced, and encamped within ten furlongs of him. The *Carthaginian*, to secure his booty and execute the remaining part of his scheme, decamped in the night, and passed the *Anio* at a ford, the bridges being all broken down. In his passage he was attacked by the *Romans*, and though the *Numidians*, and the rest of his cavalry, covered his retreat, so that he suffered no great loss, yet the enemy regained a part of the spoil, and took about three hundred prisoners. *Sulpicius* and *Fulvius*, thinking that *Hannibal* fled before them, followed him, but kept to the hills, for fear of a surprize. He, on the other hand, marched at first in great haste, to intercept any forces that, on occasion of his march to *Rome*, might have been sent from *Capua*, or in their absence to attack the *Roman* entrenchments before that city.

Y. R. 42.
Hef. Chr.
210.
241 Conf.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 7. & seq.

^a *Livy*, says that when *Hannibal* was before the walls of *Rome*, the ground on which his camp stood was sold at the full price; which so provoked the *Carthaginians* that he put up to sale the bankers

shops that were round the *Roman* Forum. The account which the *Latin* historian gives of this expedition, differs in many particulars from that of *Polybius*, which is followed in the text.

212

Y. R. 542.
Bef. Chr.
210.
241 Conf.

Finding that none of the besiegers had stirred, he turned against the Consuls that were pursuing him, fell upon their camp in the night, and took it with great slaughter. Next morning he saw those that had escaped posted upon a hill, which was very difficult of access; and he would not lose time in attacking them, having formed a project of greater moment. Despairing to raise the siege of *Capua*, he hoped to surprize *Rhegium*. And though it was situated in the remotest corner of *Italy*, he marched with such rapidity through *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Bruttium*, and appeared so unexpectedly before the place, that he took prisoners many of the inhabitants who were walking securely without the walls; and was very near getting possession of the town.

Hannibal's departure left *Capua* without hope of relief. The *Pro-Consuls* signified to the inhabitants, that they would spare the lives of all those of them who would repair to the *Roman* camp; but not one *Capuan* accepted the offer. The commanders of the *Carthaginian* garrison wrote letters to *Hannibal* full of reproaches, and pressing him not to abandon them to the cruelty of the *Romans*. These letters were committed to the care of some *Numidians*, who pretended to desert, and then sought an opportunity to escape to *Rhegium*. One of them being followed to the *Roman* camp by his mistress, to whom he had disclosed the secret, she betrayed it; and above seventy of the *Numidians* were seized, whipped, had their hands cut off, and were driven back to *Capua*.

Liv. B. 26.
c. 12.

The sight of these maimed wretches threw the city into the utmost consternation. The people forced the chief of the Senators, who had for some time withdrawn themselves from public affairs, to assemble with the rest in the Senate-house; where the greatest part were for sending a deputation to the *Pro-Consuls* to capitulate: But *Vibius Virius*, one of the authors of the revolt, opposed this motion, and made a speech, the whole strain of which was rage and despair. Having represented the implacable hatred of the *Romans* to *Capua*; and exposed the folly of hoping for any favour from them, he thus concluded. *Death is our only refuge. I have prepared an entertainment at my house. When we have finished our repast, a cup shall go round, that will end our days and our misfortunes together. Let all those who are weary of life, or despise it, or despair of preserving it, follow me. Funeral piles are already prepared to burn our bodies. A glorious death will gain us esteem from our enemies; and the perfidious Hannibal will lament the loss of allies, who did not deserve to be thus deserted and betrayed.* Twenty-seven of the assembly followed *Virius*, accepted the entertainment to which they were invited, and closed all with a cup of poison.

As to the terms of the treaty, which the rest of the *Capuans* made with the *Romans*, we can only guess at them by what followed. As soon as the latter were in possession of the place, they seized the soldiers of the garrison and the *Capuan* Senators. These they conveyed

to their camp to be tried by the *Pro-Consuls*. They were first made to discover all their treasures, which amounted to seventy pounds weight of gold, and three thousand two hundred pounds weight of silver; and then fifty-three of them were sent in custody to two *Roman* cities in separate companies; and it was resolved to determine their fate before any thing was decreed concerning the rest of the inhabitants. *Appian* inclined to clemency, *Fulvius* to severity; and the dispute grew warm between them. The former, to put an end to it, wrote to the Senate, and referred the matter to them; but his colleague, without waiting for the Senate's decree, went with two thousand horse, first to *Teanum*, whither twenty-eight of the *Capuan* Senators had been transported, and he caused them to be beaten with rods, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. Thence he hastened to *Cales*, and treated with the same rigour the twenty-five Senators who had been conveyed thither, though he might well have spared them, having just before the execution received letters from *Rome*, with orders to suspend it; but he put the letters in his bosom, and would not read them till all was over. Nor did the Republic ever blame him for this instance of severity, being doubtless pleased to have revenge, without incurring the odium of inhumanity among her allies. This charge fell only upon *Fulvius*.

Y. R. 542.
Bef. Chr.
210.
341 Conf.

Liv. B. 26.
C. 15.

And the impression of this *Pro-Consul's* cruelty became yet stronger in the minds of the people, by the following incident. One *Jubellius Taurca*, a man, among his own party, reputed brave, had come from *Capua*, and had been present at the late massacre of the Senators. Pierced with compassion, and full of indignation, he thus addressed himself to the *Pro-Consul*, just as he was going to dismiss the assembly: *Stay one moment, Fulvius, and command me to be murdered; and then thou mayest boast of having killed a braver man than thyself.* *Fulvius* (who had published the Senate's decree) replied, *You come too late to be punished, and are mad with rage. What!* said *Jubellius*, *have I lived to see my country reduced to slavery! Have I stabbed my wife and children to preserve them from insults and dishonour; and when I am come hither, to have my blood mixed with that of my friends and countrymen, do my enemies, after all, deny me death? My own arm shall put an end to this hated life:* As he ended these words he stabbed himself with a dagger he had brought under his robe, and fell dead at the foot of the Tribunal.

In *Greece*, the *Pro-Prætor Lævinus* had, in order to keep *Philip* of *Macedon* employed at home, endeavoured (with the approbation of the Senate) to draw some of the *Greek* States into the interest of *Rome*. He began with the *Ætolians*, who were much discontented, because *Acarnania* had been by *Philip* dismembered from the body of their state, and he assured them that he would reduce it again under its antient government and jurisdiction. These promises of the *Roman* General were confirmed to the people by *Scopas* their chief magistrate, and by *Dorimachus* a noble *Ætolian*, who with less modesty,

modesty, and stronger asseverations, magnified the grandeur, power, and majesty of the people of Rome. The main motive however with the *Ætolians* was the hope of recovering *Acarnania*. Articles were therefore drawn up and agreed to, expressing the conditions on which these *Grecians* entered into an alliance with the *Romans*; and a clause was added, *That the Eleans, the Lacedæmonians, Attalus King of Pergamus in Asia Minor, Pleuratus, a King of Thrace, or perhaps of a part of Illyricum, Scerdilædus, King of the east part of the last mentioned country, should if they pleased be comprised and included in the treaty.* Polybius tells us, that the *Ætolians* sent ambassadors to these several States and Princes, to solicit them to join in a confederacy against Philip; and he has transmitted to us the speeches made in the Senate of Lacedæmon, by Chlæneas an *Ætolian*, and Lyciscus an *Acarnanian*, two orators, the first an advocate for the *Ætolians*, the second for Philip. Chlæneas's harangue consisted chiefly of invectives, displaying the tyranny, oppression, and usurpations exercised in Greece by the Kings of Macedon, from the time of Philip the father of Alexander, to the present King; and in the close of his speech he urged the safety the Lacedæmonians would find in joining themselves with so powerful a confederacy as that formed against Philip. Lyciscus on the other hand endeavoured to clear the Macedonian Kings from the charge brought against them; mentioned several of their laudable actions; loaded the *Ætolians* with the guilt of many violences, outrages, and sacrilegious abominations; and in conclusion represents the danger of making alliances with Barbarians; that these defenders of the *Ætolians* would soon become their conquerors, and, in time, of all Greece. These apprehensions were not unreasonable; but the Lacedæmonians did not at this time look so far forward: it seemed safest for them, at present, to come into the alliance proposed by the *Ætolians*; and they declared for that side.

The articles of confederacy between the *Ætolians* and *Romans* ran thus. *The Ætolians shall forthwith enter into a war with King Philip by land, and the Romans shall assist them by sea with a fleet of twenty quinqueremes at least. All the cities that shall be conquered between the confines of Ætolia and Corcyra shall, as to the walls, houses, and lands belonging to them, be possessed by the Ætolians; but the Romans shall have the moveable goods and plunder. The Romans shall use their endeavours that the Ætolians may again possess Acarnania. If at any time the Ætolians make a peace with Philip, they shall insert a clause, that the same shall be of no force until such time as Philip shall have withdrawn his forces employed against the Romans, or any of their allies. And in the same manner if the Romans treat with the Macedonian King, they shall make the like provision for the security of the Ætolians and their allies.* Though these articles were not signed till two years after, the confederates immediately began hostilities against Philip. Lævinus took the island of *Zacynthus*, and also two cities of *Acarnania*, which he replaced under the dominion of the *Ætolians*; and having thus

thus kindled a war in Greece against the King, and found him sufficient employment at home, to hinder his assisting the *Carthaginians*, he retired with his fleet to *Corcyra*, and there wintered.

The news, that the *Ætolians* were in motion, was brought to *Philip* as he lay in his winter quarters at *Pella*. Resolving to invade Greece in the spring, he first turned his arms against *Illyricum*, that by the desolation and destruction he should cause there, he might intimidate the rest of his neighbours from attacking *Macedon* in his absence. From thence he marched his troops into *Thrace* against the *Mædi*. In the mean time the *Ætolian* army entered *Acarnania*, where they found that the people of the country were come to the most desperate resolutions for their defence: For, sending away their wives and children, and all who were above sixty years old, into *Epirus*, the rest engaged themselves by a solemn oath never to return from the field but with victory: And they laid the heaviest curses on those of their own nation, who should harbour or relieve any who were vanquished and fled. These desperate measures, together with the approach of *Philip*, whom the *Acarnanians* had earnestly pressed to come from *Thrace* to their assistance, terrified the *Ætolians*, that they retired into their own territories, and there continued quiet, till *Laevinus*, coming in the spring with his fleet to *Naupactus*, put them again in motion. In conjunction with the *Pro-Prætor*, they besieged *Anticyra*, (a city of the *Locrenses*, in the neighbourhood of *Ætolia*) by sea and land, and reduced it. But *Laevinus*, after this, by reason of a dangerous sickness, was obliged to continue there a great while unactive.

Winter now approached, and *Marcellus* returned from *Sicily* to *Rome*, for the first time since the taking of *Syracuse*. He demanded a triumph at his arrival: But having, pursuant to orders, left his army in *Sicily*, and it not being the custom for Generals to triumph when their army was not present to give testimony to their exploits, he was granted only an ovation by the Senate. To do himself justice therefore in the best manner he could, he decreed himself a triumph on the Hill of *Albæ*, for which there were some precedents in such cases. Next day he had a very magnificent ovation. A plan of *Syracuse*, statues and paintings of an exquisite taste, costly vases, and immense quantities of gold, silver, and brass, were carried on biers before him. Eight elephants, and all sorts of military engines, used in sieges, made a part of the show. It was at this time that *Marcellus* introduced among the *Romans* a refined taste for paintings, and sculptures; which made some of the old *Romans* uneasy. They feared it would gradually destroy the people's love of husbandry and war, and would be a means to soften and inverate them.

V. R. 44.
Bel. Chr.
210.
211 Cons.

Livy, B.
26. c. 21.

Plut. life
of Mucel-
lus. Au-
thor of the
lives of il-
lustrious
men.

C H A P. XXVIII.

The NINTH YEAR of the War.

Marcellus's conduct complained of before the Senate, by the Sicilians.
Fulvius accused of cruelty by the Capuans. The fate of their city is determined.

The fortune of the campaign in Italy various.
The reduction of Sicily completed.

Y. R. 543.
Bet. C. III.
209.
242 Conf.
Livy, B.
26. C. 22.

THE time for electing new magistrates drawing on, *Fulvius Centumalus* was recalled to *Rome*, to preside in the *Comitia*. The first Century that voted, named *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *T. Otacilius*, for *Consuls*. It was not doubted but the rest of the Centuries would join in the nomination; and a multitude of people flocked round *Manlius*, to congratulate him upon his election. But he approaching the Consul's tribunal, begged that he would call back the Century that had just given their votes, and allow him to speak a few words. While all were in expectation of what he would ask, he excused himself, on account of a weakness in his eyes, from accepting the dignity offered him. "A man, said he, must be very shameless to desire to be a pilot or a general, and to have the lives and fortunes of multitudes committed to his care, when he knows that in every thing he does, he must make use of other men's eyes." He therefore entreated the president of the assembly to order the prerogative Century to give their votes anew, and desired of them, that in their choice they would have regard to the circumstances of the Republic, remember that the war was still in *Italy*, and that *Rome* was scarce recovered from the terror caused by the late insult of the enemy at her gates. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the Century, with repeated cries, insisted upon the choice they had made. "No, said *Manlius*, neither can I bear your manners, nor you my government. Return into the voting place, and consider that *Carthage* is making war in *Italy*, and that *Hannibal* is her General." The Century finding these words applauded by all who stood round *Manlius*, and having a real respect for him, made no longer any difficulty to comply with his desire; and *Marcellus* the fourth time, and *Lævinus* the second time, were raised to the consular dignity.

Lævinus was still lying sick at *Anticyra* in *Greece*. *Marcellus* entered upon his office on the Ides of *March*, and according to custom assembled the Senate that day; but declared he would bring no matters relating to the Republic before the Fathers till the arrival of his colleague. He complained that there were numbers of *Syracusians* in *Rome*, who spread reports

reports about the city to his disadvantage; that *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, the Prætor of *Sicily*, had not only sent over many of these to accuse him, but had also asserted in his letters, that the war was far from being finished in the island [no untruth, as will appear by and by] that he might have the greater glory, in putting an end to it. The Consul added, that he himself would immediately give his enemies an opportunity of laying their accusations before the Senate, were it not that he understood, they affected to be afraid of accusing him in the absence of his colleague; and that, as soon as *Laevinus* should arrive, he would take care they should be heard.

Y. R. 343.
Bef. Chi.
219.
24th Conf.

As *Laevinus* passed through *Campania*, in his return to *Rome*, the inhabitants of that country crowded about him, and implored his protection against the tyranny and cruelty of the Pro-Consul *Fulvius Flaccus*. *Laevinus* ordered them to follow him to *Rome*; which when he drew near, the company of *Sirilians*, who were to accuse *Marcellus*, joined him likewise; and he suffered them to enter the city with him. However, before he procured them an audience from the Senate, he gave the Conscrip Fathers an account of his own conduct, and the state of affairs in *Greece*. And the next thing to be done, was to assign the Consuls, and the rest of the Generals of the *Roman* armies, their respective provinces, for the ensuing campaign. *Italy* fell by lot to *Laevinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. This was no sooner declared, than the *Sirilians*, who were present at the ceremony, made a horrible outcry, and expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at *Syracuse* when *Marcellus* surprized it. They dressed themselves in mourning, ran to the houses of the Senators, and there declared, they would never return home, rather than be again subject to *Marcellus*: And that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the flames of *Atina*, than to be given up as a prey to her implacable enemy. The affair was mentioned in the Senate, and the Consuls were asked to consult the Fathers about an exchange of provinces. *Marcellus* answered, that, had the *Sirilians* been already heard, perhaps he should not think that motion so equitable; but now, lest it should be said, that fear restrained them from accusing a man who must shortly be their Governor, he was very willing to exchange provinces with his colleague, provided he agreed to it; but begged the Senate would not give him the mortification of interposing a judgment of theirs in the matter; for, said he, if it would have been unjust to give my colleague his option, without casting lots, how much more unjust, nay, what an indignity would it be to me, to transfer my lot to him? The Senate did not interpose their authority, and the exchange was made by the Consuls themselves. Then the *Sirilians* were admitted to bring their complaints against *Marcellus*. Their accusation turned upon his pretended cruelty at *Leontini*, his having sacked *Syracuse*, and his having stripped the citizens of every thing, though

Liv. B. 26.
C. 27.
Fast. Cap.
Liv. B. 26.
C. 28.

Y. R. 443 (as the accusers protested) it had been by compulsion, that the *Syracusians* had sided with the *Carthaginians*; and they prayed, that what had been taken from them, and could be recovered, might be restored.

When the *Sicilians* had done speaking, *Marcellus* left the *Curule* chair, and went to the place where persons accused were wont to make their defence. He fairly laid before the house the matters of fact (as they have been related) and then withdrew, to give the *Senators* more freedom in their debates. A great many of the *Fathers*, and among the rest *T. Manlius Torquatus*, were of opinion, that the war ought to be considered as having been carried on against the tyrants *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, equally the enemies of the *Romans* and *Syracusians*. After a long debate, the majority voted the proceedings of *Marcellus* to have been regular; but added to their decree, that the Senate would take care of the *Syracusians*, and recommended it to the Consul *Lævinus*, to consult their interest, as far as it was consistent with that of the Republic.

When the *Sicilians*, being called in, had heard the decree read, they threw themselves at the feet of *Marcellus*, and begged he would forgive whatever, with a view to set forth their miseries and move compassion, they had said against him; and would receive them into his protection. The Consul granted their request; and, in gratitude to him, the people of *Syracuse* ordered, that whenever he or any of his family set foot in *Sicily*, the people should crown themselves with garlands, and celebrate the day with sacrifices; and *Syracuse* was, ever after, under the patronage of the *Marcelli*.

Liv. B. 26. The cause of the *Campanians* came on next. Their pleading consisted wholly of a pathetic representation of their miseries. When they had finished their complaint, they were ordered to withdraw. And then *M. Attilius Regulus*, who had served in the army at the taking of *Capua*, was examined, as to the facts. This Senator could say little to the advantage of the *Capuans*; but he moved that the Senate might not determine the affair, till it had obtained the consent of the *Tribes*; because the *Capuans*, being *Roman* citizens, could not legally be judged by the Senate, without the approbation of the people. Accordingly, a *Tribune* of the commons was desired to summon the *Comitia* by tribes; and request them, to empower the Senate to pronounce sentence on the *Capuans*. He complied. The *Comitia* answered in that authoritative title, which shewed their sovereignty: *What the majority of the Senate now sitting, after being sworn, shall determine, that we will and command.* The Senate, thus authorised, pronounced judgment: and when the sentence came to be executed, *Campania* was stripped of all the monuments of its grandeur; *Capua* was no longer a city; it had neither Senate, *Comitia*, nor *Magistrates* of its own; *Rome* sent a *Præfect* thither annually, to preserve order in the place, and to hear causes. Its former

flourishful

lothful and effeminate inhabitants were transplanted elsewhere, and succeeded by *Roman* colonies of laborious and industrious husbandmen.

And now the Consuls applied themselves wholly to the preparations for the approaching campaign. As the navy wanted great repairs, and the public treasury was exhausted, they published an edict, ordering every man; according to his census, to furnish pay and provisions for thirty days to a certain number of sailors and rowers, agreeably to a precedent on the like occasion. This falling heavy on the poorer citizens, already drained by taxes, since *Hannibal's* invasion, it had like to have caused an insurrection. The people threatened to do themselves justice, if the edict was not revoked in three days. In that time the Consuls, to make matters easy, proposed in the Senate a method which gained them great applause. They moved, that all the dignified persons in the state, and the Senators, should give a good example of zeal for the Republic, by voluntarily carrying in to the treasury their superfluous gold, silver, and brass. All present approved the motion; and the Knights and common citizens so readily followed the example of the Consuls and Senators, that there was an emulation who should first enter their names in the register of the contributors. Thus were the *Roman* fleets recruited; and *Rome* put into a condition to support the war on all sides.

When *Marcellus* and *Laevinus* set out for their provinces, there were in the town of *Salapia* in *Apulia* two men of great authority, *Dafus* and *Blasus*; the latter was in the *Roman* interest, and had entered into a negotiation with the Consul to betray the town to him. As this could not be done without *Dafus's* consent, the traitor ventured to open his mind to him, and solicit his assistance, though he knew him to be a zealous *Hannibalist*. *Dafus* immediately informed the *Carthaginian* of the affair, who thereupon cited both to appear before him. But the accuser not being able to bring any proof to support his charge, *Hannibal* imagined the accusation to have proceeded entirely from jealousy and hatred; and would take no farther cognizance of it. After this, *Blasus* gained over his colleague, and they took measures together for the surrendry of the place. *Marcellus* on a sudden appeared before it, and was admitted into the town; and then the *Carthaginian* garrison, which consisted of 500 brave *Numidian* horse, finding themselves betrayed, resolved to sell their lives dear. They quitted their horses, which were of no use to them, and fought on foot, till they were all killed except fifty, who yielded themselves prisoners. This, if we may credit *Livy*, was so great a loss to *Hannibal*, that in all the battles he afterwards fought in *Italy*, his cavalry never gained the superiority over the enemy, as in former engagements.

The *Carthaginian* had still hopes of taking the citadel of *Terentum*, which he kept blocked up. On the other hand, the *Romans* sent a squadron of ships to supply the garrison with provisions: But this fleet,

Y. R. 543.
B. C. 209.
243d Conl.
L. v. B. 26.

Y. R. 543. before it could enter the port, being obliged to come to an engagement
 Bel. Chr. 209. with the *Tarentine* fleet, was utterly defeated, and the Admiral of it kil-
 244d Conf. led in the action.

Plut. life
 of Marcellus.
 Liv. B. 27.
 c. 1.

Marcellus took two more cities in *Samnum*, and in them about 3000 *Carthaginian* prisoners, together with a great quantity of grain. *Fulvius Centumalus*, who commanded as Pro-Consul in *Apulia*, being ambitious of imitating the Consul, without his abilities, drew near to a city called *Herdonæa*, in hopes to reduce it by force, or by treaty, but was surprized by *Hannibal*; and though the *Romans* behaved themselves bravely, they were totally defeated, their camp taken, and the General, with eleven *Legionary Tribunes* slain in the engagement.

Plut. life
 of Marcellus.
 Liv. B. 27.
 c. 2.

So complete a victory recovered the affairs and credit of *Hannibal* for some time, and greatly discouraged the people at *Rome*, whose only hopes were now in *Marcellus*. This Consul, knowing how much the people were terrified, wrote to the Senate, in these terms. *I am the same man that I was after the battle of Cannæ. I am going to meet the same conqueror, and have reason to expect the same success. The joy that now swells the mind of the Carthaginian will not be of long duration. He then marched towards Hannibal, and came up with him near Numistro, in Bruttium. The Carthaginian did not decline a battle. The engagement was bloody; and the night alone put an end to it. At sunrise Marcellus offered him battle again; but Hannibal would not accept the challenge. He decamped; and the Consul followed him from place to place. So that these two great Generals spent the rest of the campaign, the one in seeking for an opportunity to come to a general action, the other in endeavouring to avoid it, and to draw his enemy into an ambush.*

c. 3.

In the mean time, *Fulvius Flaccus* was busy in managing the affairs of the Republic in *Campania*. And the Senate ordered a great quantity of corn to be bought up in *Ættruria*, and carried to the citadel of *Tarentum*. Two thousand men were likewise commanded to the relief of the garrison; and this convoy had a happier passage thither than the last.

From the Consul *Lævinus* the Senate received news of the total reduction of *Sicily*. *Agrirentum* had long held out for the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno* had commanded there a numerous garrison; but having through jealousy disobliged, and even broke, a brave *Numidian* officer, named *Mutinus*, much esteemed among his countrymen, and who having been sent by *Hannibal* into *Sicily*, to supply the place of *Hippocrates*, had done the *Carthaginians* signal service in that island, the proud *African* could not brook the affront. To revenge himself, he entered into a correspondence with the Consul; and having engaged a body of the *Numidians* in the conspiracy, they opened one of the gates to the *Roman* troops. *Hanno*, with *Epicides*, and a few more officers, escaped in a small vessel; but the rest of the garrison were all cut in pieces. After this, twenty towns were betrayed into the hands of the *Romans*, six taken by force, and the

rest, to the number of forty, surrendered voluntarily. *Lævinus*, having settled all affairs in the island, (which from this time became the *provincia* of *Rome*) received an order from the Senate, to return home, to hold the *Comitia* by centuries: For though *Marcellus* was nearer, it was dangerous to interrupt his pursuit of *Hannibal*. However, *Lævinus* was hardly arrived, when he found himself obliged to go back again, to take care of his province, an express coming from *Valerius Messala* (who commanded a fleet in *Sicily*, and had been ravaging the coast of *Africa*) with an account, that the *Carthaginians* were preparing a naval armament, to re-conquer *Sicily*.

The Senate hastened the departure of *Lævinus*, and ordered him to name a Dictator to hold the *Comitia* for the new elections. The Consul did not refuse to obey; but that he might continue the longer in the supreme dignity, insisted upon deferring the nomination till he should arrive in *Sicily*; and he promised that he would then name *Messala*: But it being contrary to ancient custom, for a Dictator to be named elsewhere than in *Italy*, the Conscrip^t Fathers passed a decree, requiring *Lævinus* before he left the city to petition the people to recommend a proper person for the Dictatorship, and enjoining the Consul to name that person; and the decree provided also, that in case the Consul refused to petition, as before mentioned, the Prætor of *Rome* should do it; and if he likewise refused, the Tribunes of the Commons should bring the matter before the *Comitia*. *Lævinus* was obstinate, and forbade the Prætor to offer any petition to the people. Upon this, the Tribunes assembled them; and it was determined, that *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, then at *Capua*, should be nominated Dictator. But *Lævinus*, the night before the holding of the *Comitia*, had set out for *Sicily*, so that the Fathers were obliged to write to *Marcellus* to name the Dictator the people had recommended. *Q. Fulvius*, being thus raised to the Dictatorship, named *P. Licinus Crassus*, the Pontifex Maximus, to be his General of horse.

C H A P. XXIX.

TENTH YEAR of the War.

Some of the Roman colonies refuse to contribute to the expences of the war.

Marcellus is vanquished by Hannibal; but the day following gains a victory over him. Fabius Cunctator gets possession of Tarentum.

THE Dictator *Fulvius*, having artfully carried on his intrigues to promote his own election to the Consulship, called together the *Comitia*, and was there named Consul, with *Lælius Maximus Cunctator*, by

Y. R. 544.
Bef. Cnr.
208.
243d Conf.

by the first Century which voted; and the rest of the Centuries seemed inclined to the same choice. But two of the Tribunes interposed, alledging, *That it was dangerous to the constitution to allow a continuation of magistracy in the same person; and to suffer Presidents of the Comitia to pervert their authority to serve their private purposes*; and they declared, that they would dissolve the assembly if the Dictator did not desist from his pretension. *Fulvius* however justified the proceedings of the Comitia by a law made just after the battle of *Thrasymenus*, allowing the people to chuse the same men to the consulship as often as they pleased, while the war should last in *Italy*; and by the examples of *Posthumus Metellus*, and *Fabius Maximus*, who at different times being Presidents of the Comitia, had been elected Consuls by the assemblies in which they presided. After some time spent in these disputes, it was at length agreed, that the matter should be referred to the Senate. The Conscript Fathers, pleased with the choice that had been made of two such able Generals, declared, that neither the Dictatorship, nor Presidentship of *Fulvius* disqualified him for being chosen Consul.

It was necessary at this time to raise recruits, and to send some forces into *Sicily* in the place of two legions drawn from thence to serve in *Italy*; but this affair had like to have occasioned a rebellion. The *Latins* and allies of *Rome* murmured at the continuation of a war, which drained their countries, of their people and their wealth. Nay twelve out of thirty *Roman* colonies that had been planted in the provinces conquered by the Republic, absolutely refused to furnish their contingents, either of men or money; alledging that they really were not in a condition to do it. But the other eighteen complied, and declared themselves ready to enlarge their quotas, if necessary. The agents of these faithful and affectionate colonies received the thanks of the Senate, and of the people in full *Comitia*. As for the twelve, it was thought proper, at this juncture, to shew a contempt of them, and to neglect their contributions, rather than extort them by violence, which would probably throw these colonies into the *Carthaginian* interest. To supply the deficiency occasioned by their refusal, recourse was had to a treasure which had been long hoarded up in the exchequer. From the year 396 the Republic had reserved to herself the twentieth part of the purchase-money of every slave's freedom. The produce had been kept against a day of necessity, and was now first applied to the public use. It amounted to four thousand pounds weight of gold, which was all distributed among the Generals for the expences of the war. The *Censors* also requested of the Senate, that the territory of *Campania*, from which the old possessors had been driven, should be disposed of after the best manner, for the benefit of the public. Their petition being referred to the people; the latter decreed, that those vast plains.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 9.

plains, and fruitful hills, should be farmed out, and the rents paid into the public treasury.

And now, the season of the year, and the motions of *Hannibal*, drew the *Consuls* from *Rome*. *Fabius* undertook to besiege *Tarentum*, whilst *Fulvius* and *Marcellus* were to oppose the enterprizes of the *Cartaginian*. *Marcellus* thinking himself, of all the *Roman* Generals, the fittest match for *Hannibal*, marched out of his winter quarters as soon as there was grass in the fields, and came up with the enemy near *Cannus* in *Apulia*. The *Cartaginian* retired, because the country was open and unfit for ambushes. *Marcellus* followed him, pitched his camp near him, and offered battle. *Hannibal* would have avoided a general action, but was at length forced to it. The *Romans* attacked him as he was encamping; and the engagement lasted till night, without any advantage on either side. Next morning, as soon as it was light, *Marcellus* again drew out his forces; nor did *Hannibal* decline the challenge. He harangued his men, putting them in mind of *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, and exhorting them to repress the audacious temerity of their enemies, who would not permit them either to march or to encamp in quiet, or give them time to breathe or look about them. *The rising sun, said he, and the Roman army daily appear to us at the same instant. Shall we bear this? One single victory will free us from an importunate enemy that is more rash than formidable.* The *Cartaginian* soldiers thus animated by their General, and vexed at being continually harassed by the *Romans*, behaved themselves with uncommon resolution in the battle. *Marcellus* was now vanquished, his whole army routed; he lost two thousand seven hundred men. Not being used to suffer these indignities he shewed his resentment, by bitterly reproaching his troops with cowardice. They readily owned their fault, asked pardon, and protested that they would expose themselves to any danger he should think fit, with a resolution either to die or conquer. *Prepare then, replied the General, to perform your promises to-morrow, and to merit the forgiveness you desire.* Next morning the legionaries were ready to march by break of day; *Marcellus* declared that he would place in the first line those manipuli which had behaved themselves dishonourably; and he urged them all to exert themselves in such a manner as to wipe off their shame; *Let not Rome, said he, be informed of yesterday's defeat before she hears of this day's victory.* He then ordered them to refresh themselves well with food, that their strength might not fail, in case the battle should prove long, which done, he marched them out of the camp, and formed them as usual. *Hannibal* surprized at this unexpected challenge from the *Roman* General, *What!* cried he, *we have to do then with a man that can bear neither good nor bad fortune. When victorious he gives his enemy no repose, nor takes any himself when he is vanquished.* Which said, he gave orders for the trumpets to sound,

*Y. R. 544.
B.C. 208.
243d Conf.*

*Plutarch's
Life of
Marcellus,
Liv. B. 27,
c. 12, 13.*

and

Y. R. 544
B. J. C. 14.
208.
243rd Conf.

Plutarch's
Life of
Marcellus.

Liv. B. 27.
C. 14, 15.

and drew his men out into the field. This battle was more sharp than that of the day before. At length the Romans prevailed by driving the elephants, which Hannibal brought against them, back upon his own troops. For by this means the Carthaginians were thrown into the utmost confusion; and two of those great beasts falling down just in the gate of their camp, stopped up the entrance of it; so that the runaways were forced to make their way with difficulty over the ditch and rampart, which occasioned a great slaughter of them. Hannibal lost eight thousand men. However, Marcellus bought his victory dear. Three thousand of his legionaries were killed upon the spot, and almost all the rest wounded; he led his scattered forces to Venusia, and could not take the field again that campaign. Hannibal decamped the night after his defeat, retired into Bruttium, raised the siege of Cosenza, and took the besiegers prisoners. They consisted of 8000 men besides Bruttian deserters, and had been sent by Fabius upon that enterprize, under the conduct of the governor of Rhegium. About this time the Hirpini, the Lucani, and the Volturnenses submitted to the Consul Fulvius. Some of the Bruttians also sent deputies to him, who were well received: But this negotiation had little success, probably because of the presence of Hannibal.

As for Fabius, who had undertaken the reduction of Tarentum, (in which Hannibal had placed a garrison, consisting partly of his old troops, and partly of new levies raised among the Bruttians) while he was with all prudence making his preparations for the siege, a young Tarentine, who served in his army, came and discovered to him a secret, which he thought might be of use in the present enterprize. He told the General, *That he had a sister in Tarentum, whose beauty had captivated the commander of the Bruttian troops there; that he believed he could gain over his sister to the Roman interest; and that, if so, she could undoubtedly engage her lover in the same cause.* Fabius thinking the project feasible, suffered the young man to return to his native city, as a deserter. The Tarentine conducted himself with so much art, that he soon gained his point. The sixth night after the attacks began, he returned to the Consul, and informed him of his success, and when and where the Bruttian officer

Plutarch's
Life of Fa-
bius.

* These battles of Marcellus, as they are told by Livy, and nearly copied by Plutarch, have very much the air of a romance. Three general battles are fought in three days time. In the first, victory inclines to neither side, in the second, Hannibal is conqueror, and, in the third, Marcellus. And what is as strange, Marcellus when conqueror, was less able to keep the field than when he was vanquished. He lay idle all the summer, (for which he was after-

wards impeached at Venusia, while Hannibal, master of the open country, continued his ravages in Italy. *Vagante per Italiani Annibale, media estate, Venusiam, intacta, milibus abduxisset.* Liv. B. 27. c. 20. It is also to be observed, that Polybius knew nothing of these Roman victories, for he expressly tells us, that Hannibal was never vanquished in any battle or engagement till that of Zama. Polyb. B. 15. c. 17. and 16.

would be ready to let the *Romans* into the place. The plot was happily executed; and when the *Romans* had surprized the town, they spared neither *Carthaginians*, *Tarentines* nor even *Bruttians*. Some authors lay the blame of this odious massacre on *Fabius* himself, who, they say, gave these cruel orders, lest, if he spared the *Bruttians*, so important a conquest should be imputed more to treachery, than to his prudence and bravery; a conduct not suitable to his general character.

V. R. 544.
Bef. Chr.
208.
243 Conf.

The riches found in this maritime city were, according to *Livy*, immense: The *Quæstors* received, for the public treasury, eighty-seven thousand pounds weight of gold; but *Plutarch* with more probability reckons the sum at only three thousand talents*. As to the pictures and statues, *Fabius* had not the taste of *Marcellus*; and therefore, when he was asked what he would have done with those master pieces of painting and sculpture, he answered, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry Gods*; alluding to the attitudes, in which the *Gods of Tarentum* were represented: For, after the *Lacedæmonian* manner, they had generally swords in their hands, and were in fighting postures. Nevertheless he carried to *Rome* a brazen colossus of *Hercules*, which had been cast by the famous *Ixyppus*; and it was placed in the Capitol, with an equestrian statue of *Fabius* near it.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.

* 581250l.
Arbuth.

Strabo, p.
278. Plin.
B. 34. c.
7.
Plutarch's
life of Fa-
bius.

The unexpected news of the siege of *Tarentum* drew *Hannibal* from *Bruttium*. He marched night and day, and doubted not to come time enough to relieve it; and it was with the greatest astonishment he received the account, when within five miles of the city, of its being taken: *Nay then*, said he, *the Romans have their Hannibal too; We have lost Tarentum by the same art that we took it*. However, that he might not seem to fly before the enemy, he did not immediately turn back, but encamped on the place where he heard the news. At length he marched to *Metapontus*, a city in his interest, and there invented a stratagem, which had like to have fatally deceived the cautious *Fabius*. He sent two of the inhabitants with letters to the Consul, from the chief men of the city, offering to deliver up the place, and the *Carthaginian* garrison into his hands, if he would promise an oblivion for what was past. *Fabius*, not suspecting the cheat, fixed the day for his march, and would have fallen into an ambush prepared for him, if the *Augurs* and *Haruspices*, who had probably better intelligence than the General, had not detained him in the camp, by declaring that the presages were all unfortunate. *Hannibal*, impatient of *Fabius's* delays, sent new emissaries; but these being arrested, and terrified by threatenings of severe punishment, confessed the secret.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 16.

C H A P. XXX.

The ELEVENTH YEAR of the War.

*The Consul Marcellus slain, and his Collegue at the same time mortally wounded.
Favourable accounts from Sicily and from Greece.*

V. R. 545.
Bef. Chr.
207.
244 Conf. **M**ARCELLUS had been accused, before the Comitia, for inaction the last campaign; nevertheless he was chosen Consul for the new year, with *T. Quinctius Crispinus*. When they had taken the field, the latter, ambitious of signalizing himself by the conquest of some important place, cast his eyes on *Locri*, a maritime city of that part of South Italy, now called *Farsber Calabria*: But being afraid to engage with *Hannibal*, who advanced towards him, he postponed his expedition, and hastened to join his collegue *Marcellus*. The two Consuls, having conferred together, determined not to drop the enterprize upon *Locri*. They commanded *Cincius*, Admiral of the fleet appointed to guard the coasts of Italy and Sicily, to invest the place by sea, and at the same time ordered a body of troops, then in garrison at *Tarentum*, to go and besiege it by land: But these latter were surprized by *Hannibal* in their march, two thousand of them killed, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The *Carthaginian*, however, declined a battle with the united forces of the Consuls; and watched for an opportunity to deceive his enemies by artifice.

Plutarch's
life of
Marcellus.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 27, 28.

Between his entrenchments, and those of the Romans, was a little hill, from which either camp might be annoyed; and the Roman soldiers were equally surprized at *Hannibal's* neglect of it, and impatient to take possession of it themselves. They even murmured at their Generals not being so quick as they would have them, to seize such an advantageous post: Hereupon *Marcellus* and his Collegue, with a guard of two hundred and twenty horse, went to view the eminence. *Hannibal* had hid a detachment of *Numidians* in the cavities of the hill, and under the bushes, which covered it. His design was to intercept those of the Romans that should straggle from their camp: The *Numidians* coming out of their ambush, surprized and surrounded the two Consuls and their guard; and *Marcellus*, in the attempt to retreat, was killed. His son, and the other Consul were wounded.

Hannibal, informed of *Marcellus's* death, went immediately to the place where the body lay, and, at the sight of it, shewed no marks of joy, but seemed rather to pity the misfortune of so great a man, who had fallen in a manner unworthy of him. Yet his first care was

to take off the ring, which the dead Consul had on his finger, and with which he used to seal his dispatches. He then caused the body to be laid on a funeral pile, and burnt; and, having gathered the ashes into a silver urn, sent them to young *Marcellus* the son.

The surviving Consul decamped the following night, retired to the nearest mountains, and posted himself on a steep ascent. And fearing lest *Hannibal* should make a mischievous use of the ring he had taken from *Marcellus*, he dispatched couriers to all the neighbouring cities in the interest of *Rome*, to prevent their being deceived by letters, which might be sent to them in *Marcellus's* name. By this prudent step *Salapia* in *Apulia* was preserved: Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the *Carthaginian* upon himself. He had sent a *Roman* deserter with letters, as from *Marcellus*, to give them notice that he would be there the next night, and that they should prepare to receive him. The *Salapians* seemed to suffer themselves to be cheated, and admitted into the town six hundred of *Hannibal's* men, (chosen out of the *Roman* deserters, that their language might not betray the design;) but then on a sudden, the inhabitants letting fall the portcullis, surprized and slew those who had entered, and with a shower of darts from the ramparts drove back the rest.

This unsuccessful expedition did not so far discourage *Hannibal*, as to hinder him from marching to the relief of *Locri*, now invested by sea and land. And upon the first appearance of his *Numidian* horse, the besiegers were so terrified, that *Cincius*, the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet, embarked the land forces on board his galleys, left all his machines behind him, and sailed away for *Rome*.

In the mean time *Quintilius*, whose wounds were mortal, and who, having left his post in the mountains, was now with his army at *Capua*, sent letters to the Senate, acquainting them with the death of his colleague, and that he himself was drawing near his end; and desiring that the Fathers would send some persons to him, of prudence and integrity, with whom he might entrust the affairs of the Republic. Accordingly three Senators were commissioned to receive his last advices; and, at their request, he nominated a Dictator to hold the Comitia for the new elections. He named *T. Manlius Torquatus*.

The *Romans*, during this unfortunate campaign, received the agreeable news from *Sicily* that *Valerius Levinus*, who commanded an hundred sail of ships, had made a descent on *Africa*, brought thence much booty, and afterwards defeated a *Carthaginian* fleet off *Clypea*. And the advices from the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius* of the state of affairs in *Greece*, were not unfavourable. The *Atolians* had received assistance from *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and being also joined by a thousand *Romans*, had ventured to march against *Philip*; and though he defeated them in two battles, he could not prevail with them to desert the interest of *Rome*. He had also

Y. R. 545. attacked the Roman army, while they were pillaging the country about
 Bef. Chr. *Corinth*, and forced them aboard their ships with loss: But *Sulpiciu*
 207. being joined by the *Ætolians* and *Eleans*, surprized the King near *Elis*,
 244 Conf. and gained some advantage over him. Next day *Philip* hearing that
 Liv. B. 27. the country people were gathered together at a fortress called *Pyrgus*,
 c. 30. (in order to defend their cattle, which they had driven thither as to a
 place of safety) he set upon them, took 4000 prisoners, and 20,000
 cattle of all kinds. After this, he was obliged to return into his own
 Ibid. c. 32. country, to put a stop to the irruptions of the *Dardans*, which a report
 Ibid. c. 33. of his death had occasioned; so that *Rome* had no reason to fear the *Mace-*
donian's coming suddenly to join *Hannibal*.

C H A P. XXXI.

The Romans are alarmed by the approach of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, with an army from Spain.

A summary account of the Roman affairs in that country, from the first landing of the Scipios there, to the time of Asdrubal's leaving it.

BUT now the chief care of the Senate was to fill up the vacant Consulship, with two men who would be equal to that important charge, at a time when, beside the difficulties they had already to struggle with, a new and dreadful storm was driving towards *Rome* from the *Alps*. For *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, had left *Spain* with an army of 60,000 men, and was crossing those mountains, in order to join him in the heart of *Italy*; a danger, than which none could have a more gloomy, a more threatening aspect to the Republic.

Vid. p.
 155, 156,
 157.

The Roman affairs in *Spain* have been hitherto but lightly touched. And indeed a credible and consistent account of what passed in that country, while the *Scipios* commanded there, to the departure of *Asdrubal*, is not easy to be formed out of the Historians and Geographers. Let the collection and observations, made by a judicious and able writer, supply the defect of the present work, in this particular.

Sir Walter
 Raleigh's
 Hist. of the
 World, B.
 5. c. 3 §.
 21.

“ The acts of these two brethren [*Publius* and *Cn. Scipio*] in their province, were very great, and, as they are reported, somewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spain* against the *Carthaginians*, whom they vanquished in so many battles, and withdrew from their alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their confederates, that we have cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find means to repair his forces, and return strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win unto their confederacy as many as were
 “ galled

“galled with the *African* yoke, and durst adventure to break it; so
 “the antient reputation of the first conquerors might serve to arm
 “the natives against these invaders, and to reclaim those that had re-
 “volted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of such ill
 “success, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto
 “may be added, the *Cartaginian* treasure, which easily raised soldiers
 “amongst those valiant, but (in that age) poor and gold-thirsty na-
 “tions. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spani-*
 “*ards* had their children, kinsmen and friends abroad with *Hannibal* in
 “his *Italian* wars, or serving the *Cartaginians* in *Afric*. And per-
 “adventure, if we durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipios*
 “were neither so many nor so great as they are set out by *Livy*.
 “This we may be bold to say, that the great captain *Fabius*, or *Livy* in
 “his person, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*,
 “nor *Livy* for him, doth answer; that if *Asdrubal* were vanquished,
 “as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spain*, strange it was, and as little to
 “his honour, as it had been extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the
 “same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And indeed it is an incre-
 “dible narration, that *Asdrubal*, being inclosed on all sides, and not
 “knowing how to escape out of battle, save only by the steep descent
 “of rocks, over a great river, that lay at his back, ran away with all
 “his money, elephants and broken troops, over *Tagus*, directly towards
 “the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; upon which he fell with more
 “than threescore thousand armed soldiers. Neither do I see how it
 “hangs well together, that he chose a piece of ground very defensible,
 “but most incommodious for his retreat, if he should happen to be
 “vanquished; and yet that he sent all his money and elephants away
 “before him, as not intending to abide the enemy; or how it could
 “be true, that these his elephants being so sent before, could hinder
 “the *Romans* (for so are they said to have done in the last battle
 “between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his camp. Wherefore
 “we can no more than be sorry, that all *Cartaginian* records of this
 “war, and *Spanish* (if there were any) being utterly lost, we can
 “know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell
 “us; unto whom it were no wisdom to give too much credit. In this
 “regard, I will summarily run over the doings of the *Scipios* in *Spain*;
 “not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great cer-
 “tainty.

“*Cn. Cornelius* landed at *Emporiae*, a haven town, not far within the *Liv. B. 21.*
Pyrenees, retaining still the name with little infection*. That by the *c. 60.*
 “same of his clemency he allured many nations to become subject unto *Ampuri-*
 “*Rome*, as the story begins of him, I could easily believe, if I under- *Y. R. 535.*
 “stood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to *as, a town*
 “give such famous example thereof, being a mere stranger, and hav- *in Catalo-*
 “ing no jurisdiction in the country. Yet it is certain that he was a *nia.*
 “man

" man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himself into
 " the love of the Barbarians ; among whom his dexterity in practice had
 " the better success, for that he seemed to have none other errand than
 " setting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some ; others were
 " to be hired with money : and some he compelled to yield by force or
 " fear ; especially when he had won a battle against *Hanno*. Into all
 " treaties of accord made with these people, likely it is that he remem-
 " bered to insert this article, which the *Romans* in their alliances never
 " forgot unless in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Cartha-*
 " *ginians*, or their superiors, *Majestatem Populi Romani comiter conservent*,
 " which is, as *Tully* interprets it, *that they should gently (or kindly) uphold the*
 " *majesty of the people of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing trouble-
 " some, yet implied in it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection.
 " And in this respect it may be true, that the *Spaniards* became *ditiois*
 " *Romane*, of the Roman jurisdiction ; though hereafter they will say,
 " they had no such meaning. That part of the country wherein *Scipio*
 " landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage towards *Italy*,
 " and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience : particularly
 " the *Burgusians*. *Hannibal* had found, at his coming among them,
 " such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatness, as made him suspect,
 " that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*.
 " Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Governor over them, as over
 " the rest of the province between *Iberus* and the *Pyrænees*, but
 " made him also their Lord ; that is (as I conceive it, for I don't
 " think he gave the principality of their country to *Hanno* and his heirs)
 " he made him not only Lieutenant General over them, in matters of
 " war, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*,
 " but took from them all inferior officers of their own, leaving them
 " to be governed by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had
 " good cause to rejoice at the coming of *Scipio*, with whom others also,
 " no doubt, found reasons to join : it being the custom of all conquered
 " nations in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves in-
 " discreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse
 " than the former. This bad affection of this province would not suf-
 " fer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot and a thousand horse
 " *Hannibal* had left unto him ; besides which, it is like, that some
 " forces he was able to raise out of his province. Therefore he ad-
 " ventured a battle with *Scipio* ; wherein he was overthrown and taken.
 " Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Cissa*, a town hard by, and
 " won it. But *Asdrubal*, having passed *Iberus*, and coming too late
 " to the relief of *Hanno*, with 8000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon the
 " *Roman* sea forces, that lay not far from *Tarracon*, whom he found
 " careless as after a victory, roving abroad in the country ; and with
 " great slaughter drove them aboard their ships. This done, he ran
 " up

Orat. pro
 Corn. Balb.

Polyb. B. 3.
 8. c. 34.

Liv. B. 21.
 c. 60.
 Polyb. B. 3.
 c. 76.

“ up into the country, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* * from the Roman party, though they had given hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the mean-
 “ leason was gone to visit and aid his fleet : where having set things in order, he returned back, and made towards *Asdrubal*, who durst not
 “ abide his coming, but withdrew himself again over the *Iberus*.
 “ So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force, having lost *Atbanagia*, their chief city, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of
 “ their hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chief town, which they defended thirty
 “ days; hoping, in vain, that the sharp winter, and great abundance of snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* dislodge. But they
 “ were fain at length to yield, and for this their obstinacy they were amerced twenty talents of silver. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came
 “ to help their distressed neighbours, and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving 12,000 of their company dead behind them. I cannot but
 “ wonder how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should, without any cause remembered, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next news we hear
 “ of them. As also it is strange, that all the sea coast northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *dittonis Romanæ, subject*
 “ unto *Rome*, should, in continuance of the story, after a few lines, hold war against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I believe, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charm, stirred up
 “ the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their hostages, and take arms in his quarrel; whilst himself had not the daring to stand
 “ against *Scipio*, but ran away, and saved himself beyond the *Iberus*.
 “ *Polybius* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* writer, would have told it thus: that *Scipio* adventuring too far into the country, was beaten
 “ by *Asdrubal* back to his ships, whence he durst not stir until winter came on : at what time the *Carthaginian* returned to the heart of his
 “ province, leaving some few garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* won, by returning upon them, unlooked for, through a
 “ deep snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the rest, we may reasonably think, that they fought their own benefit; helping themselves one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*, and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more
 “ grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new masters, hearkening again unto the comfortable promises of those
 “ that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their own country laws, and not under governors sent from *Rome*
 “ or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all ages following may testify; even from henceforth unto the days of *Augustus Cæsar*, till when they were
 “ never throughly conquered.

* *Polybius* says nothing of the rebellion of the *Ilergetes*, *Ausetani*, or *Lacetani*. The Historian follows *Livy*.

“ The

Y. R. 536. "The year following this, Cn. Scipio had a victory against the Carthaginians in fight at sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships that ran not too far on ground he took; and thereby grew master of the whole coast, landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defended: After this victory above a hundred and twenty nations, or petty estates in Spain, are said to have submitted themselves unto the Romans, or given hostages: whereby Asdrubal was compelled to fly into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himself in Lusitania. Yet it follows, that the Illegates did again rebel, that Asdrubal hereupon came over Iberus; and that Scipio (though having easily vanquished the Illegates) went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the Celtiberians, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These took from the Carthaginian three towns, and vanquished him in two battles, wherein they slew 15,000 of his men, and took 4000 prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio with a supply [of 8000 men and a fleet of thirty galleys;] and henceforward the two brethren jointly administered the business in Spain.

Polyb. B. 3.
c. 95.
Liv. B. 22.
c. 20.

"The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian war; the two Scipios did haud cantanter, without both fear or doubt, pass over Iberus, and besieged Saguntum. Little cause of doubt had they, if Cneius had already subdued many nations beyond it, and among many others the same Celtiberians, who with their proper forces were able to vanquish Asdrubal. Bossar, the Governor of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himself [as has been before related, p. 156.] to be persuaded by one Abelo, a Spaniard, that the only way to get the favour and hearty good will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages, as resting without any pledge assured of their faith: But the crafty Spaniard, being trusted with this message, and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the Roman Generals; persuading them, as he had done Bossar, to make the liberality their own. Hereby the Romans purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this, we find, that all the Spanish hostages were left in new Carthage. I am weary of rehearsing so many particularities, whereof I can believe so few. But since we find no better certainties, we must content ourselves with these.

"The year following was like unto this: Asdrubal must be beaten again. The two Scipios divide their forces: Cneius makes war by

Neither Livy nor Polybius say that Saguntum was besieged. The Romans seem to have designed it, but winter coming on, hindered them. Saguntum pergunt ire:—defectionem omnes [Hispani] spectare, armaque ex templo mota forent, ni hiems—intervenisset.

Liv. B. 22. c. 22. Saguntinorum urbi appropinquarunt, 5 milia ab oppido—castra faciunt.—Quia autem instabat hiems, utriusque [Rom. & Hispani] in hyberna, suos exercitus dimiserunt. Polyb. L. 3. c. 97, 99. Cajoab. trad.

land, *Publius* by sea. *Asdrubal* with much labour and entreaty hath gotten 4000 foot and 500 horse out of *Afric*. He repairs his fleet, and provides every way to make resistance. But all his chief seamen and masters of his ships revolt unto the *Romans*, because they had been chidden the last year for their negligence, which had betrayed the navy. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpestians* or *Carpetani*, an in-land people, about *Toledo*, in the very center of *Spain*. These do much mischief, so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a journey to them. His sudden coming cuts off some of them that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they making head, so valiantly assail him, that they drive him, for very fear, to encamp himself strongly on a high piece of ground, whence he dares not come forth to give them battle. So they take a town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions, and shortly make themselves masters of the country round about. This good success breeds negligence, for which they dearly pay. *Asdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kills the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole nation yieldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Asdrubal* should lead his army forth into *Italy*; which we may wonder why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had been informed by his letters in what hard case he was, and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported, and that upon the very rumour of his journey, almost all *Spain* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therefore sends word presently to *Carthage*, that this must not be so; or if they will needs have it so, that then they must send him a successor, and well attended with a strong army, which to employ they should find work more than enough, such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuse. *Asdrubal* must needs be gone: *Himilco* with such forces as are thought expedient for that service, both by land and sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherefore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himself with store of money, that he might have wherewithal to win the friendship of the *Gauls*, through whose countries he must pass, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly to blame for not remembering to ease him of his care. But since it can be no better, he lays great impositions upon all the *Spaniards* his subjects; and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipios*, hearing these news, are careful how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the river's name running by it) the richest town in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*, who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battle with him, which they win the more easily, for that the *Spaniards*,

Y. R. 537. " his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory,
 " and afterwards be haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slain, and few
 " should have escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ran away ere the battles
 " were fully joined. Their camp the *Romans* take and spoil, whereby
 " (questionless) they are marvelously enriched; all the money that
 " could be raked together in *Spain* being carried along in this *Italian*
 " expedition. This day's event joins all *Spain* to the *Romans*, if any
 " part of the country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far
 " from all thought of travelling into *Italy*, that it leaves him small
 " hope of keeping himself safe in *Spain*. Of these exploits advertise-
 " ment is sent to *Rome*, and letters to the Senate from P. and Cn. *Scipio*,
 " whereof the contents are, that they have neither money, apparel, nor
 " bread, wherewith to sustain their army and fleet; that all is wanting;
 " so as unless they may be supplied from *Rome*, they can neither hold
 " their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the province. These
 " letters come to *Rome* in an evil season, the state being scarcely able,
 " after the loss at *Cannæ*, to help itself at home. Yet relief is sent.
 " At the coming of this supply, the two *Scipios* pursue *Asdrubal*, and
 " hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we think, that
 " remember the last news of him, and how fearfully he mistrusted his
 " own safety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Hamilcar*, the son of
 " *Bomilcar*, with an army of three-score thousand men, besieging *Illiturgi*,
 " (which the learned *Ortelius* and others probably conjecture to
 " have stood where *Carinnena* is now in the kingdom of *Arragon*; for
 " there was *Illiturgi**, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way)
 " a town of the *Ilergetes*, their nearest neighbours, for having revolted
 " to the *Romans*. The town is greatly distressed; but most of all for
 " want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore break through between the
 " enemy's camps, with terrible slaughter of all that resist them; and
 " having victualled the place, encourage the townsmen to defend their
 " walls as stoutly as they should anon behold them fighting manfully
 " with the besiegers in their behalf. So they issue forth, about sixteen
 " thousand against three-score thousand, and killing more of the enemies
 " than themselves were in number, drove all the three *Carthaginian* com-
 " manders every one out of his quarter, and took that day, besides pri-
 " soners and other booty, fifty and eight ensigns.
 " The *Carthaginian* army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon
 " *Incibili*, that stood a little southward from the mouth of *Iberus*.
 " The *Spaniards* are blamed as too greedy of earning money by war,
 " for thus reinforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be won-
 " dered whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them; since *As-*

* Father *Rouilli* (B. 29. p. 208. Note 6.) and *Cellarius* (Vol. I. p. 69.) seem rightly should, after being beaten from thence, 80 and lay siege to *Incibili*, which stood where to have placed *Illiturgi* on the river *Bætis*. Sir W. Raleigh places it, is not easy to be near *Castulo*. But that the *Carthaginians* credited.

" *drubal* was lately driven to poll the country, wanting money of his own; and being beaten in his journey, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his camp was taken after the battle by *Ibera*. Howsoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their custom) are beaten again at *Incibili*, where there were of them above 13,000 slain, and above 3000 taken, besides two and forty ensigns, and nine elephants. After this (in a manner) all the people of *Spain* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other historian, to whom *Livy* gave credit, conquer all *Spain* twice in one year^a, by winning famous victories, whereof these good Captains *P.* and *Cn. Scipio* perhaps were not aware.

" The *Romans*, notwithstanding this large access of dominion, winter on their own side of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next year, great armies, of the *Spaniards* rise against *Adrubal*, and are overthrown by him. *P. Scipio*, to help these his friends, is forced to make great haste over the river. At *Castrum Altum*, a place in the midway between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, *Publius Scipio* encampeth; and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defensible; as intending to make it his seat for a while. But the country round about is too full of enemies: The *Carthaginian* horse have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off clear; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellows in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behoveful to retire unto some place more assured. So *Publius* withdraws himself unto *Mons Victorie*, that rising somewhat eastward from *Incibili*, overlooketh the southern outlet of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursue him. His brother *Cneius* repairs unto him; and *Adrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, with a full army, arrives to help his companions. As they lye thus near encamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discovered by the enemies, who are like to take him, but that he withdraws himself to a high piece of ground; where they besiege him, until his brother *Cneius* fetched him off. After this (but I know not why) *Castulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joineth with the *Romans*, though being far distant from them, and seated on the head of the river *Batis*. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* pass over *Iberus* to besiege *Illiturgi* again, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garrison; hoping to

^a Not twice in the same year according to *Livy*.

^b *Reuillé* (note 54. p. 238. B. 29.) says it is the same with *Valeria*, which he and *Cællarius*, V. 1. p. 103. place at the head of the *Sucro*.

^c According to *Reuillé*, loc. cit. note 56.

this hill was part of mount *Orospe*, between the *Sucro* and the *Anas*. But then *Publius* instead of retiring was advancing farther into the country.

^d *Castulo* is upon the *Batis*, not far from *Orospe*.

Y. R. 539.

“ take it by famine. We may justly wonder what should move them
 “ to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the *Roman* army lying so
 “ close by them, and to seek adventures farther off, in that very place,
 “ wherein they had been so grievously beaten the year before. But
 “ thither they go; and thither follows them *Cneius Scipio* with one le-
 “ gion; who enters the town by force, breaks out upon them the next
 “ day, and in two battles, kills above twelve thousand, and takes more
 “ than a thousand of them prisoners, with six and thirty ensigns. This
 “ victory (doubtless) is remarkable, considering that the greatest *Roman*
 “ legion at this time consisted of no more than 5000 men. The
 “ vanquished *Carthaginians* besiege *Bigerra*, but that siege is also
 “ raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Munda*,
 “ where the *Romans* are soon at their heels. There is a great battle
 “ fought, that lasteth four hours, wherein the *Romans* got a notable
 “ victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio*
 “ been wounded. Thirty-nine elephants are killed, and twelve thou-
 “ sand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty en-
 “ signs. The *Carthaginians* fly to *Auriges*, and the *Romans* pursue
 “ them. *Cn. Scipio* in a litter is carried into the field, and vanquishes
 “ the *Carthaginians* again, but kills not half so many of them as before;
 “ good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Not-
 “ withstanding all these overthrows, the *Spaniards*, a people framed
 “ even by nature to set war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troops
 “ of *Asdrubal*, who having also hired some of the *Gauls*, adventures
 “ once more to try his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten
 “ again, and loseth eight thousand of his men, besides prisoners, ele-
 “ phants, ensigns, and other appurtenances. After so many victories,
 “ the *Romans* are even ashamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the
 “ *Carthaginians*, since, in behalf of that city, they had at first entered
 “ into this war. And well may we think it strange, that they had
 “ not recovered it long before, since we may remember, that, long
 “ before this, they had won all the country once and again. But it
 “ must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged *Saguntum*;
 “ and were fain (as appears) to go their way without it: So as that they
 “ need not to blush for having so long forbore to do that, which ere
 “ now they had attempted, but were unable to perform. At the pre-
 “ sent they win *Saguntum*, and restore the possession thereof unto
 “ such of the poor dispersed citizens as they can find out. They also
 “ waste and destroy the country of the *Turdetani*, that had ministred
 “ unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrel against the *Saguntines*. This last

* *Bigerra*, according to *Rouilli* (who fol-
 lows *Protony*) and *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 108.
 stood in the country of the *Baetani*, a peo-
 ple in the east part of *Bætica*.

† *Munda*, *Cellarius*, p. 73. places near the

sea, not far from the Straights of *Gibraltar*.
 ‡ According to *Cellarius*, *Aurinx*, or *O-*
ringi, is not far from *Illiturgi* on the *Bætica*,
 but nearer the sea. *Cellar.* V. 1. p. 75.

" action (questionless) was much to their honour; and wherein we may
 " be assured, that the *Carthaginians* would have disturbed them if they
 " had been able. Y. R. 539.

" But overlooking now this long continuance of great victories,
 " which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spain*, other print or token of all
 " their brave exploits we can perceive none, than this recovery of Sa-
 " guntum, excepting the stopping of *Asdrubal's* journey, which was in-
 " deed of the greatest importance, but appertaining to their own de-
 " fence. For they have landed at *Emporie*, an haven town, built and
 " peopled by a colony of the *Phocæans*, kin to the *Massilians*, friends
 " to the *Romans*. They have easily won to their party, lost, recover-
 " ed, and lost again some petty bordering nations of the *Spaniards*,
 " that are carried one while by persuasion, other-whiles by force, and
 " sometimes by their own unsettled passions; and now finally they have
 " won a town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held entire possession, who
 " had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily be-
 " lieve, that when they took *Saguntum* (if they took it not by surprise;
 " which is to be suspected; since in this action we find no particulars
 " remembered, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they
 " had gotten the better of their enemies in some notable fight. In like
 " sort also must we think, that all those battles lately remembered, after
 " every one of which *Asdrubal* sat down before some place that had
 " rebelled, or seemed ready to rebel, were prosperous unto the *Car-*
 " *thaginians*. For it is not the custom of armies vanquished, to carry
 " the war from town to town, and beleaguer cities of their enemies;
 " but to fortify themselves within their own places of strength, and
 " therein to attend the levy and arrival of new supplies. And surely
 " if the *Romans* had been absolute masters of the field, when they
 " won *Saguntum*, they would not have consumed a whole year follow-
 " ing in practising only with the *Celiberians*, the next adjoining peo-
 " ple. Yet made they this little less than two years business. Of these Y. R. 540.
 " *Celiberians* we hear before, that they have yielded up themselves Liv. B. 24
 " unto the *Romans*, for security of their faith given hostages to *Scipio*; c. 49.
 " and, at his appointment, made war against the *Carthaginians*, with
 " their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus
 " hardly wrought, and not without express condition of a great sum,
 " hired to serve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I
 " cannot perceive, unless perhaps in those days it were the *Roman*
 " custom, or rather the custom of some bad author, whom *Livy* fol-
 " lows, to call every messenger or straggler, that entered their camp,
 " an hostage of that people from whom he came.

" The *Celiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, send an army
 " of thirty thousand men to help the *Romans*, out of which three Y. R. 541
 " hundred, the fittest, are chosen and carried into *Italy*, where to deal Liv. B. 25
 " c. 32. &
 " seq.

¹ *Livy* does not say these 300 were *Celiberians*, nobilissimos Hispanos 300, l. 24 c. 49.

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“ with their countrymen, that follow *Hannibal* in his wars. But if any
 “ of these three hundred^{*} return back into *Spain*, it is to be feared that
 “ he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibal*’s
 “ men, that all his fellows at home are the less unwilling to follow
 “ *Asdrubal*, when he shall next have a desire to lead them into *Italy*.
 “ Hereof we find more than probability when these mercenary *Cel-*
 “ *iberians* meet the *Carthaginian* army in the field. The two *Scipios*,
 “ presuming on this access of strength, divide their forces, and seek
 “ out the enemies, who lye not far off with three armies. *Asdrubal*
 “ the son of *Hamilcar* is nearest at hand, even among the *Celiberians*,
 “ at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order:
 “ But the fear is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being
 “ destroyed, *Mago* and the son of *Gisco*, hearing the news, will make use
 “ of their distance, which is five days march, and, by running into the
 “ farthest parts of the country, save themselves from being overtaken.
 “ *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the
 “ better soldiers, that is two parts of the old *Roman* army; leaving the
 “ third part, and all the *Celiberians*, to his brother. He that hath
 “ the longer journey to make comes somewhat the sooner to his life’s
 “ end. *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* are not studying how to
 “ run away: They find no such necessity. They join their forces to-
 “ gether, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that he
 “ is driven to keep himself close within his trenches, wherein he thinks
 “ himself not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masinissa*, Prince
 “ of the *Mossyli*, *Numidians* bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the re-
 “ gion now called *Tremizen*; to whom the chief honour of this service
 “ is ascribed, for that he becomes afterwards confederate with the
 “ *Romans*. In this dangerous case, *Publius Scipio* gets intelligence that
 “ *Indibilis*, a *Spanish* Prince, is coming with 7500 of the *Suffetani*[†] to
 “ join with his enemies. Fearing therefore to be straitened up, and
 “ besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the
 “ way, leaving *T. Fonteius* his lieutenant, with a small company to de-
 “ fend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according
 “ to his hope, to defeat him at the first encounter. The fight continues
 “ so long, that the *Numidian* horse appear (whom he thought to have
 “ been ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all
 “ sides: Neither are the *Carthaginians* far behind, but come so fast

* These 300 were sent into *Italy* the year before the siege of *Capua*, and three years after the battle of *Canna*. It may therefore be questioned, whether *Hannibal*’s soldiers were so rich as *Sir Walter* represents.

† It is not agreed where *Anitorgis* stood. *Rauill* places it near the *Anas* (n. 24. p. 286. B. 31.) *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 77. seems to think it the same with *Cuniborgis*, which

Strabo calls a town of the *Celice*, but which *Appian* places in *Lusitania*. The *Anitorgis* here mentioned by *Livy*, must have been near the *Iberus*; for according to him, *Publius Scipio*’s camp, which *Fonteius* and *Marcus* possessed after the General’s death, was near that river.

† The *Suffetani* were a people on the north side of the *Iberus*.

“ upon

“ upon him in rear, that *Publius Scipio*, uncertain which way to turn, yet fighting and animating his men, where need most requireth, is struck through with a lance, and slain; very few of his army escaping the same destiny, through benefit of the dark night. The like end hath *Cneius Scipio* within nine and twenty days after. At his meeting with *Asdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* mercenaries all forsake him, pretending that they had war in their own country. If *Anitorgo*, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beutenus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* town, this was no vain pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe that they were won by *Asdrubal*, and easily persuaded to take as much money for not fighting, as they should have had for hazarding their lives. *Cneius Scipio* therefore being unable to stay them, and no less unable without their help, either to resist the enemy, or to join with his brother, maketh a very violent retreat; herein only differing from plain flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard upon him; and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, having made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steals from them all by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested in an open place, of hard stony ground, where grows not so much as a shrub, unfit for defence of his legions against such enemies. Yet a little hill he finds of easy ascent on every side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies it with pack-saddles, for default of a better palisado. These weak defences the *Carthaginians* soon tear in sunder, and breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive, that saving themselves, I know not how, within some woods adjoining, escape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible overthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet how they that were thus hemmed in on every side, in so bare a ground as afforded not a shrub to cover them, could brake out and shroud themselves within woods adjoining, I should much wonder, did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *Publius Scipio's* camp on the north side of *Iberus*, fearful (as may be supposed) of his own life, since his General, with two parts of the *Roman* army, had little hope to remain long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Marcius*, a young *Roman* gentleman of a notable spirit; who having gathered together the scattered soldiers, and drawn some companies out of their garrisons, makes a pretty army. The soldiers being to choose a General by most voices, prefer this *L. Marcius* before *Fonteius* the lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco* coming upon them, this *L. Marcius* so encourageth his men (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more

¹ *Livy* says it cost them a great deal of trouble, and they were a long while about it. B. 25. c. 36.

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"honourable Generals lately slain), and admonisheth them of their pre-
 "sent necessity, that he bears the *Carthaginians* into their trenches.
 "A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely
 "sounds the retreat, reserving the fury of his soldiers to a greater oc-
 "casion. The *Carthaginians* are at first amazed, and wonder whence
 "this boldness grows, in enemies lately vanquished, and now again
 "little better than taken. But when they see that the *Roman* dares
 "not follow his advantage, they return to their former security, and
 "utterly despising him, set neither corps de garde nor centinel, but
 "rest secure, as if no enemy were near. *Marcus* therefore animates
 "his soldiers with lively words, and tells them that there is no adven-
 "ture more safe, than that which is furthest from suspicion of being
 "undertaken. They are soon persuaded to follow him in any desperate
 "piece of service. So he leads them forth by night, and steals upon
 "the camp of *Asdrubal*; where finding no guard, but the enemies fast
 "asleep, or very drowsy, he enters without resistance, fires their ca-
 "bins, and gives a terrible alarm; so that all affrighted the *Carthagi-
 "nians* run head-long one upon another, they know not which way.
 "All passages out of their camp *Marcus* hath preposited, so that
 "there is no way to escape, save by leaping down the rampart, which
 "as many do as can think upon it, and run away towards the camp
 "of *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, that lay six miles off. But *Mar-
 "cius* hath way-laid them. In a valley between their two camps he
 "hath bestowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of
 "horse; so that into this ambush they fall every one, and are cut in
 "pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the
 "alarm before his coming, *Marcus* hastens to be there as soon as they.
 "By which diligent speed he comes early in the morning upon this fur-
 "ther camp, which with no great difficulty he takes, and partly by
 "apprehension of danger, which the enemies conceived, when they be-
 "held the *Roman* shields foul, and bloodied with the former execu-
 "tion, he drives headlong into flight all that can save themselves from
 "the fury of the sword. Thirty-seven thousand of the enemies perish
 "in this night's work, besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty
 "taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antias* adds, that the camp of
 "*Mago* was also taken, and 7000 slain, and that in another battle
 "with *Asdrubal*, there were slain 10,000 more, besides 4330 taken
 "prisoners. Such is the power of some historians. *Livy* therefore
 "hath elsewhere well observed, that there is none so intemperate as
 "*Valerius Antias* in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battles.
 "That whilst *Marcus* was making an oration to his soldiers, a flame
 "of fire shone about his head, *Livy* reporteth as a common tale, not
 "giving the etc any credit; and temperately concludeth, that this
 "Captain *Marcus* got a great name; which he might well do, if
 "with so small forces, and in such distress, he could clearly get off

from

" from the enemies; and give them any parting blow, though it were
" far less than that which is here set down. Y. R. 541.

" Of these occurments *L. Marcius* sent word to *Rome*, not forgetting
" his own good service, whatsoever it was, but setting it out in such wise
" as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their
" vicegerent in *Spain*, which the better to intimate unto them, he
" stiled himself Pro-Prætor. The Fathers were no less moved with
" the tidings than the case required, and therefore took such careful
" order for supplying their forces in *Spain*, that although *Hannibal* came
" to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies levied to serve that province
" could be sent away, yet could they not stay a tide for defence of
" the city itself, but shipped them in all haste for *Spain*. As for the Liv. B. 26.
" title of Pro-Prætor which *Marcius* had assumed, they thought it too C. 11.
" great for him, and were offended at his presumption in usurping it;
" foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the
" soldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should
" command armies and provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was C. 17.
" dispatched away, with all convenient haste, into *Spain*, carrying with
" him about 6000 of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*,
" with 300 *Roman* horse, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

" It happened well that about these times the affairs of *Rome* be-
" gan to prosper in *Italy*, and afforded means of sending abroad such
" a strong supply, otherwise the victories of *Marcius* would ill have
" served, either to keep footing in *Spain*, or to stop the *Carthaginian*
" armies from marching towards the *Alps*. For when *Claudius*, landing
" with his new forces, took charge of that remainder of the army,
" which was under *Marcius* and *Fontius*, he found surer tokens of the
" overthrows received; than of those miraculous victories, whereof
" *Marcius* had made his vaunts to the Senate. The *Roman* party was
" forsaken by most of the *Spanish* friends, whom how to reclaim, it
" would not easily be devised. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards
" *Asdrubal*, the brother of *Hannibal*, whom he found among the *Au-*
" *setani*, near enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*,
" out of which there was no issue, but only through a straight, whercon
" the *Romans* seized at his first coming. What should have tempted any
" man of understanding to incamp in such a place, I do not find; and
" as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said that

* The *Ausetani* were indeed near enough at hand. *Pliny* mentions a people of that name near *Emporia*. *Livy*, as quoted by *Cellarius*, V. 1. p. 116. places them near the *Iberni*. But the *Lapides atri* (the black rocks) according to the same *Cellarius*, p. 109. were between *Illiturgi* and *Mentesa*, or *Mintissa* on the *Bætis*. *Livy* also says the *Lapides atri* were between *Illiturgi* and

Mentissa, but then he places these towns in the country of the *Ausetani*, which agrees to the situation Sir *Walter Raleigh* gives to *Illiturgi*. *Asdrubal ad Lapides atri* *Cæsar* habebat in *Ausetani*, is locus est inter oppida *Illiturgim* & *Mentissam*. *Liv. L. 26. c. 17.* *Rouille* (N. 53. p. 320. B. 32.) agrees with *Cellarius*.

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“*Asdrubal*, seeing himself thus locked up, made offer to depart forth-
 “with out of all *Spain*, and quit the province to the *Romans*, upon
 “condition that he and his army might be thence dismissed; that he
 “spent many days in entertaining parly with *Claudius* about this busi-
 “ness, that night by night he conveyed his footmen (a few at a time)
 “through very difficult passages out of the danger, and that finally
 “taking advantage of a misty day, he stole away with all his horie
 “and elephants, leaving his camp empty. If we consider, that there
 “were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian*
 “Generals in *Spain*, we shall find no less cause to wonder at the sim-
 “plicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargain for so great a
 “country, with one of these three chieftains, than at the strange nature
 “of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creep
 “out by night, the horse and elephants easily following them in a
 “dark misty day. Wherefore in giving belief to such a tale, it is
 “needful that we suppose both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians*
 “were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to have
 “been of far less value. Howsoever it was, neither this nor ought
 “else that the *Romans* could do, served to purchase any new friends in
 “*Spain*, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it
 “is, that the old soldiers, which had chosen *Marcus* their Pro-Prætor,
 “took it not well, that the Senate, regardless of their good deserts,
 “had repealed their election, and sent a Pro-Prætor whom they fancied
 “not so well. Some such occasion may have moved them to desire a
 “Pro-Consul, and, perhaps, young *Scipio* by name, as if a title of
 “greater dignity were needful to work regard in the *Barbarians*, and
 “the beloved memory of *Cneius* and *Publius* likely to do good, were
 “it revived in one of the same family. Whether upon these or upon
 “other reasons, *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the province, and *Publius*
 “the son of *P. Scipio* sent Pro-Consul into *Spain*.

“This is that *Scipio*, who afterwards transferred the war into *Afric*,
 “where he happily ended it to the great honour and benefit of his
 “country. He was a man of goodly presence, and singularly well
 “conditioned, especially he excelled in temperance, continency, boun-
 “ty, and other virtues that purchase love; of which qualities what
 “great use he made shall appear in the tenor of his actions following.
 “As for those things that are reported of him, favouring a little too
 “much of the great *Alexander's* vanity: How he used to walk alone
 “in the Capitol, as one that had some secret conference with *Jupiter*:
 “How a dragon (which must have been one of the Gods, and in
 “likelihood *Jupiter* himself) was thought to have conversed with his
 “mother, entering her chamber often, and vanishing away at the
 “coming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the
 “rumour by doubtful answers; I hold them no better than fables,
 “devised by historians, who thought thereby to add unto the glory of

"Rome; that this noble city might seem not only to have surpassed Y. R. 542.
 "other nations in virtue of the generality, but also in great worth of
 "one single man. To this end nothing is left out that might serve
 "to adorn this *Roman* champion. For it is confidently written as mat-
 "ter of unquestionable truth, that when a Pro-Consul was to be chosen
 "for *Spain*, there durst not any Captain of the principal citizens offer
 "himself as petitioner for that honourable but dangerous charge; that
 "the people of *Rome* were much astonished thereat; that when the
 "day of election came, all the princes of the city stood looking one
 "another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure
 "himself in such a desperate service; and finally, that this *Publius*
 "*Cornelius Scipio*, being then about four and twenty years of age*,
 "getting up upon an high place, where he might be seen of all the
 "multitude, requested and obtained, that the office might be conferred
 "upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L.*
 "*Marcus* no better than dreams; and either very unreasonable was the
 "fear of all the *Roman* Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*,
 "that not long before was gone into *Spain* Pro-Prætor, or very bad
 "intelligence they had out of the province, which *Asdrubal* the *Cartha-*
 "*ginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these
 "incoherences, which I find in the too partial *Roman* historians, I do not
 "willingly insist.

"*P. Scipio* was sent Pro-Consul into *Spain*, and with him was joined Polyb. B.
 "*M. Junius Silanus* as Pro-Prætor and his Coadjutor. They carried with 10. c. 6. &
 "them 10,000 foot and 1000 horse in thirty quinquereme gallies. With seq. & Liv.
 "these they landed at *Emporia*, and marched from thence to *Tarracon* B. 26. c. 19.
 "along the sea coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrival, it is said, that
 "embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the province,
 "which he entertained with such a majesty, as bred a wonderful opi-
 "nion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly afraid of him, Liv. B. 26.
 "and so much the greater was their fear, by how much the less they c. 20.
 "could give any reason of it. If we must believe this, then must we
 "needs believe, that their fear was even as great as could be, for very
 "little cause there was to be terrified with the fame of so young a man,
 "which had as yet performed nothing. All the winter following (or, Liv. B. 27.
 "as some think, all the next year) he did nothing, but spent the time c. 7.
 "perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His Y. R. 544.
 "first enterprize was against new *Carthage*, upon which he came unex- Polyb. loc.
 "pected, with 25,000 foot and 2500 horse; his sea forces coasting cit. & —
 "him and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived Liv. B. 26.
 "there together with him. He assailed the town by land and sea, and seq.

* Polyb. B. 10. c. 3. says upon the au- seven when he went into *Spain*. But if
 thority of *C. Lælius*, from whom he heard he was seventeen at the battle of the *Ticin*,
 "that *Scipio* was seventeen years of age, and went to *Spain* this year (as *Livy* had
 at the battle of the *Ticin*, and (c. 6.) twenty *Pighius* say) he was now only twenty-four.

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won it by assault the first day. The *Carthaginians* lost it by their too much confidence upon the strength of it, which caused them to man it more slenderly than was requisite. Yet it might have been well enough defended, if some fishermen of *Tarracon* had not discovered unto *Scipio* a secret passage unto the walls, whereof the townsmen themselves were either ignorant, or thought, at least, that their enemies could have no notice. This city of new *Carthage* resembled the old and great *Carthage* in situation, standing upon a demi-island, between a haven and a great lake. All the western side of the walls and somewhat of the north was fenced with this lake, which the fishermen of *Tarracon* had sounded, and finding some part thereof a shelf, whereon at low water men might pass knee deep, or, at most, wading up to the middle, *Scipio* thrust therein some companies of men, who recovered the top of the walls without resistance, the place being left without guard, as able to defend itself by the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backs of the *Carthaginians* within the city, easily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* army. What booty was found within the town, *Livy* himself cannot certainly affirm, but is fain to say, that some *Roman* historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterwards carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to say, that all the wealth of *Africa* and *Spain* was heaped up in that one town. But therein were bestowed all the *Spanish* hostages, or at least of the adjoining provinces, whom *Scipio* treated with singular courtesy, restoring them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner as doubled the thanks due to so great a benefit.

Polyb. B.
10. c. 18.
Liv. B. 26.
c. 49.

A procedure so generous encouraged a woman of a noble strain, to come and throw herself at his feet. (She was the wife of *Mandonius*, brother to *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilargetes*.) His wife, in her eyes she besought him, that he would order his *Roman* to the most civil to their captives than the *Carthaginians* had been. Her modesty hindered her from expressing herself more clearly, and *Scipio* misunderstood her meaning. Imagining that she and her companions had been hardly treated with respect to the necessities of life, he gave her an assurance, that for the future, they should want nothing. That returned the noble matron, has no part in my concern. Cares of another kind disturb my thoughts, when I consider the age of these about me. *Scipio* casting his eyes upon her nieces (the daughters of *Indibilis*) and other beautiful captives of like quality, who were with her, and seemed to

1. *Polyb. B. 10. c. 18.* and *Livy B. 26. c. 49.* *Scipio* found in the year 660 talents of the public money; and that he had brought with him into an alliance with *Rome*. *Polyb. Lib. 10.* 400 talents from *Rome*, for the expense of the war.

regard

regard her as a mother, understood the nature of her petition. Moved with compassion for young Princesses, whose honour had been exposed to so much danger, tears dropped from his eyes; and, reaching out his hand to raise the suppliant, he replied, "For my own sake, and for the sake of the Roman people, I would suffer nothing, that is any where esteemed sacred, to be violated amongst us. But that virtue and dignity, which you have preserved under all your misfortunes, oblige me to be more particularly attentive to your protection." He then appointed men of known probity to have the charge of the fair captives and their conductresses, and commanded, that they should be respected as his sisters and daughters.

A second adventure made it believed, that it was not mere policy, but virtue, which moved *Scipio* to such generous actions. His officers, knowing that he loved women, brought to him a young virgin of surprising beauty. Wherever she appeared she charmed the eyes of all; and *Scipio* was struck at the sight of her. Nevertheless he gave this answer to the officers: "Were I in a private station, you could not make me a more agreeable present; nor, in the post I now fill, a present less acceptable." Then, having asked the Lady concerning her birth, country, and circumstances; and finding, that she was contracted to a Prince of the *Celtiberians* named *Allucius*, he sent for her father, and for the Prince. When they came into his presence, he thus addressed himself to the lover of the captive. "*Allucius*, we are both young, and may therefore speak freely to one another of our sentiments. My soldiers have brought me hither a virgin, who, I hear, is your mistress, and that you passionately love her. Her beauty makes me easily believe it; and would the business with which I am entrusted by our Republic allow me to think of such pleasures, I should be glad to be indulged in them, while they did not exceed the bounds of justice and honour. Your love I can favour, and am pleased with an opportunity to do it. Your mistress has been with us, as if she had been with her own parents, or yours, that I might make you a present worthy of me and of you. The only return I ask, is this: Be a friend to the Roman people. If you believe me to be an honest man, such as my father and uncle were esteemed in these countries, know, that *Rome* has many citizens like us; and that there is not at this day, in the world, a nation, whom you and your countrymen would think a more terrible enemy, or a more despicable friend." At these words he put the fair captive into the hands of the *Celtiberian* Prince; and, as her parents had brought a rich present of money for the Pro-Consul, he gave that likewise to *Allucius*, as an addition to his wife's portion. This action did the Roman Republic great service in *Spain*. *Allucius* published in *Celtiberia*, That there was come among them a young hero, terrible and beneficent as the immortals, all conquering by his benighted sword.

The

Y. R. 544.

Sir W. Ral.

B. 5. c. 3.

§. 11.

Liv. B. 27.

c. 17. & seq.

The grateful Prince soon after brought to *Scipio* a reinforcement of one thousand four hundred horse; "and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, nearest neighbours to *Tarraco*, and dwelling on the north side of the *Iberus*, forsook the *Carthaginian* party, and joined with the *Romans*. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by the injuries of the *Carthaginians*, and invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship was indeed no unsure token that it should be long lasting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as we have heard before) forsaken the *Carthaginian* party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*, then could nothing have been devised more vain than this oration of *Indibilis*, their King, excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when he should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the father and the uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder *Scipios* had gotten some few places among these their neighbours, and held them by strength; yet were the *Romans* never masters of the country, till this worthy commander, by recovering their hostages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himself the assured love and assistance of these Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generals, when they heard of this loss, were very sorry, yet nevertheless they set a good face on the matter, laying, that a young man, having stolen a town by surprize, was too far transported and overjoyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in mind of his father and uncle, which would alter his mood, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

"Now if I should here interpose mine own conjecture, I should be bold to say, that the *Carthaginians* were at this time busy in setting forth towards *Italy*, and that *Scipio* to divert them, undertook new *Cartage*, as his father and uncle, upon the like occasion, sat down before *Ibera*. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amiss, if the passage over the lake had been undiscovered, and the town held out some longer while. For howsoever that particular action was the more fortunate in coming to such good issue upon the first day, yet in the generality of the business between *Rome* and *Cartage*, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into *Italy*, than that half of *Spain* should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do that should hinder his journey, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* work, in that lingering war of taking and retaking towns; whilst the main of the *Carthaginian* forces, under

"under *Asdrubal*, the son of *Hamilcar*, went to a greater enterprize, even to fight in trial of the empire.

"But the *Roman* Historians tell this after another fashion, and say, V. R. 545.
 "that *Asdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*, whither he ran for fear, as
 "thinking himself ill assured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might
 "but hear the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, coming upon *Asdrubal*,
 "his vant-currers charged so lustily the *Cartaginian* horie, that they
 "drave them into their trenches, and made it apparent, even by that
 "small piece of service, how full of spirit the *Roman* army was, and
 "how dejected the enemy. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retired out
 "of that even ground, and occupied a hill, compassed on three sides
 "with the river, very steep of ascent, and not easy of access on the
 "forefide, by which himself got up, and was to be followed by the
 "*Romans*. On the top of it there was a plain, whereon he strongly en-
 "camped himself, and in the midway, between the top and the root
 "of the hill, was also another plain, into which he descended, more
 "upon bravery, than for that he durst adventure his army to the hazard of
 "a battle, for which this was no equal ground. But such advantage
 "of place could not save him from the *Romans*. They climbed up the
 "hill to him, they recovered even footing with him, drove him out
 "of this lower plain up into his camp on the hill top, whither although
 "the ascent were very difficult, and his elephants bestowed in the
 "smootheft places to hinder their approach, yet compassing about,
 "and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found, but much
 "more strongly breaking their way, where the *Cartaginians* had got
 "up before them, they drave both men and elephants headlong, I
 "know not whither, for it is said, that there was no way to fly. Out
 "of such a battle, wherein he had lost 8000 men, *Asdrubal* is said to
 "have escaped, and gathering together his dispersed troops, to have
 "marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having sent away his elephants ere the
 "fight began. Nevertheless *Mago* and *Asdrubal* the son of *Gisco*, Liv. B. 27. c. 20.
 "are reported after this to have consulted with him about this war,
 "and finally to have concluded, that go he needs must, were it but to
 "carry all the *Spaniards*, as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*.
 "How likely this was to have been true, it shall appear at his coming
 "into *Italy*, whence these incoherent relations of the *Spanish* affairs have
 "too long detained us."

² Polybius, B. 10. c. 35, 36. relates this battle somewhat different from Livy, whom Sir W. Raleigh follows.

C H A P. XXXII.

The TWELFTH and THIRTEENTH YEARS of the War.

Asdrubal vanquished in the battle of the Metaurus. Hannibal is forced to confine himself within Bruttium.

Y. R. 545.

Liv. B. 27.

c. 33.

c. 34.

THE approach of *Asdrubal* (as was before observed) made it incumbent on the Romans to be very careful in their choice of Consuls to succeed *Marcellus* and *Quintilius*. The Conscrip. Fathers cast their eyes on *C. Claudius Nero*, who had formerly served in Spain; a man of approved courage and ability: But where to find him a proper colleague was the difficulty; for *Nero* being somewhat hasty, and extremely enterprising, it seemed necessary to join with him, in the command, some person whose slegm may temper his vivacity. It happened about this time, that the reputation of one *M. Livius Salinator* was attacked in the Senate. His kinsman *M. Livius Salinator* spoke in his defence. *Salinator* had discharged the office of Consul with great prudence twelve years before, yet was afterwards unjustly censured by the people for a pretended unequal distribution of the spoils of *Illyricum*. Piqued at the affront, he retired from all public business to his country farm; and though *Marcellus* and *Levinus* urged him to return to the city, he lived there like a man in disgrace, his beard long, his hair neglected, and his dress hovently, till the Censors forced him to shave himself and take his place in the Senate: and even then he continued to shew his resentment of the affront he had received, giving his opinion only by an *Aye* or a *No*, or by moving from one side of the house to the other. The case of his friend now engaged him to speak; this drew upon him the attention of the fathers. They called to mind his merit and his past services, were surprized at themselves for having so long neglected a man of his worth and abilities, and judged him a proper person to be joined with *Nero* in the Consulship. But, when the Comitia met, *Livius* himself opposed his own election: *If I am worthy, let me be chosen Consul a second time, why was I condemned? Or if my condemnation was just, why should I be placed again at the helm? However, he at length prevailed upon to accept of the dignity offered him. It fell to him to march against *Asdrubal*, and to *Nero's* to oppose *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*. But the rest of the winter was spent in the celebration of games, processions, and other religious ceremonies, to render the Gods propitious.*

When the spring came, the Consuls began to make new levies with extraordinary vigour. Five out of seven maritime colonies, which had been

Chap. XXXII. *Second Punic War.*

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been hitherto exempted, by treaty, from furnishing their contingents of troops, were deprived of that immunity, which was confirmed only to *Ostia* and *Antium*. The *Volones* were enrolled in the legions, and *Scipio* sent from *Spain* to *Livius* two thousand legionaries, eight thousand *Spaniards* and *Gauls*, and eighteen hundred horse, partly *Numidian*, and partly *Spanish*.

Y. R. 546.
Bef. Chr.
206.
245 Conf.
Liv. B. 27.
c. 38.

Asdrubal had come from *Spain* to *Italy* in a much shorter time than *Hannibal*. He had found means to gain the good will of the *Gauls*. A great number of the *Arverni* had listed themselves in his service; and even the mountaineers of the *Alps*, being by this time sensible, that there was no design upon their cottages and possessions, and that their hills were only a road by which one powerful state marched its armies to attack another, at a great distance from them, had been so far from opposing his march, that many of them had joined his army. The *Carthaginian*, after passing the *Alps*, laid siege to *Placentia*. While he was before the town, the Consuls in great haste set out for their respective provinces. *Nero* found, as *Livy* would have us believe, that the Prætor *Hesilius* (who met him at *Venusia*, and there resigned the command of the troops to him) had, with some light armed cohorts, attacked all *Hannibal's* army on a march, killed 4000 of his men, and taken nine standards. The same author adds, that *Nero* obtained a victory over *Hannibal*, by means of an ambush he placed behind the *Carthaginian* army. He slew 8000 of them and four elephants, and took 700 prisoners, with the loss only of 500 men; and in a second engagement cut in pieces 2000 of the enemy. Soon after this, four *Gallic* and two *Numidian* troopers, who had been dispatched with letters to the *Carthaginian* General from *Asdrubal*, missing their way, fell into the hands of some *Roman* soldiers, in the neighbourhood of *Tarentum*, who carried them before *Q. Claudius*, the Pro-Prætor; and when dread of torture had made these messengers confess their errand, *Claudius* sent them under a guard, with the letters unopened, to the Consul *Nero* at *Capitum*. *Nero* having caused these letters to be interpreted, and finding the import of them to be, That *Asdrubal* was repairing to *Umbria*, and desired his brother to join him there, he sent them strait to the Senate, signifying to them by the same express, that he was resolved to march with 6000 foot and 1000 horse of his choicest troops to reinforce his colleague, and give *Asdrubal* battle, before *Hannibal* could come to his assistance. This step was contrary to the laws, which forbade Generals to make war out of their own provinces, or to enter those of their colleagues: But the Consul imagined, that the present perilous circumstances would justify his conduct.

c. 39.

c. 40.

c. 41.

c. 43.

The messenger dispatched; *Nero* sent orders to the people of the several provinces through which he was to march, to have provisions, horses, carts, and all other accommodations, in readiness. Then having caused a report to be spread, that he was going to force a *Carthaginian*.

Y. R. 546. *thaginian* garrison in a neighbouring city of *Lucania*, he left the command of the body of his army with one of his Lieutenants, and in the night took the road to *Picenum*. When he was got to a considerable distance from his camp, he discovered his intention to the detachment he had taken with him, and encouraged them to the enterprize by the prospect of the glory they would acquire by a victory over *Asdrubal*, in which, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they would be undoubtedly thought to have had the greatest share.

Ref. Chr.
206.
245 Conf.
Livy, B. 27.
c. 45.

c. 44. *Nero's* design, when known at *Rome*, threw the people into a consternation; some thought, that to leave an army without its General, and deprived of its bravest soldiers, in the neighbourhood of *Hannibal*, was too bold a step; others approved the enterprize; and the least equitable suspended their judgment, till they should see the success.

c. 46. In the mean time the Consul drew near his colleague's camp, by whose advice he entered it in the night, to conceal his arrival from the enemy. A council of war was immediately held, in which many were for giving *Nero's* troops time to refresh themselves after so long a march; but the General himself opposed this motion, being in hopes to defeat *Asdrubal*, and return to his camp at *Canusium*, before *Hannibal* should discover his absence, or be able to take any advantage of it.

Liv. B. 27.
c. 47. Notwithstanding the precautions used by the *Romans* to conceal from the enemy the arrival of *Nero*, *Asdrubal* the next morning perceived that *Livius* had got a reinforcement; and imagining that *Hannibal* had been defeated, and that the victorious army was come against him, he declined a battle, though he had already drawn out his men in order to engage; and the next night, under favour of the darkness, he decamped and took the road to *Insubria*, resolving to wait there for an answer from his brother, with certain intelligence of his situation. The two guides whom the *Carthaginian* chose to conduct him, proved unfaithful, and on a sudden disappeared: So that the army was bewildered, and knew not what route to take. They marched all night along the banks of the *Mesaurus*, a river in *Umbria*, *Asdrubal* designing to pass it as soon as it was light. And while he pursued his tedious march along the winding stream, the *Romans* had time to come up with him. He was forced to give battle in a disadvantageous situation, and when his men were faint with thirst, hunger, and want of rest. Nay, he had lost a great number of his soldiers in the night, especially of the *Gauls*, who, not able, or not willing to endure the fatigue of so painful a march, had laid themselves down to sleep. He ranged his elephants, which, according to *Polybius*, were ten in number, in the front of his battle, before the center, which consisted of his *Ligurians*. His *Gauls* he posted in the left, on an eminence near the river; and, in the right, his *Africans* and *Spaniards*, which were the strength of his army; and the whole was drawn up very deep in file. The main body of the *Romans* was led by *L. Porcius*, the Prætor, of *Gaul*, who with his forces had joined *Livius* before

Polyb. B.
11. c. 13.
and Liv.
B. 27. c. 48.

before the arrival of *Nero*: This last took upon him the command of the right wing, and *Livius* of the left. *Asdrubal*, knowing that his *Gauls* were secured by the advantage of their situation, made his greatest efforts against the left of the enemy. There the battle continued obstinate a long time. At length *Nero*, unable to mount the eminence to attack the *Gauls*, and impatient of inaction, chose out the stoutest of his soldiers, and, having led them round the rear of their own army, fell upon the *Africans* and *Spaniards* in flank and rear. Victory then declared for the *Romans*; and *Asdrubal* (after having performed all the duties of a great General) seeing the entire rout of his troops, and unwilling to survive their defeat, threw himself into the midst of a *Roman* battalion, and was slain. There were more elephants killed by the *Carthaginians* than by the enemy: for when the beasts grew unruly, their riders drove a sharp iron into the joint, where the head is set on to the neck. This (says *Livy*) was found to be the quickest method of dispatching those animals, a method invented by *Asdrubal*. According to the *Latin* Historian, the *Carthaginians* had 56,000 men killed in the battle, and 5400 taken prisoners; above 4000 *Roman* captives were found in the enemy's camp; the *Romans* lost, in the action, 8000 men. But *Polybius* says, that of the *Carthaginians* there died only 10,000 men, and of the *Romans* 2000. *Livy* reports that the conquerors were so fatigued with slaughtering their enemies, that the next day, when advice was brought to *Livius*, that a large body of *Ligurians* and *Cisalpine Gauls* (who either had not been in the battle or had escaped from it) were going off in great disorder, without leaders and without ensigns, and that it would be very easy to put them all to the sword; No matter, said he, let some remain to carry the news of their own defeat, and of our bravery. *Nero* set out from the camp of his colleague the night after the battle, and in six days time reached his own camp at *Canusium*.

The joy of the people at *Rome*, on the news of this success, was equal to the fears they had been in, on account of *Nero's* march. It quite changed the face of the city: from this time the citizens ventured to make contracts, to buy and sell, lend money, and pay debts, as securely as in a time of peace. *Nero*, at his return to his camp, ordered *Asdrubal's* head, which he had brought with him, to be thrown before the advanced guards of the enemy, and some *African* prisoners to be exposed in chains to their view. Two of these prisoners he set at liberty, and sent them to *Hannibal's* camp, to give him an account of the victory. The *Carthaginian*, struck with a blow so fatal to his Republic and his family, is said to have cried out, *It is like the fortune of Carthage*. He immediately decamped, and retired into *Bruttium* with all his forces. Thither he transplanted the *Metapontines* and all those of the *Lucanians* who still adhered to him; preparing to defend this corner of *Italy*, since he was obliged to abandon the rest of it.

V. R. 546.
Ref. Cha.
206.
245 Conf.

Polyb. B.
11. c. 3.
Orosius, B.
4. Liv. B.
27 c. 50.
51.

Y. R. 546.

Ref. Chr.

206.

245 Conf.

To add to the good fortune of the Republic this year, the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius*, in conjunction with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* and the other allies, had kept *Philip* employed in *Greece*, and thereby secured *Italy* from an invasion from that quarter. And *Lævinus* had gained a victory over the *Carthaginians* at sea, and sent a large supply of corn from *Sicily* to *Rome*.

From some motive not known, the *Romans* were desirous of having a Dictator to preside at the approaching elections. *Nero* named his Colleague *Livius* to that dignity. Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *L. Veturius Philo*, who had both distinguished themselves by their valour in the last campaign under *Livius*, were chosen Consuls.

Y. R. 547.

Ref. Chr.

205.

246 Conf.

These new Generals had orders to carry on the war jointly in *Bruttium* against *Hannibal*. And now, strange as it may appear, the *Carthaginian* made himself feared, even in the low condition to which the defeat and death of his brother had reduced him: He gained some advantages over the Consuls, in the plains of *Consentia*; and they durst not attack him in his camp. *Hannibal* never appeared greater than in his adversity. Who, (says *Polybius*) that considers attentively *Hannibal's* conduct, how many great battles he fought, how many lesser actions he was engaged in, the prodigious number of towns he took, the various turns of fortune he experienced, and the difficult situations in which he often found himself, during the course of a sixteen years war, which he alone supported against the most powerful state in the world: Who that considers these things can help admiring his extraordinary talents as a General? And though, during all that time, he kept the field with his army, and that army was a mixture of *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*, differing in their laws, customs and languages, and having no other bond of union but his command; and though they were often in want of necessaries, [especially, adds *Livy*, when confined to *Bruttium*, a country little able to sustain them in its prosperity, much less when exhausted by so long a war, and when its inhabitants were forced to leave tilling their lands, to enlist as soldiers] such was the excellence of *Hannibal's* discipline, that no sedition ever happened amongst his troops, no mutiny against the General.

Liv. B. 28.

C. 12.

Polybius adds, that had the *Carthaginian* invaded the other parts of the world first, and reserved *Italy* for his last attempt, it is not to be doubted, but he would have succeeded in all his undertakings: But having begun where he should have ended, his illustrious actions found their period on the same theatre, where they had their commencement.

* According to *Strabo*, [in *Syr. c.* 91.] he took no less than 100 in *Italy*.

* *Polyb. de Vitt. c.* 11. Excerpt. ex Lib. 9. tells us, that *Hannibal* was the sole spring and director of the second *Punic* war.

" He carried it on in *Italy* by himself; in *Spain* by his brothers, first *Asdrubal*, then *Mago*; in *Sicily* by *Hippocrates*, and afterwards by *Mento* [*Murines*]; and in *Greece* by King *Philip*."

C H A P. XXXIII.

The continuation of the events of the war in Spain, after the departure of Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, from that country.

THE next day after the battle in which Scipio is said * to have defeated Asdrubal, and driven him over the Pyrenees, he assembled the prisoners, amounting to 10,000 foot and 2000 horse: He ordered the Africans to be sold, but the Spaniards he dismissed, without ransom. This act of generosity had such an effect upon the Spaniards in general, that they with one voice saluted him King. The Roman answered, that "to him the greatest title was that of Imperator, which his soldiers gave him; that the name of King, so much respected in other places, was intolerable at Rome: That, if to have a royal soul was in their estimation the highest character among men, they might silently think of him as they pleased, but he desired they would forbear the appellation."

Y. R. 547.
* See p. 229, and 247.

There seems to have been no more action this year in Spain. The Carthaginians had two Generals in that country, Mago, the brother of Hannibal, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, each with an army. Mago resigned his troops to Asdrubal, and went into the Balears to make new levies there, while the latter posted himself in Lusitania near the Streights of Gades. Scipio wintered at Tarraco.

The year following, Silanus, the Pro-Prætor under Scipio, with a detachment of 10,000 foot and 500 horse, routed the united forces of Mago and Hanno, which latter had been sent from Africa with an army to supply the place of Hannibal's brother Asdrubal. Hanno was taken prisoner in the action, but Mago escaped with his broken troops to Asdrubal (the son of Gisco). These, with their united strength, marched from Gades into Bætica, in order to protect their allies in that country, but at the approach of Scipio, were obliged to return to the place from whence they came. Upon their departure, the Pro-Consul sent his brother Lucius to besiege Oringi, a city of importance at the head of the Bætis, and after the reduction of that town, retired to Tarraco for the winter.

Y. R. 546.

Mago, having employed himself for some time in making levies among the Spaniards, brought such recruits to Asdrubal, that the army consisted of 54,000, some say 74,000 men. With these forces the two Generals, in conjunction with Masinissa, marched the following spring in quest of the Romans, and encamped in a vast plain near a town called Silpia, on the confines of Bætica. Scipio, upon the news of the enemy's surprizing preparations, thought it necessary for him also to arm the Spaniards; but remembering the misfortune that befel his father

Y. R. 547.

Y. R. 547. father and uncle, by relying on them too much, he resolved to be cau-
 B. of Chr. tious of employing them on critical occasions. Having swelled his
 205. army to 45,000 foot and 3000 horse, he moved from *Tarraco*, marched
 246 Conf. towards the *Carthaginians*, and pitched his camp in the same plain with
 them.

The two armies were frequently drawn up before their entrench-
 ments; and as *Scipio* observed, that *Asdrubal* always placed his best
 troops, which were his *Africans*, in the center, and his *Spaniards* in
 the two wings, he constantly posted his *Spaniards* in the wings, and
 his *Romans* in the center. But this he did to deceive the enemy. For
 when the day came, on which he resolved to give battle, he changed
 this disposition, and placed his legionaries in the two wings, and the
Spaniards in the middle. In this order he marched out of his camp
 very early in the morning, and sent his cavalry and the light armed
 foot to provoke the enemy; insomuch that *Asdrubal* was obliged to
 draw out his men before they had taken their usual refreshment. In
 the mean time *Scipio* advanced with his infantry. At his approach,
 his cavalry and *Velites*, pursuant to orders, ceased the fight, and retired
 through the intervals of the foot. He then directed his center to
 move on slowly, but his wings to advance very fast, the cavalry and
 light armed men at the same time moving from the rear, and extending
 themselves to fall upon the enemy in flank. Thus the bravest of his
 troops came to an engagement with the weakest of the opposite army,
 and defeated them before the two centers could join battle. And the
 great prudence of the Roman General, in this conduct, was visible,
 when after he had routed the enemies wings, he came to attack their
 center; for the *Africans* made so stout a resistance, as almost quite dis-
 heartened the *Romans*; insomuch that *Scipio* (as one author relates) was
 forced to dismount, and throw himself, sword in hand, into the midst
 of the enemy's battalions, before he could engage his men to make
 the necessary efforts to complete the victory. But then the *Africans*
 gave ground, and the slaughter was terrible. *Asdrubal*, with the run-
 aways, gained the camp; but the *Spaniards* deserted him so fast, that
 he laid aside the thought of fortifying himself there, and retired in the
 night towards the shore of the ocean. *Scipio* pursued, and came up
 with him, and, after a second slaughter, the three chiefs, *Asdrubal*,
Mago, and *Masiniſſa*, had no more than six thousand men left about
 them, and these for the most part disarmed. With all expedition
 they gained the summit of a steep hill, and there entrenched themselves
 as well as they could. *Asdrubal* perceiving that these remains of his
 army continually lessened, abandoned them in the night. The sea was
 near, he found ships ready to sail, and embarked for *Gades*. *Scipio* be-
 ing informed of *Asdrubal's* flight, left *Silanus* with ten thousand foot and
 a thousand horse to besiege the enemy's camp, and he himself with the
 rest of his forces marched back to *Tarraco*. After his departure, *Masiniſſa*
 had

Polyb. L.
 11. c. 20.

Appian, in
 lib. 4.

had private conferences with *Silanus*, and entered into engagements to favour the *Roman* cause. *Mago* escaped to *Gades* with some ships which *Asdrubal* had sent him; and the foldiers abandoned by their Generals, either went over to the enemy, or dispersed themselves up and down the country.

The *Carthaginian* power in *Spain* was now almost totally reduced; but the Pro-Consul did not confine his views to *Spain* alone. He began to think of paving his way to *Africa*. *Syphax*, King of *Masæsyia*, was now in alliance with the *Carthaginians*; and, as *Scipio* knew that the *Numidian's* friendship to them would not be more constant than their good fortune, he sent his friend *Lælius* to persuade him to break the treaty. *Lælius's* arguments wrought conviction; but he being only a subaltern in *Scipio's* army, the King insisted, for his greater security, upon having a personal conference with the Pro-Consul himself; and he protested, that if *Scipio* would come into *Numidia*, he should be received there with honour, and dismissed with satisfaction. The *Roman* considered the hazard of such an enterprize; but being above the fear of danger, when he had the interest of his Republic in view, (leaving *Marcus* at *Tarraco*, with a part of his troops, and ordering *Silanus* with the rest to *New Carthage*,) embarked with *Lælius* for *Africa*, and arrived at the capital of King *Syphax*. *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there the same day from *Spain*; and nothing could be more agreeable to the *Numidian* Prince, than to see two Generals of the two most powerful nations in the world, at his court, at the same time; and both come to seek his alliance. He first put on the person of a mediator, and would have had *Scipio* enter into a conference with the *Carthaginian*, in order to an amicable accommodation. But *Scipio* excused himself, as not having received any commission from his Republic to treat of peace. However, he accepted of an invitation to dine at the King's table with *Asdrubal*. And then not only *Syphax*, a stranger to the *Roman* manners; but even *Asdrubal* a *Carthaginian*, a mortal enemy, was charmed with his conversation. The latter is reported to have said, "That he did not question but *Syphax* and his kingdom would soon be at the devotion of the *Romans*, such an art had *Scipio* of conciliating to him the hearts of men: That the *Carthaginians* need not enquire how *Spain* was lost, but how *Africa* might be preserved: That *Scipio's* voyages were not voyages of pleasure; that he would not have crossed the sea with only two vessels, nor put himself in the power of a King whose honour he had never tried, but with a view to gain all *Africa*." *Asdrubal* judged rightly. *Syphax* entered into a treaty with *Scipio*; and, lest the *Roman*, in his return to *Spain*, should be attacked at sea by *Asdrubal's* galleys; kept the *Carthaginians* with him, and amused them till the Pro-Consul was safely arrived at *New Carthage*.

V. R. 547.
Bet. Chr.
205.
346. Conf.

Liv. B.
28. c. 17.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 18.

Appian in
Ibericus.

- Y. R. 547.
Bef. Chi.
205.
246 Conf.
Liv. B. 28.
c. 19.
- His chief business now was to punish the nations and cities which had signalized themselves against the *Romans*, and to keep the *Spaniards* in awe by examples of severity. He marched in person to besiege *Illiturgi*, and sent *Marcus* to invest *Castulo*. The former, which, *Livy* says, had revolted to the enemy after the death of the two *Scipios*, was taken by assault, sacked and burnt; and men, women, and children, put to the sword. The latter capitulated, and was more favourably treated. From *Castulo*, *Marcus* went and appeared before *Astapa*, a city obstinately devoted to the *Carthaginians*. The inhabitants, being desperate, brought all their moveables, and threw them in a heap in the market-place; and then putting their wives and children on the top of the pile, and encompassing it with faggots, they chose out fifty of the most steady of the citizens to guard this dear depositum; and spoke to them in the following manner: *Be assured, we will either repulse the Romans, or all perish in the attempt. If we are overcome, do you, upon the first news of the enemy's approach, save the honour and liberty of our wives and children. First make use of your swords, and then of fire, to preserve these remains of an unfortunate people from captivity and infamy.* After this they did not wait to be attacked, but marched out at one of the gates, in good order, to give battle; and all died fighting. And the news of this slaughter produced another in the heart of the city: The fifty *Astapans* discharged their trust, and then threw themselves into the flames.
- Liv. B. 28.
c. 22.
- Whilst *Marcus* was executing vengeance on these cities, *Scipio* returned to *New Carthage*, where he entertained his army with a fight of gladiators, in honour to the manes of his father and uncle, pursuant to a vow he had made: "On this occasion two *Spanish* Princes are said to have fought in duel with each other for a principality. During these diversions, some deserters arrived from *Gades*, the only city of *Spain* in the *Carthaginian* interest; and upon their report of a conspiracy, among the *Gaditani*, to put the *Romans* into possession of the place, *Scipio* dispatched *Marcus*, with some troops by land, and *Laelius* by sea, with eight ships, to carry on the enterprize. But *Laelius*, in his passage, having met and defeated eight *Carthaginian* triremes, learnt from the prisoners, that the conspirators at *Gades* had been discovered, and sent in chains to *Carthage* to be tried there. Whereupon he gave *Marcus* notice of it, advising him to lead back his troops; and he himself likewise returned to *New Carthage*.
- Liv. B. 28.
c. 24.
- And now it appeared, how necessary *Scipio's* presence was, both to preserve his conquests in *Spain*, and to maintain discipline in the army. He happened to fall dangerously sick; and *Fame* made his case worse than it was; nay, a report prevailed that he was dead; and this had such an effect, that not only *Indibilis* (a petty King before mentioned) and his brother *Mandonius*, who had not been rewarded suitably to their expectations, immediately revolted from the *Romans*, and stirred up the *Celtiberians*

Celtiberians against them; but eight thousand *Roman* legionaries, who were incamped on the banks of the *Sacro*, to keep that part of *Spain* in awe, mutinied, cast off their leaders, (who would not enter into their measures) and chose two insolent common soldiers, *Atrius* and *Albius*, to conduct them. And the madness of these two fellows rose to such a height, that they usurped the consular dignity, and ordered *Lictors* to walk before them. The pretence for the mutiny was want of pay, which they had not received for six months. They also demanded to be led against the enemy, or if *Spain* was already reduced, to be permitted to return to *Italy*.

The Pro-Consul recovered his health; but was much embarrassed how to manage the mutineers, so as not to push them to extremities, and yet to make such examples as should keep his troops in their duty. He at length decoyed them to *New Carthage*, by promising to pay them their arrears there, and by giving such orders as deceived them into a belief, that the troops with him were immediately to go, under the command of *Silanus*, upon an expedition against *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*; which would leave the Pro-Consul absolutely at the mercy of the malcontents. Full of these hopes, they entered the city. *Scipio* had before sent seven Tribunes to them, to supply the place of those whom they had driven away. And these, who had by an artful conduct gained the confidence of the rebels, were ordered each of them to invite five of the most guilty to his house, make them drink plentifully, then bind them, and give the general notice of the success. Thirty-five of the mutineers were thus secured, without the knowledge of the rest. The next morning, by break of day, *Silanus*, who was to lead away the faithful troops, pretended to make preparation for his march, and drew up his manipuli near the gates: But he had secret orders to return into the heart of the city, upon a signal agreed on. *Scipio*, at a proper time, gave the usual notice for his soldiers to assemble in the market-place; and upon the first sound of the trumpet, the seditious all ran thither without their arms, as the laws required. *Silanus*, at the same time, brought back his armed troops, and surrounded the assembly. The Pro-Consul, in a long harangue, expostulated with the mutineers on the baseness and folly of their late proceeding, when the sum of their grievances could amount to no more than this: *That their General, being sick, had neglected to pay them at the usual time.* As soon as he had ended his speech, the names of the thirty-five chiefs of the revolt who had been already condemned by a council of war, were called over; they appeared before the Tribunal half naked, were whipped, and afterwards beheaded by the *Lictors*. Then the Herald called over the names of all the rest of the mutineers; the General took the military oath of them anew; and thus ended the sedition.

Y. R. 547. Scipio was yet at *New Carthage*, when he received an account that
 B. f. Chr. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had raised an army among their subjects and
 205.
 246 Conf. allies, of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse,
 and were living upon free quarter, in the territories of the friends
 Liv. B. 28. of *Rome*. It was necessary to put a stop to the progress of these faith-
 c. 32. less Princes, and to employ the seditious troops (who were now quiet,
 and had received their pay) jointly with the rest, in the expedition.
 Scipio therefore having assembled all in the market-place, spoke to
 this effect: *The resolution I have taken to punish the perfidious Spa-*
niards, gives me much less uneasiness than the vengeance I was forced to
execute on the late mutineers. Among these, I found none but citizens
of Rome, or Latines, old soldiers who had been attached to my father,
and the companions of my victories. I could not do justice upon them
without tears. But among those I am going to punish, I shall find none
but strangers and ingrates, robbers and their leaders, who lay waste the
fields of our allies, and burn their houses. Let us go then and clear the
plains of these Banditti; nor let it be said, that in this province, so happily
 Polyb. B. *subdued, we left in arms one single enemy of the Roman name.* Whilst
 11. c. 29. the Pro-Consul was speaking, he saw alacrity and joy painted on every
 face; and taking advantage of the present disposition of his soldiers,
 he immediately began his march. In fourteen days he came up with
 the enemy in the country of the *Sedetani*, and there gained a complete
 victory. The *Spaniards* lost about two thirds of their army, the rest
 escaped with *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*. These brothers had now no re-
 source but in the clemency of the conqueror. *Mandonius* came and fell
 at the Pro-Consul's feet, begging pardon for the King, and for himself.
 He laid the blame of their revolt on the misfortunes of the times, and
 the unaccountable effect which the report of *Scipio's* death had caused
 in the minds of men, even of the *Romans* themselves. The Pro-Consul
 gave him the following answer: *Both Indibilis and you have deserved to*
 Liv. B. 28. *die; live nevertheless, and owe your lives to my favour, and the favour of*
 c. 34. *the Roman people. I shall not disarm you: That would look as if I feared*
you. Neither will I take vengeance upon your blameless hostages, should you
again rebel, but upon yourselves. Consider therefore whether you shall like
better to feel the effects of our clemency in peace, or to experience the
severity of our revenge. Scipio carried his resentments no farther; only
 he obliged the two Princes to furnish him with a large sum of money.
 Then he divided his army into two parts; gave one to *Silanus*, to con-
 duct it to *Tarraco*; and ordered *Marcus* to lead the other to the shores
 of the ocean. He himself joined the latter soon after near *Gades*.

The Pro-Consul's chief design in this journey was to fix *Masiniſſa* in
 the interest of *Rome*: The *Numidian*, who was then at *Gades* with
Mago, delayed concluding an alliance with the Republic, till he
 should confer with *Scipio* in person, and have his sanction to the
 treaty. Upon the approach of the Roman General, *Masiniſſa* represent-
 ing

ing to *Mago*, that the cavalry were not only a burthen to the island, but would be ruined by inaction and want of forage, obtained leave to transport them to the continent. He was no sooner landed, but he sent three *Numidian* chiefs to the Pro-Consul; who, with them, fixed the time and place for an interview. *Masiniſſa* had already conceived a high opinion of *Scipio*, and was confirmed in that opinion by the first sight of him. The Pro-Consul had an equal mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance; he was in his full strength, and in the bloom of manly beauty. His hair flowed down his back to a great length. There was nothing affected, or too negligent about him; his habit plain, but neat, and such as became a soldier, who despised the studied elegancies of dress. The *Numidian* began with a compliment of thanks for *Scipio's* having formerly sent him back his nephew, taken prisoner in battle; assuring him, that ever since that time he had been seeking the opportunity which now presented itself, and desired nothing more earnestly than a strict union with *Scipio* and *Rome*. He added, that if the Republic would send the Pro-Consul into *Africa* at the head of an army, he did not doubt but the domination of *Carthage* would soon be at an end. *Scipio* returned these advances with dignity and politeness; and was extremely pleased to engage in his interest a prince, who, in every battle, had been the soul of the enemy's cavalry; and whose very aspect promised a man of spirit. The treaty concluded, *Scipio* set out for *Tarraco*. The *Numidian* concealed the true design of his excursion, by pillaging some part of the continent, before he went back to *Gades*; and *Mago* soon after abandoned the place, having received orders to go to the assistance of his brother *Hannibal* in *Italy*.

Y. R. 547.
Bef. Chr.
205.
246 Conf.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 36, 37.

The *Carthaginian* signaled his departure from *Gades*, by cruel exactions and oppressions. He stripped the temples, plundered the public treasury, and forced private persons to give him their gold and silver. His view was, with this money to raise new levies among the *Ligurians* in *Cisalpine Gaul*. But as he coasted along *Spain* in his way thither, he formed a rash design of surprizing *New Carthage*, and in the attempt lost eight hundred men. After this misfortune he returned to *Gades*, where finding the gates shut against him, he retired to *Cimbris*, a neighbouring city. From thence he sent deputies to the *Gaditani*, (who were themselves a colony of *Phanicians*, as well as the *Carthaginians*) to complain of their proceedings. The chief magistrate and the treasurer of the city went out to him, and assured him, that the refusal he had met with was owing wholly to the populace, whom the *Carthaginian* soldiers had plundered at their departure. This civility *Mago* returned with cruelty, causing the deputies to be inhumanly scourged, and afterwards crucified. He then steered his course towards the *Baleares*, landed at the island now called *Minorca*, forced two thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his Republic, and sent them to *Carthage*. Winter approaching, he did not sail for *Italy* till the spring.

Y. R. 547. As soon as *Mago* had left *Spain*, the *Gaditani* submitted to the Ro-
 Bef. Chr. 205. mans; and *Scipio's* conquest was complete. Before he got back to *Ter-*
 246 Conf. *raco*, two new Pro-Consuls, *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*,
 arrived in the port with commissions from the Senate, one to govern
 Zon. B. 9. *Hither Spain*, the other *Further Spain*. *Scipio* surrendered up the fasces;
 c. 11. and, attended by his brother *Lucius*, and his friend *Laelius*, immediately set
 Liv. B. 28. sail with ten ships for *Italy*.
 c. 38.

Liv. B. 29. Scarce was *Scipio* gone, when *Indibilis* and *Mandonius*, despising the
 c. 1. new Pro-Consuls, revolted, and engaged several of the *Spanish* nations
 to take arms to recover their independence. They got together 30,000
 foot, and about 4000 horse. *Lentulus* and *Acidinus* endeavoured to
 bring them back to obedience by negotiations. These proving ineffec-
 tual, a battle ensued; *Indibilis* was slain, the confederate army totally
 routed, 13,000 of them killed, and 800 taken prisoners.

The *Spaniards*, to preserve their countries from the ravages of the
 enemy, seized *Mandonius* with the other heads of the revolt, and
 sent them in custody to the camp of the Pro-Consuls, who had in-
 sisted on this as a condition of their shewing mercy to the vanquished.
 Thus was the confederacy broken; and *Spain* continued for some years
 in tranquillity.

C H A P. XXXIV.

FOURTEENTH YEAR of the War.

Scipio chosen Consul, goes into Sicily to prepare for invading Africa.
He surprises Locri. The cruelties exercised by the Pro-Prætor Pleminius in
that city.

The Romans send for the Goddess Cybele from Pessinus in Phrygia. A
miracle wrought at her landing.

Liv. B. 28.
 c. 38.

WHEN *Scipio* arrived from *Spain*, he did not immediately en-
 ter within the walls of *Rome*, but according to the established
 custom of Generals, continued in the suburbs, till the Senate, assembled
 in the temple of *Bellona*, had heard the relation of his expeditions. He
 gave them a detail of his exploits, told them how many battles he
 had fought, how many towns he had taken, and what nations he
 had subdued, adding, that though he had found in *Spain* four *Car-*
thaginian Generals at the head of four flourishing armies, yet he had
 not left in the country one *Carthaginian* in arms. But though *Scipio*
 deserved a triumph, he demanded it but faintly, as knowing that the
 laws were against his having that honour: His appointment to the
 Pro-

Pro Consulship had been extraordinary, and out of rule: He had not passed to it from the Consulship, nor had he taken the command of an army under the sanction of *the Greater Auspices*, like the Consuls. However, he adorned his entry into *Rome* by a great quantity of silver, which he had brought from *Spain* for the public treasury, and which was carried before him in the procession.

And now the Comitia being held for electing new Consuls, it is not to be expressed with what zeal the Centuries gave their suffrages in favour of *Scipio*, though he had not yet attained to the years customarily required for that dignity, being only between twenty-eight and twenty-nine years of age. The Collegue appointed him was *P. Licinius Crassus*, turnamed *Dives*, who being at this time *Pontifex Maximus*, an office which confined him to *Italy*, the province of *Sicily* was given to *Scipio* without drawing lots. But *Scipio* could not be satisfied, unless he had also a commission to go immediately with an army into *Africa*. The matter was debated in the Senate. *Scipio* depending upon the favour of the people, had not scrupled openly to give out, that he had been appointed Consul, *Not only to carry on the war, but to finish it; that this could be done no other way than by his transporting an army into Africa, and that if the Senate should oppose this design, he would have recourse to the people, and put it in execution by their authority.* These unguarded words had given great offence to the Fathers. Old *Fabius*, now president of the Senate, declared loudly against the pretensions of the young Consul, and employed all his eloquence to hinder his being sent into *Africa*. In a long and studied harangue he set forth the difficulties of such an enterprize, the fatal consequences which might attend it, and the necessity of driving *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, before the war could safely be carried into the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. He said, it would be endless to enumerate all the instances of Kings and Generals, who, by rash invasions of foreign countries, had ruined themselves and their armies. He mentioned the irreparable mischief which had happened to the *Athenians*, by their descent upon *Sicily*, in pursuance of the advice of *Alcibiades*, a noble youth, and an expert General. But he insisted especially on the more recent and interesting example of *Atilius Regulus*, the catastrophe of whose fortune, fair in its beginning, ought to be a useful lesson to them. And *Fabius* took great pains to guard against the suspicion of his being actuated by emulation or jealousy of another's glory in this opposition to *Scipio's* desires. "I, said he, am grown old in the possession of honours. Two Dictatorships, five Consulships, the success of my counsels, many victories raise me above any rivalry with a young General, not yet come to the years of my son. When I was Dictator, and in the full career of glory, and when my General of the horse, a man incessantly declaiming against me, was put upon an equality with me in the command, (an unprecedented hardship) no one heard me, either in the Senate or in.

Y. R. 448.
B. C. C. 1.
204.
247 Conf.

Liv. B. 28.
C. 40. &
seq.

Plot. lib.
of Fabius.

Y. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.

204.
247 Conf.

“ in the assemblies of the people, refuse to acquiesce. And is it likely
 “ that now, in my old age, when weary of public affairs, weary of
 “ the world, and even of life itself, I should enter into an emulation
 “ with a youth, a General in the prime of life, full of vigour and
 “ activity; or that I expect to have the province of *Africa* assigned
 “ to me, if it should be denied to him? No, I am content with the glory
 “ I have acquired. It is enough for me to have hindered *Hannibal*
 “ from completing his conquest, that by younger Captains, you that
 “ are in the flower of your age and strength, he might be after-
 “ wards entirely overcome. But you will pardon me, *P. Cornelius*, if
 “ I, who, for the sake of the commonwealth, always neglected popular
 “ applause, and my own private advantage, cannot now to the real
 “ welfare of the Republic prefer the imaginary interests of your glory.
 “ I say, imaginary interests. For no sooner will you have a view of
 “ that coast, whither you are so eager to sail, than you will be sensible
 “ that your exploits in *Spain* were but sport and play, in comparison of
 “ what you will have to do in *Africa*. In *Spain* you landed at *Emporie*,
 “ a confederate port; and, through countries in alliance with *Rome*, or
 “ guarded by *Roman* troops, you marched safe and undisturbed to
 “ *New Carthage*, which you had opportunity to besiege, without fear
 “ of molestation from any one of the *Carthaginian* Generals, who were
 “ then all at a great distance. In *Africa*, no friendly port to receive
 “ your fleet, no ally to add strength to your army—unless you trust to
 “ *Syphax* and the *Numidians*. You trusted them once; let that suf-
 “ fice: Rashness is not always fortunate. The fraudulent sometimes
 “ procure themselves credit by fidelity in small things, that they may
 “ afterwards the more easily deceive in matters of moment, and
 “ when it can serve a weighty interest. *Syphax* and *Masiniſſa*, it is not
 “ to be doubted, would gladly be more powerful in *Africa* than the
 “ *Carthaginians*; but it is as little to be questioned, they had rather
 “ *Carthage* should have the superiority there than strangers. Emula-
 “ tion prevails amongst those powers, while the fear of foreign arms is
 “ yet remote: Let them but once see the *Roman* banners displayed in
 “ *Africa*, and they will all run together as to extinguish a fire, that
 “ threatens the general destruction. What if *Carthage*, confiding in
 “ the strength of her walls, the fidelity of her allies, and the unani-
 “ mity of all the States around her, should resolve, when she sees *Italy*
 “ no longer guarded by you and your troops, to pour in upon us a
 “ new army from *Africa*? Or order *Mago*, who is even now with a
 “ fleet on the coast of *Liguria*, to join his brother *Hannibal*? We
 “ should then be in the same terror as when *Asdrubal* invaded *Italy*,
 “ that *Asdrubal*, whom you, who, with your army, are to invest not
 “ only *Carthage*, but all *Africa*, suffered to slip through your hands into
 “ this country. You will say, you vanquished him. Be it so. But I
 “ could

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“ could wish then, for your own sake, as well as for the sake of the
 “ Republic, that you had not opened a passage for the same van-
 “ quished man to come into *Italy*. However, let us ascribe to your
 “ wise conduct every enterprize of yours that prospered, and all your
 “ ill success to fortune and the chance of war. The more brave and
 “ the more worthy you are, the more it concerns your country and all
 “ *Italy* to retain such a protector. That where-ever *Hannibal* is, *there*
 “ is the principal seat of this war, you yourself allow, since to draw him
 “ into *Africa* is your sole pretence for passing thither. With *Hannibal*
 “ therefore you purpose to contend, whether here or there. And will
 “ you be stronger in that country, and alone, than here, when joined by
 “ your Colleague and his army? Will *Hannibal* be weaker in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of *Carthage*, and supported by all *Africa*, than now, when
 “ he is confined to a corner of *Bruttium*, and in want of supplies, which
 “ he has long, but in vain, demanded from his country? Would a
 “ prudent man chuse to fight where the enemy is double his number,
 “ when he may with *two* armies attack *one*, and this one already fatigued
 “ and exhausted by many battles and a distressful war. Consider how
 “ different your conduct is from your father’s. He, though on his
 “ way to carry the war into *Spain*, returned to meet *Hannibal* at the
 “ foot of the *Alps*: You, while *Hannibal* is in *Italy*, are preparing to
 “ leave the country, not because it is advantageous to the Republic,
 “ but because you think it for your glory; as when, being General
 “ for the *Roman* people, you, against law, and without authority from
 “ the Senate, left your province and your army, and with only two
 “ ships sailed to *Africa*, hazarding in your person the interest of the
 “ public, and the majesty of the empire. My opinion, Conscript
 “ Fathers, is, that *P. Cornelius* was created Consul, not for himself,
 “ but for us and for the Republic; and that the armies were raised for
 “ the defence of *Rome* and *Italy*, and not that the Consuls might, out
 “ of pride, like Kings, transport them into whatever countries they
 “ pleased.”

Y. R. 548.
 B. Chr.
 204.
 247 Conf.

Notwithstanding what *Fabius* had said of his own integrity, and his
 unmixed zeal for his country’s good on the present occasion, *Scipio* did
 not fail to observe, that while the old man was proving himself free from
 all jealousy or emulation, he had taken particular care to extol his own
 actions, and to depreciate those of a young man, with whom, nevertheless, it
 was impossible he should have any competition for glory. He then proceeded
 to justify his design of going into *Africa*. “ *Fabius* tells us, that it is
 “ an inaccessible coast, that there is no port open to receive us. He
 “ reminds us of *Atilius Regulus*, taken captive in *Africa*; as if *Regulus*
 “ had failed in attempting a descent on that country. He forgets, that
 “ this unfortunate Commander found the *Carthaginian* havens open,
 “ performed many noble actions the first year, and, to the last, remained
 “ unconquerable by any *Carthaginian* General. But, it seems, we are

“ to

Y. R. 548.

Bef. Cui.

227.

247 Conf.

* See p. 11.

“ to take warning from the example of the *Athenians*. If we have
 “ leisure, Conscript Fathers, to hearken to *Greecian* tales, why does he
 “ not rather speak of *Agathocles*, King of *Syracuse*, who, when *Sicily*
 “ was distressed by the *Carthaginians*, transferred * the war from that
 “ island to the very gates of *Carthage*?” He then asserted that no method
 could be so effectual to force *Hannibal* out of *Italy* as to carry the war
 into *Africa*, whither *Carthage* would undoubtedly recal him in so pres-
 sing a danger. He argued, that since the allies of *Rome* had deserted
 her after the battle of *Canne*, and this in greater numbers than *Hannibal*
 himself could have expected, certainly the *Carthaginian* Republic, im-
 perious and oppressive to her subjects, and faithless to her allies, had
 little reason to depend on the constancy of the *Africans*. That as she
 had no inherent strength, and was obliged to trust absolutely to merce-
 naries, or to allies, whose very character was inconstancy, she would not
 be able to support the war like *Rome*, potent by her own strength, and
 whose citizens were all soldiers. He concluded with these words, “ It
 “ would be tedious, and what no way concerns you, Conscript Fathers,
 “ if, as *Q. Fabius* has made light of my actions in *Spain*, I should at-
 “ tempt to lessen his merit, and extol my own. I shall therefore do
 “ neither: In moderation at least, and in continence of speech, if in
 “ nothing else, young as I am, I will surpass this old General. Such
 “ has been the constant tenor of my life and actions, both in public
 “ and private, that I can be silent on this subject, and easily rest con-
 “ tented with the opinion which you have formed of me.”

Scipio's discourse was not favourably received by the Senate. The
 report that he intended to have recourse to the people, had preju-
 diced the assembly against him. *Fulvius*, who had been twice Consul
 and once Censor, desired him to declare frankly, whether he would
 refer the affair of the provinces to the deliberation of the Fathers, and
 acquiesce in their decree, or, in case he should not like it, appeal from
 it to the people. *Scipio* answered, that he would do what he thought
 most conducive to the public welfare. To which *Fulvius* replied:
 “ When I asked you these questions, I was not ignorant either of what
 “ you would answer, or of what you would do; for it is plain your de-
 “ sign is rather to sound than consult the Senate; and, unless we im-
 “ mediately decree you the province you desire, you are prepared to lay
 “ the matter before the people.” Then turning towards the Tribunes
 of the Commons, “ I refuse, said he, to declare my opinion; because,
 “ should it be approved by the Senate, the Consul would not submit
 “ to their determination: And I desire you, Tribunes, to support me
 “ in this refusal.” *Scipio* contended, that it was not equitable for the
 Tribunes to obstruct a Consul in his demanding the opinion of any Sena-
 tor. They nevertheless pronounced, That, if the Consul would refer the
 matter in question to the Senate, the Senate's decree should stand; nor
 would they suffer an appeal from it to the people; but if he would not
 refer

Chap. XXXIV. Second Punic War.

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refer the matter to the Senate, they would support all those who should refuse to declare their opinions. *Scipio* desired one day's time to consult with his Collegue. To this they consented. The day following the assembly met again, and then, the Consul submitting the affair to the determination of the Conscrip't Fathers, without appeal, they decreed, That *Scipio* should have *Sicily*, and the fleet of thirty ships of war, now commanded by the Prætor of that island; and that if he thought it for the advantage of the Republic, he might sail to *Afric*^a. As for *Licinius*, he was directed to carry on the war against *Hannibal* in *Bruttium*.

Y. R. 548.
Bef. Chr.
204.
247 Con.

Though *Africa* was not assigned to *Scipio* as his province, nor any levies granted him for the enterprize which he had in view; nevertheless, he obtained leave to take with him into *Sicily* as many volunteers as he could assemble; and also permission to ask of the allies all necessaries for building and equipping a new fleet. Many of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves, in order to furnish him, not only with materials for the ships, but with arms and provisions for the marines. So that in five and forty days time after bringing the timber from the forest, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of thirty new galleys, and about seven thousand volunteers^b.

Liv. B. 28.
c. 45.

About this time *Mago* (the brother of *Hannibal*) with twelve thousand foot and near two thousand horse, landed at *Genoa* and took it: And finding two nations of *Liguria*, the *Ingaunians* and *Intemelians*, at war, he joined the former, his army increasing daily by the great number of *Gauls* that flocked to him from all parts. These advices from *Spurius Lucretius*, who commanded in *Cisalpine Gaul*, caused a general alarm in the Senate: They ordered *M. Livius* to march his army, of *Volones*, then in *Hetruria*, to *Ariminum*; and *Lævinus*, to lead the legions appointed for the defence of *Rome*, to *Aretium*. Other advices came, that *Octavius* the Prætor of *Sardinia* had taken fourscore ships of burden belonging to the *Carthaginians*. In *Bruttium* no remarkable action happened between the armies this campaign. The plague raged in *Licinius's* camp; and *Hannibal's* troops were afflicted with pestilence and famine at the same time.

c. 46.

^a From this decree, and the after conduct of the Senate, it is not improbable what *Livy* hints, [speaking of the transactions of the next year] that their design was to make preparations for carrying the war into *Africa*, without doing it by public authority; and to lull the *Carthaginians* into security, by making them believe, that these preparations were only the effect of *Scipio's* ambition, which the Senate would not fail to oppose. *Quamquam nondum adhuc Africa provincia decreta erat occultantibus id, credo, Patribus, ne præsciscer-*

rent Carthaginenses) tamen in eam spernere creta civitas erat, in Africa eo anno debellatum iri, finemque bello Punico adesse. Liv. L. 29. c. 14.

^b According to *Plutarch*, *Fabius* would have engaged the Consul *Licinius*, to obstruct *Scipio's* measures: Not succeeding herein, he dissuaded the *Roman* youth from following him into *Sicily*, as volunteers; and he had before, by his influence in the Senate, hindered any funds being assigned to *Scipio*, for the expence of his armament.

Y. R. 548.

Bef. Chr.

204.

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Scipio was busy in *Sicily*, forming an army, for his *African* expedition. In his choice of men, he preferred, before all others, the veterans who had served under *Marcellus* at the siege of *Syracuse*. He refitted the old galleys he found in the island, gave the command of them to *Lælius*, and commissioned him to make a descent on *Africa*, and pillage the country.

Livy, B.

29. c. 4.

Lælius landed near *Hippo*, and laid the territory about it waste; which threw the people of *Carthage* into a great consternation: For they falsely imagined, that *Scipio* was come with a formidable army. When their fright, upon better information, was over, they sent ambassadors to *Syphax*, and other Princes of *Africa*, to renew their treaties with them; and also to King *Philip of Macedon*, offering him two hundred talents of silver, if he would invade either *Italy* or *Sicily*. Messengers were dispatched to *Hannibal* and *Mago*, with instructions to these two brothers, to hinder, if possible, the departure of any troops which *Scipio* expected from *Italy*; and a reinforcement of six thousand foot and eight hundred horse was sent to *Mago* in *Liguria*, with large sums for hiring troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*.

Masinissa having learnt the arrival of *Lælius* in *Africa*, came to confer with him. He assured him, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity to attack *Carthage*; and expressed his surprize that *Scipio* had lingered so long in *Sicily*. The King added, that though he was by violence dispossessed of the throne of his ancestors, yet he could still bring some troops into the field, and would join the Consul at his landing. He also told *Lælius*, that he believed a *Cartaginian* fleet was already sailed out of the port to intercept him; and advised him to hasten his departure. *Lælius* took the Prince's counsel, weighed anchor the next day, and arrived safe in *Sicily* with his booty.

c.

In the mean time; *Mago* received the reinforcement from *Carthage*, with orders to raise as numerous an army as possible, and hasten to join his brother: Upon which he called a council of the chiefs of *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, and endeavoured to persuade them to declare openly against *Rome*; and furnish him with troops. The *Ligurians* complied; but the *Gauls* durst not follow their example; because there were actually two *Roman* armies (under *Livius* and *Lucretius*) in their neighbourhood. However, they consented to his levying men privately in their country; and supplied him with provisions and forage. *Livius* led his army from *Uetruria* into *Gaul*, intending, if *Mago* approached *Rome*, to march, in conjunction with *Lucretius*, and give him battle; but to post himself near *Ariminum*, in case the *Cartaginian* should continue in *Liguria*; which it is probable he did, since we hear of no action in that part of *Italy* this campaign.

n. & seq.

While *Scipio* was at *Messina*, he received information, that a plot was formed by some *Locrians*, then in exile at *Rhegium*, to surprize their native

native city (which stood on the sea coast in *Bruttium*) and put it again into the hands of the *Romans*. He sent *Pleminius* with two Tribunes, and three thousand men, to assist in the enterprize. There were two citadels belonging to the place; and, when the *Romans* had made themselves masters of one, the *Carthaginians* retired into the other, leaving the inhabitants in sole possession of the city. These favoured the *Romans*; so that when *Hannibal* came to invest the place, they let in *Scipio* (who had hastened to their relief) privately in the night: The next morning he made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the assailants. *Hannibal* having learnt, that *Scipio* was in person at the head of his troops, immediately retired to his camp near the *Alex*, sending orders to the *Carthaginians* in the citadel to provide for their safety as well as they could. Hereupon, setting fire to the houses, they escaped amidst the confusion, and joined their General before night.

Scipio left the government of *Locri* to *Pleminius*, who treated the inhabitants more cruelly than if their city had been taken by assault: He rifled the temples of their Gods, and seized the treasure in the sanctuary of *Proserpine*. The two Tribunes were no less rapacious. Their soldiers, in a scuffle with those of the Pro-Prætor, about plunder, happened to wound some of them; of which these having made their complaint to him, he ordered the Tribunes to be whipt. But the Tribunes were rescued by their followers, who not only mauled the Lictors, but pulled *Pleminius* himself from off his tribunal, dragged him into a private place, beat him severely, cut off his nose and ears, and left him weltring in his blood. This accident made it necessary for *Scipio* to return to *Locri*. He took the part of the Pro-Prætor, put the Tribunes in chains, and ordered them to be carried to *Rome* to be judged. But this did not satisfy *Pleminius*: As soon as the Consul was gone, he of his own authority condemned the Tribunes to die by the most cruel torments, and their bodies to be left unburied; and, not yet content, he exercised the same cruelty towards those of the inhabitants who had complained to *Scipio* of his rapines and brutalities. The odium of these horrible actions fell in some measure upon the Consul: He had indeed been too indulgent to the guilty Governor; for which (as we shall see hereafter) his enemies, in the Senate, did not fail to inveigh against him, when occasion offered.

The time for the elections drew near: The Consul *Licinius* being sick of the plague, in his camp, could not go to *Rome*, to preside in the Comitia. He therefore, with the approbation of the Senate, named a Dictator for that purpose; and his choice fell upon *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who, in the quality of Pro-Consul, was commanding a second army in *Bruttium*. In this army also the plague so raged, that *Licinius* pressed the Senate to recal the troops, assuring them, that otherwise there would not be a soldier left alive.

Y. R. 548.

Bef. Chr.

204.

247 Conf.

Livy, B. 29.

c. 10.

App. in

Annib.

Ovid. Fast.

Livy, B. 29.

c. 11.

Livy, B. 29.

c. 14.

App. in

Annib.

345.

Many prodigies happening this year, and the *Sybilline* books being consulted for the proper expiations, the *Decemvirs* found it written in those oracles, *That if a foreign enemy invaded Italy, he might be vanquished, and driven out of it, if the Goddess Cybele were brought to Rome from Pessinus in Phrygia.* This same *Cybele* (stiled the Mother of the Gods) was nothing more than a shapeless stone, which, as was pretended, had fallen down from Heaven upon Mount *Ida*. The *Consul* Fathers sent five ambassadors, men of distinction, to obtain by negotiation this powerful protectress. And, because the *Romans* had little commerce with the *Asiatics*, the ambassadors were to engage *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* in their interest. They went by the way of *Delphi*, and there consulted the Oracle; from which they received this answer, *That by the help of Attalus they should infallibly obtain what they desired; but that, when they had carried the Goddess to Rome, they should put her into no hands, but of the most virtuous man in the Republic.* King *Attalus* was so obliging as to conduct the ambassadors himself to *Pessinus*, where the inhabitants, with equal complaisance, granted them the stone they so earnestly desired. One of them sailed away before the rest, to give notice at *Rome*, that the Goddess was coming; and to report the answer of the *Delphic* Oracle. And now the great difficulty was, to find out that man of superior probity, who alone was worthy to receive the sacred and important stone, at its landing. History has not told us the remarkable virtues which gained *P. Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, the preference before all others: but this young man, cousin-german to the great *Scipio*, and son to *Cneius Scipio*, (who lost his life in *Spain*) was the person who obtained the honourable distinction. Attended by such of the ladies of *Rome*, as were in the highest veneration for their virtue, he went to meet the Goddess. Some of the *Vestals* likewise accompanied him, and particularly *Quinta Claudia*; of whom it is related, that when the vessel, on which the Goddess was imported, unfortunately stuck upon a bank of sand near the mouth of the *Tyber*, and neither the mariners, nor several yoke of oxen, were able to move it, she, pulling it only by her girdle tied to it, easily set it afloat. *Claudia* is said to have been suspected of incontinence; and it is added, that this miracle was wrought in answer of her prayer to the Goddess, to give a testimony of her innocence. There are not wanting Fathers of the church, who allow the fact, but they piously impute it to good angels, sent by God, to destroy the unjust aspersions cast upon the *Vestal*. The day on which *Cybele* arrived at *Rome* became a solemn annual festival, distinguished by games, called *Megalenses*. She was deposited in the temple of *VICTORY*.

THE
SEA OF AFRICA.



C H A P. XXXV.

FIFTEENTH YEAR of the War.

Scipio is continued in his command in Sicily.
 He is accused in the Senate, by his Quæstor, Cato, of profuseness and idleness.
 He is also accused of partiality to the cruel Pleminius.
 Commissioners are appointed to enquire into his conduct. Their report favourable to him.
 Syphax declares for the Carthaginians.
 Scipio makes a descent on Africa. Masinissa joins him.
 A remarkable quarrel between the Censors at Rome.

BEFORE the arrival of the Goddesses, the Dictator Q. Cæcilius Y.R. 549. Ref. Chr. 203. Metellus had held the Comitia by Centuries where M. Cornelius 248 Conf. Liv. B. 29. c. 12. Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were chosen Consuls. Sempronius was then Pro-Consul in Greece. The Romans having, for two years past, (i. e. from the year 546,) neglected their affairs in Greece, Philip had forced the Ætolians to conclude a peace with him upon his own terms. Soon after this, Sempronius arrived at Dyrrachium with 10,000 foot, 1000 horse and 35 ships of war. He was very angry with the Ætolians, for having, contrary to the league, made peace without consent of the Romans. Yet, not daring to venture a battle with Philip, he was easily prevailed upon to come to an agreement with him, by the mediation of the Epirots. The treaty was confirmed by the people of Rome. In this treaty were included, on Philip's side, Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achæans, Boeotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirots; and, on the side of the Romans, the Illyrians, King Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, the Eleans, Messenians, and Athenians. Sempronius returned to Rome, after which the following distribution of offices was agreed upon. The Consul Cornelius had the command of the forces in Hetruria; his Collegue Sempronius was ordered into Bruttium with new levies, to act against Hannibal; and Licinius continued at the head of two legions, in that country, in quality of Pro-Consul. Pomponius Matro had the Prætorship of Sicily. Scipio, the army and fleet he before commanded; and M. Cælius and Sp. Lucretius remained in Gaul to oppose Mago. There were also two other armies in Italy, one at Tarentum, under T. Quintius Flaminius, the other at Capua, under Hostilius Tubulus.

About this time, young Marcellus dedicated a temple to Virtue. His father had formerly vowed one to Honour and Virtue, intending to place the statues of both under one roof. But the Pontifices opposed this, declaring, that it was not lawful to worship more than one God in one temple; and they likewise urged, that if lightning fell upon

Livy, B. 29. c. 11. & B. 27. c. 23.

Y. R. 549. the building, or any prodigy should happen in it, it would be impossible
 Ref. Chr. to discover to which of the two divinities expiatory duties should be
 203. paid. The temple therefore, which *Marcellus* had designed for both di-
 248 Conf. vinities, was dedicated only to HONOUR, and another built in all haste to
 VIRTUE.

And now the Republic being to recruit her armies, she thought proper to call to account the twelve *Roman* colonies, who, about six years before, had with impunity refused their contingents of men and money. The Senate determined, that each colony should furnish double the number of foot it had done in any year of the war, and a hundred and twenty horse. If any of them could not raise the number of horse required, they were to send three foot soldiers in the room of each horseman wanting. The Fathers also imposed a new yearly tax upon each colony, and ordered its census to be taken according to the form used at *Rome*. This decree was put in execution with rigour. It was followed by another in favour of those private persons, who, in the Consulship of *Lævinus*, had lent the Republic the sums requisite to supply her pressing wants. At the motion of *Lævinus*, the Senate ordered these debts to be discharged at three payments; the first to be made immediately, and the last within five years.

Such instances of equity in the Conscrip't Fathers embolden all, who were oppressed, to demand justice; and particularly the *Locrians*, who the last year had been so ill treated by *Pleminius*. From this people, ten deputies, in a neglected and sordid dress, (the mark of grief and distress among the ancients) and with olive branches in their hands, came to *Rome*, and laid before the Senate, in a long and pathetic harangue, the grievances and miseries they had suffered under the tyranny of the Pro-Prætor. When the *Locrians* had done speaking, *Fabius* asked them, whether they had made their complaint to *Scipio*; to which they answered, that deputies had been sent to him for that purpose, but that he was then busy about his preparations for war, and that now he was either gone for *Africa*, or intended to sail in a few days; that they had seen, in the quarrel between the Tribunes and *Pleminius*, how much *Scipio* favoured the latter, whom, though equally criminal, if not more so, he had continued in his government, while he ordered the Tribunes to be laid in irons. After the deputies had withdrawn, some of the chief Senators not only inveighed against *Pleminius*, but began to take *Scipio*'s character to pieces. Among these was *M. Porcius Cato*, the first of his family who distinguished himself at *Rome*. He had been Quæstor to *Scipio* in *Sicily*, and had reproved him for his profuseness to his soldiers, to which the General had answered, "that he did not want so exact a Quæstor; that he would make war at what expence he pleased, nor was he to give an account to the *Roman* people of the money he spent, but of his enterprizes and the execution of them." *Cato*, provoked at this answer, had left *Sicily*, and returned to *Rome*.
 He

Plut. in
 Cat. Maj.

c. 19.

Livy, B. 29.
 c. 16.

He now declaimed against *Scipio*, accusing him of making great and useless expences, of passing his time boyishly at the Theatre and the Gymnasia, as if he had been commissioned, not to make war, but to celebrate games. Others of the Senators added, that the Pro-Consul had laid aside the *Roman* habit, publicly appeared in the *Greek* cloak and sandals, and that the reading of *Greek* books, and the pleasures of *Syracuse*, had made him intirely forget *Hannibal* and *Carthage*, while his army, grown as effeminate as their General, was become more terrible to their allies, than their enemies. *Fabius* called *Scipio*, a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline. "He acted, said the old man, the like part in *Spain*, where we lost not much less by sedition than we did by the war. One while he indulges his soldiers in all licentiousness, and then cruelly tyrannizes over them; as if he were a King and a foreigner." *Fabius's* sentence was as harsh as his invective. "That *Scipio* should be recalled home, for having quitted his province without orders from the Senate; and that the Tribunes should be desired to move the Comitia, to depose him from the Pro-Consulate. That *Pleminius* should be brought to *Rome* in chains, and, in case the crimes laid to his charge were proved, be executed in prison, and his goods confiscated. And lastly, that the Senate should disavow the ill-treatment of the *Locrians*, and give them all the satisfaction possible for the wrongs they had suffered."

The debate was carried to such a length, that the opinions of all the Senators could not be taken that day. In the next assembly, the Fathers concurred in opinion with *Q. Metellus*. He approved the proposals of *Fabius*, with regard to *Pleminius* and the *Locrians*, but urged, that it was unreasonable, upon dubious accusations, to recall a general, whom *Rome* had chosen Consul, in the expectation of being by him delivered from *Hannibal*, and of becoming mistress of *Africa*: And he moved, that two Tribunes of the people, one *Ædile*, and ten other commissioners, out of the Senate, should be sent into *Sicily* with *Pomponius* the Prætor of that island, to take cognizance of *Scipio's* conduct in the affair of *Pleminius*; and, if they found him an accomplice in that Pro-Prætor's crimes, to send him to *Rome*; but in case *Scipio* had already sailed for *Africa*, the Tribunes, the *Ædile*, and two of the Commissioners should follow him thither, the last to assume the command of the army, if the Pro-Consul should be ordered home. The Commissioners, who were to embark at *Rhegium*, went first to *Locri*.

^b *Externo & regio more, & indulgere licentiæ militum, & servire in eos.* Liv. B. 29. c. 19.

^c Perhaps this pompous embassy was rather designed to enquire into the state of *Scipio's* army, and to see whether it was yet a proper time for the Senate to give him openly a commission to carry the war

into *Africa*. This conjecture seems confirmed by the conduct of the Commissioners, who, even after the accusation, went nevertheless into *Sicily*; though the decree of the Senate, as it is in *Livy*, had confined their commission to the affair of *Pleminius*.

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

Liv. B. 29.
C. 22.

There they seized the guilty Governor, and thirty two of his accomplices, put them in irons, and sent them to *Rome*. They also made reparation to the *Locrians* for their losses, and, having examined them concerning *Scipio's* conduct, received answer, "That though the Pro-Consul had not shewn great concern at the miseries of their city, yet he was a man they had much rather have for a friend than an enemy: That they persuaded themselves for many heinous crimes had not been committed by his command, or with his approbation; that he had only given too much credit to *Pleminius*, and too little to them; and that such was the disposition of some men, they were more willing to believe people innocent, than disposed to punish them when guilty." This declaration pleased the Commissioners, as it freed them from the invidious office of beginning a criminal process against a man so much in favour with the people of *Rome*. And, when they came into *Sicily*, they were thoroughly convinced, by the vast preparations *Scipio* had made for his intended expedition, and the fine appearance both of his army and fleet, that the General had not spent his time wholly at the theatre, and in amusements. Go, said they, into *Africa*, and the Gods give you that success which the Roman people promised themselves from your virtue and abilities, when they chose you Consul. Such a General and such an army will conquer the Carthaginians, or they are invincible.

The report of the Commissioners at their return to *Rome*, raised the glory of *Scipio*. The Senate passed a decree, that he should immediately go into *Africa*, and take with him such of the Roman troops in *Sicily* as he thought fit for his enterprize. And, as for the people, the favour in which he stood with them, made them tender even to the guilty *Pleminius*, for whom they imagined the Pro-Consul had some regard. Their compassion for the criminal was likewise raised, by seeing the miserable figure he made, without his nose and ears; so that, though he was often produced before them, he was never condemned. He died in prison, or, as some say, was, long after this, executed for attempting to set fire to *Rome*.

It has been before observed, that *Scipio*, in order to pave his way to *Carthage*, had gained over to the Roman interest the two *Numidian* Kings, *Sypbax* and *Masiniſſa*. The African Republic endeavoured to destroy the engagements which those Princes had entered into with her Enemy: And *Asdrubal*, the son of *Gisco*, by the means of his daughter *Sophoniſſa*, drew off *Sypbax*. The Historians represent her as a woman of excellent beauty, accompanied

Appian. in
Punic. 6.

^a According to *Appian* (in *Punic*. c. 6.) *Asdrubal* had promised his daughter in marriage to *Masiniſſa*: But, *Sypbax* being in love with her, the Carthaginians, to bring him off from the alliance of *Rome*, gave him *Sophoniſſa*, without the knowledge of her father, who was then in *Spain*. *Masiniſſa*, in revenge, privately entered into a league with *Scipio*. Upon hearing this, *Asdrubal* (says the same Historian) was indeed

accompanied with graces and a manner irresistibly winning; love for her country, the ruling passion of her soul, with a courage to execute whatever that love could dictate. This lady being given in marriage to *Syphax*, his passion for her made him forget his engagements with *Rome*; and he readily entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with *Carthage*. Prompted by *Asdrubal*, he wrote a letter to *Scipio*, to dissuade him from making a descent upon *Africa*, acquainting him at the same time with his marriage, the new alliance he had made with the *Carthaginians*, and the necessity he should be under of taking part with them, in case they were attacked.

Y. R. 542.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

The Pro-Consul received this letter at *Syracuse* with some surprize; and, to conceal the contents of it from his army, sent back the messenger immediately, with a short answer to the *Numidian* Prince, advising him to beware how he offended both Gods and men, by a violation of public faith: After which, assembling his troops, he bid them prepare for a voyage to *Africa*: Formerly, said he, *Masiniſſa* complained to *Lælius* of my dilatoriness; and now *Syphax* presses me to hasten my departure; and desires, that if I have changed my resolution, I will let him know it, that he may provide for his own safety. He then ordered his ships of war and transports to *Lilybæum*; and thither he, in person, marched the land forces, purposing to set sail with the first favourable wind. All the troops shewed an incredible ardour to follow him in this expedition, especially those legionaries, who had run away at the battle of *Cannæ*, and had therefore been condemned to stay in *Sicily*, for the whole time that *Hannibal* should continue in *Italy*. As they were old soldiers, and had been in many battles and sieges, the Pro-Consul, notwithstanding their disgrace, took with him as many of them, as were fit for service.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 24.

Lælius commanded the fleet. It is uncertain what number of men were embarked; but never was embarkation made with more order and solemnity; and the concourse of people, who came from all parts to see it, and to wish the Pro-Consul a prosperous voyage, was incredibly great. Just before he weighed anchor, he appeared on the poop of his galley, and, after a herald had proclaimed silence, addressed this prayer to Heaven: O all ye Gods and Goddesses of earth and sea, I intreat and implore you to make whatever I have done, am doing, or shall do, fit my command, prosperous to me, to the people and commons of *Rome*, to the allies and the *Latine* name, to all those who espouse the cause of the people of *Rome* and

c. 25.
c. . .

indeed sorry for the injury done to the young Prince, but resolved to have him murdered, because it was for the interest of *Carthage*. Accordingly he sent guards with him under pretence of convoying him into his dominions, but gave them secret instructions to kill him. *Masiniſſa* having

discovered the design, found means to escape. *Zonaras* tells us, that *Asdrubal* promised his daughter to *Masiniſſa*, but afterwards broke his word, and gave her to *Syphax*; thinking it of greater consequence to gain this Prince to the interest of *Carthage* than the other.

Y. R. 549. mine, and follow my command and auspices by land, by sea, and on rivers:
 B. Chr. 203. to favour all these enterprizes, and encrease them with good encrease: Bring
 248 Conf. us all home safe and unhurt, victorious over our enemies, adorned with spoil,
 loaded with booty, and triumphant: And enable us to execute upon Carthage
 all that she designed against Rome. When he had ended this prayer, he
 caused a victim to be slain, and the entrails to be thrown into the sea; and
 then the trumpets sounding, he weighed anchor, and with fifty galleys
 and four hundred ships of burden, set sail, with a favourable wind, for
 Africa. As he drew towards the coast, he asked the name of the
 nearest land then in view, and being told it was called the *Fair*
Promontory, he liked the omen, ordered his pilots to direct their
 Liv. B. 29. course thither, and safely landed his army. Soon after, *Masiniſſa*, the
 C. 29. only African Prince in the interest of Rome, came and joined him. The
 Historians have left us the following relation of the adventures of this
 young King.

Gala, King of *Massyliæ**, and father of *Masiniſſa*, had, according to
 the laws of *Numidia*, been succeeded by his younger brother *Oesales*.
 And when the latter died, his son, *Capuſa*, had mounted the throne.
Capuſa was slain in a battle against his rebellious subjects, headed by
 one *Mezetulus*, a factious man of the blood royal, and a constant rival
 and competitor of the Kings of *Numidia*. The Conqueror, though
 he durst not assume the title of King, made himself tutor to *Lacumaces*
 the younger brother of *Capuſa*, and seized the government, as in right
 of his ward. And, to secure himself in his usurped authority, he not
 only entered into an alliance with King *Syphax*, but married his pupil's
 mother, who was niece to *Hannibal*; hoping thereby to gain the *Cartha-*
ginians to his interest.

C. 30, 31, 32, 33. *Masiniſſa* was then in *Spain*; where hearing of *Capuſa*'s death, he passed
 into *Africa*, and asked assistance of *Bocchar*, King of *Mauritania*. *Bocchar*
 lent him 4000 men to convoy him to the frontiers of *Massyliæ*. There,
 being joined by a small body of *Numidians*, and having advice, that
Lacumaces was marching into *Massyliæ*†, to ask succours of King *Syphax*,
 he surprised the young prince near *Thapsus*, routed his forces, and took
 the town; but *Lacumaces* escaped to *Syphax*. This success engaged many
 of the *Numidians* to side with *Masiniſſa*; and particularly the soldiers
 who had served under his father *Gala*. Encouraged by these veterans,
 he ventured, though inferior in number, to attack *Mezetulus*, who was
 now in the field with a great army, *Lacumaces* having brought him
 reinforcement of 15000 foot from *Syphax*. *Masiniſſa*'s superior skill in
 war, and the bravery of his troops, gave him the victory. *Lacumaces*,
 with his tutor, and the small remains of their forces, fled for refuge
 into the territories of *Carthage*; and the conqueror took possession of

* A part of *Numidia*.

† A part of *Numidia*.

the vacant throne. But now, apprehending he should have a much more difficult war to sustain against *Syphax*, he thought it advisable to come to an accommodation with his kinsman. He offered to place him in the same rank *Oesalces* had held at *Gala's* court, pardon *Mezetulus*, and restore to him all his effects. The Prince, preferring a moderate, but certain fortune, in their own country, to uncertain hopes, in exile, accepted the proposals, notwithstanding all the industry of the *Carthaginians* to hinder it.

Y. R. 449.
Bef. Chr.
203.
248 Conf.

At this time *Asdrubal*, happening to be at *Syphax's* court, insinuated to him, that *Masinissa* was an ambitious enterprising youth, who would not be contented, like his father *Gala*, or his uncle *Oesalces*, with the dominion of *Massyia*, and if not crushed in the beginning, might one day prove a dangerous neighbour, both to him and the *Carthaginians*. *Syphax*, instigated by these suggestions, marched an army against *Masinissa*: A pitched battle was fought, in which the *Massylians* were totally vanquished; the King himself narrowly escaped, with only a small guard of horse, to *Mount Balbus*. Thither some families of his own subjects followed him, with all their cattle, (wherein the riches of the *Numidians* chiefly consisted,) and there being plenty of pasture and water round the mountain, he lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks. The rest of the *Massylians* submitted to the conqueror.

Masinissa having, in this retreat, got some troops together, began to make nocturnal incursions upon the frontiers of the *Carthaginians*; and, in a short time, his forces augmenting, he ventured in open day to penetrate farther into their country, destroyed the inhabitants, and brought thence a considerable booty. *Carthage*, to put a stop to his devastations, had recourse to *Syphax*. The King disdaining to go in person to reduce a band of robbers, dispatched away *Bocchar*, one of his officers, with four thousand foot and two thousand horse. These surrounded the mountain, where *Masinissa* was lodged, hindered the return of the detachments he had sent out, and forced him to the top of the hill.

Bocchar, thinking that he had his enemy secure, sent back all his troops, except five hundred foot and two hundred horse. Soon after, he surprised *Masinissa* in a narrow pass, attempting to get away by stealth. The Prince, with only fifty horse, escaped by flight. *Bocchar*, and his two hundred horse, pursued him, came up with him near *Clypea*, and cut in pieces all his guard, except four. With these *Masinissa*, though wounded, fled full speed; and finding a river in their way, they leaped horse and man into it. Two of them were drowned in crossing the stream; but the Prince, and the other two, gained the opposite bank, and hid themselves among some bushes. *Bocchar*, who pursued them to the river, imagined they had all perished, and went no farther; and from that time it was reported at *Carthage*, and the court of *Syphax*, that *Masinissa* was dead. In the mean while, he hid him-

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
93.
248 Conf.

self in a cave, dressed his wound with herbs, and lived upon the prey which his two companions brought him.

Dethroned Princes, who have any spirit, do not easily relinquish the hopes of a restoration. *Masfiniffa*, as soon as his wound would suffer him to mount on horseback, left his cave, and took the road to his own country. In a few days after his appearance there, some of his people, to the number of six thousand foot and four thousand horse, gathering about him, he not only possessed himself of *Massylia*, but made dreadful ravages in the territories of the *Carthaginian* allies, and King *Syphax*. The latter thinking the affair serious, came in person with an army to stop the enemy's progress. During the battle which followed, *Permina*, the son of *Syphax*, having with a large detachment fetched a compass, fell upon the *Massylians* in the rear. By this means *Masfiniffa* was again defeated*. With only sixty horse he fled to the sea coast near the lesser *Syrtilis*; and there he continued, for the most part, till the arrival of *Scipio*; by which time he had augmented his troop; for he joined the Pro-Consul with two hundred, some say, two thousand horse.

Liv. B. 29.
c. 28.

The alarm and terror which *Scipio's* descent caused among the *Carthaginians*, made them think it necessary to strengthen the fortifications of their capital. They had no General in any degree qualified to oppose him in the field. *Asdrubal* (the son of *Gisco*) the best they had, is spoken of by *Livy*, as a man of great quality and wealth, but as excelling in no military talent, except that of saving himself by a swift retreat*; nor were they provided with disciplined and experienced soldiers.

c. 34.

Scipio, having ordered his fleet towards *Utica*, encamped on certain eminences, not far from the sea coast. Next day, a body of five hundred *Carthaginian* horse, commanded by *Hanno*, a young warrior, who had been sent to watch the motions of the enemy, fell in with the advanced guards of the *Roman* camp, who routed them, and slew their commander.

Appian. in
Punic. 9.

This first success was a good *Augury*; and *Scipio* drew near to *Locha*, a city which seemed to promise his soldiers a rich booty. He had no sooner planted his ladders for the assault, than the inhabitants being terrified, sent a herald to ask their lives, with liberty to retire. Hereupon the General founded a retreat; but the soldiers, greedy of plunder, would not

* *Appian* makes no mention of this second battle. According to him, after *Masfiniffa* was once driven from his kingdom, he continued dispossessed of it, till *Scipio's* arrival in *Africa*; at which time *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, to draw him off from the *Romans*, pretended to be reconciled to him, and restored him to his kingdom. Though *Masfiniffa* was sensible, that they were not sincere, yet he pre-

tended to come into their measure, and joined *Asdrubal* with his cavalry. However he held secret intelligence with *Scipio*, and only waited a favourable opportunity to go over to him; which he did soon after, betraying, at the same time, a party of *Carthaginian* horse into the hands of the *Romans*. In *Punic*. 9. 7. & seq.

* — *Asdrubale*, fugacissimo Duce. Liv. B. 30. c. 28.

obey:

obey: They forced the town, and put all, even women and children, to the sword. It was necessary to punish so signal a disobedience; and the centurions being the most guilty, as having encouraged the soldiers to it, the Pro-Consul decreed that three of them should die as lots should determine. The soldiers were deprived of the booty they had taken. After some few expeditions of small moment, *Scipio* undertook the siege of *Utica* with all his army. But *Asdrubal*, who commanded 30,000 foot, and 3000 horse, being joined by *Syphax* with 50,000 foot, and 10,000 horse, obliged the *Roman* to dislodge, after he had been before the place forty days. He retreated to a promontory, under which his fleet rode at anchor, entrenched himself there, and waited the return of the spring to renew the war. *Asdrubal* lay encamped near him, and *Syphax* at a little distance from the *Carthaginian*. We shall leave them here a while, and return to the affairs of *Italy*.

THE Consul *Sempronius*, who marched into *Bruttium* against *Hannibal*, was worsted in his first engagement with him, and lost 1200 men: But, in a second, being assisted by the forces of the Pro-Consul *Licinius*, it is said, he defeated the enemy, left four thousand of them dead upon the spot, and retook several towns after the victory.

On the other hand, the Consul *Cethegus*, who was to act against *Mago*, kept *Hetruria* in awe. By commencing legal processes against those who had entered into a correspondence with the enemy, he prevented the insurrections which the *Carthaginian* endeavoured to raise in that country. The guilty would not appear upon the summons, but went into a voluntary banishment; and their estates were confiscated.

While the Consuls were thus employed abroad, the two Censors at *Rome*, *Livius Salinator*, and *Claudius Nero*, drew a contempt on themselves by a most ridiculous behaviour. Though their quarrels with each other had formerly been very great, yet the distress of the Republic, during their Consulship, had reconciled them in appearance for some time; but now their mutual hatred broke out afresh. It was customary for the Censors, just before leaving their office, to draw up a list of the Senators, review the *Roman* Knights, assemble the Tribes, and set a mark of infamy on such persons as deserved it. As to the first, *Livius* and *Nero* were equitable in their proceedings; but when they came to review the Knights, of which body they both were, *Nero* ordered his Collegue's name to be struck out of the list, on pretence that he had been formerly condemned by the people for a misdemeanor. And *Livius*, when *Nero's* name was called over, passed the like sentence against him: *My reasons*, said he, *are, that he has borne false witness against me; and that his reconciliation with me was not sincere*. Their passion and folly appeared yet more extravagant, when they came to take an account of the Tribes. *Nero* ranked his Collegue among those whom he declared *ÆRARIJ*, i. e. Persons deprived of the rights

Y. R. 549.
Bef. Chr.
203.
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rights of Roman Citizenship, but still obliged to pay the public tax. And *Terentius* not only did not much for *Nere*, but disfranchised all the thirty five Tribes, except the *Mecian*, (which was the only one that had formerly voted for him upon his trial) for, said he, it must be reckoned they acted unjustly either once when they condemned me, or twice, when they conferred upon me the Consulship and Censorship. Among the effects of *Terentius*'s anger against the people, may be reckoned a tax he laid, during his Censorship, upon salt, ordering that it should be sold dearer in some places than others. It was hence that he got the name of *Salinator*. These Censors however were very exact in taking an account of the number of Roman Citizens, and sent to the most distant of the camps abroad, for that purpose. The number appeared to be two hundred and fourteen thousand fit to bear arms.

C H A P. XXXVI.

SIXTEENTH YEAR of the War

Scipio attacks the two camps of Syphax and Asdrubal.

The Carthaginians attempt to burn the Roman fleet.

Syphax taken prisoner. Masinissa's conduct towards Sophonisba; and Scipio's censure of it. Her unhappy fate. Hannibal recalled from Italy. He arrives with his army in Africa.

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.
Livy, B. 30.
C. 1.

WHEN the Comitia had elected *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus* Consuls for the new year, and came to appoint the Pro-Consuls, they nominated *Scipio* for *Africa*, directing that he should continue there, in that capacity, till the end of the war.

Early in the spring, *Scipio*, knowing the levity of the *Numidian*, and hoping (says *Polybius*) that he might by this time be tired both of his wife, and of the *Carthaginians*, employed some persons to sound his inclinations. Finding that the King insisted on the *Romans* leaving *Africa*, and *Hannibal*'s returning from *Italy*, as the conditions of a treaty, the Pro-Consul formed a new design. He pretended to be very desirous of a peace; and, to carry on the negotiation, frequently sent deputies to the *Numidian*. These deputies were attended by officers, who understood the art of war, and who, in the habit of servants, acted the part of spies, and observed exactly the state and disposition of both the enemies camps. The *Romans* seemed so fond of an accommodation, that *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* (for *Scipio* had desired the King to consult with the *Carthaginian*) started new pretensions; and the discussion of these demands gave the spies all the time they could desire, to make their observations. They at length returned, and made their report

Polyb. B.
14. C. 1.
Livy, B. 30.
C. 3.

report to *Scipio*, who thereupon sent the *Numidian* this answer: "That he himself was earnest for the treaty, but that none of his council approved the conditions. That the King must therefore come over to the *Romans* or expect no peace." This declaration put an end to the truce, and *Scipio* was at liberty to execute his project.

In order thereto, he first sent a detachment to take possession of the ground where he had posted himself the last autumn, when he besieged *Utica*. This he did to secure his camp from being attacked, in his absence, by the garrison of *Utica*; and to make *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* believe, that he intended to renew his enterprize upon that town. He then assembled the ablest and most faithful of his officers, and told them; that his design was to set fire to the two camps of the enemy the following night, an enterprize which might be easily effected, the barracks in which the *Carthaginians* had wintered being made of wood, and those of the *Numidians* of reeds. The project was universally applauded. Whereupon *Scipio* divided his troops, and gave the command of one part to *Masniſſa*, and of another to *Lælius*, with orders to assail the camp of *Syphax* on different sides. He himself with the rest of his forces marched towards *Asdrubal*, but resolving not to begin the attack on his camp till he saw that of the *Numidian* actually in flames. The whole scheme was happily executed. The *Romans* surprised and burnt both camps, and destroyed forty thousand of the enemy by fire or sword. *Syphax* fled to *Abba*; *Asdrubal* to a city named *Anda*; whither being pursued by *Scipio*, and finding the inhabitants wavering in their resolutions, he would not venture to stand a siege. He retired to *Carthage* with two thousand foot and five hundred horse.

Great was the consternation of the people in that city, when they saw him arrive there with those poor remains of his routed army. The *Suffetes*, (whose office in the *Carthaginian* Republic, resembled that of the *Consuls* at *Rome*) convened the *Senators*. Divided in opinion, some were for sending immediately for *Hannibal*; others for proposing a truce with the enemy: But the *Barchine* faction insisted upon continuing the war, and would hearken to no expedient which tended to the recalling *Hannibal* from *Italy*; and these prevailed. The senate ordered levies to be made both in the city and in the country, and dispatched ambassadors to *Syphax*, pressing him to steadiness in the use of the Republic. *Syphax*, still at *Abba*, was greatly at a loss what measures to follow. The ambassadors assured him, that *Asdrubal* could speedily take the field with a considerable army, and that a large body of *Celtiberians* from *Spain*, hired into the service, were already landed,

¹ Appian differs widely from Polybius, and condemned *Asdrubal* to death for his misconduct, and appointed *Hanno*, the son of *Bomilcar*,

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

Appian in
Punic.
Liv. B. 30.
C. 4.
Polyb. B.
14. c. 2.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 5.

Y. R. 350.
Bef. Chr.
202.
449 Conf.

handed, and on their march to *Abba*. By these assurances, but chiefly by the tears and intreaties of his wife *Syphax*, he was fixed in the interest of *Carthage*.

Polyb. B.
14. c. 7.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 8.

Scipio was busy in the siege of *Utica*, when he received intelligence that the enemy, having got together near thirty thousand men, were encamped in a place called *The Great Plain*, about five days march from him. He immediately turned the siege into a blockade, and hastened to attack them. After some slight skirmishes, the two armies came to a general battle, in which the *Romans* obtained a complete victory. However, the stout resistance, made by the *Celiberians*, gave the *Africans* the better opportunity to escape by flight. *Asdrubal*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Carthage*, and *Syphax*, with the best part of his cavalry, into his own country.

Polyb. B.
14. c. 9.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 9.

The Pro-Consul having called a council of war, it was there agreed, that *Laelius* and *Masiniſſa* should pursue *Syphax*, and not give him time to recruit his forces; and that *Scipio* should apply himself to reduce the towns in the neighbourhood of *Carthage*. *Tunis*, from whence the capital could be seen, opened her gates to him; the garrison, upon his approach, having deserted the place.

Livy, B. 30.
c. 10.

And now *Carthage* herself, expecting to be besieged, prepared for a long defence; and the Senate dispatched messengers into *Liguria* and *Bruttium*, with orders for *Hannibal* and *Mago* to return home with all possible expedition. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* formed a design to burn the *Roman* fleet, which lay in shelter under the promontory near *Utica*: *Hamilcar*, with an hundred galleys, equipped in a few days, sailed away to execute this enterprize. The course which the *Carthaginian* steered was perceived by *Scipio* from *Tunis*: He made all haste to his fleet, and got thither by land before the enemy arrived. To preserve his galleys, he drew them up as near to the shore as he could, and made a triple or quadruple defence before them of his ships of burden moored together, but with spaces between, for small vessels to launch out against the enemy. Over these spaces he laid bridges, for the convenience of sending assistance from one row of ships to another; and in the ships he placed a thousand chosen men, with great quantities of missile weapons. Had *Hamilcar* been expeditious, he might have destroyed all the *Roman* fleet, but, it being night before he came up, he was obliged to lie by; so that *Scipio* had time sufficient to prepare for his reception. Next day the attack began: The *Carthaginians* broke the chain of ships in the first line, and took six of them: But he had not courage to pursue his advantage; he returned with his small prize to *Carthage*.

Hamilcar, to command the army in his room; and that the former being then at *Arda*, got together a body of 8000 foot, and 3000 horse, and carried on the war against the *Romans*, as an independent General. *App. in Punic. l. 13.*

In the mean time, *Masiniſſa* and *Lælius*, with a third part of the Roman legions, were in purſuit of *Syphax*. In fifteen days they arrived in the heart of *Numidia*; and, when *Masiniſſa* had taken poſſeſſion of his own kingdom, he carried the war into the dominions of his enemy. *Syphax*, with a numerous army, advanced confidently to meet him; but, in a general action which enſued, was defeated and made priſoner together with one of his ſons.

V. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.
Appian in
Punic.
Livy, B. 30.
c. 11. &
ſeq.

After this, the victorious *Numidian*, with the approbation of *Lælius*, who was to follow by eaſy marches, haſtened to appear before *Cyriſba*, the capital of *Syphax*'s dominions, whom he took with him. On the appearance of their King in chains, thoſe of the inhabitants who were upon the walls deſerted them in a fright; others, to gain the favour of the Conqueror, opened the gates to him. Quickning his horſe, he rode directly to the palace to take poſſeſſion of it. In the entrance of the portico ſtood *Sophoniſba* the wife of *Syphax*. When ſhe ſaw *Masiniſſa*, judging by the richneſs of his armour, and other marks of diſtinction, that he was the King, ſhe fell down at his feet, and ſaid: "The Gods, your valour, and your good fortune, have given you all power over us. But, if a captive woman may be allowed to ſupplieate the arbiter of her life and death, if ſhe may be permitted to touch your knees and this victorious right-hand, I beg and implore you, by the regal Maſteſty—with which *we* alſo, it is not long ſince, were inveſted;—by the name of *Numidian*, common to you with *Syphax*; by the Gods of this palace (may they receive you more auſpiciouſly than they have ſent *Syphax* hence!) to grant me this favour, *that you yourſelf will determine my fate, and not abandon me to the pride and cruelty of any Roman*. Were it only that I am the wife of *Syphax*, I would rather be at the mercy of a *Numidian*, a native of *Africa*, as I am, than of an alien and a ſtranger. I need not ſay what a *Carthaginian*, what a daughter of *Aſdrubal* has to fear from *Roman* enmity. If you can no other way ſave me from falling into their hands, do it by my death, I beſeech you, I conjure you." Surpaſſingly beautiful was the ſuppliant, and in the richeſt bloom of life: She claſped the Prince's hand, ſhe embraced his knees; and her pleading, when ſhe ſued to him for a promiſe, that he would not give her up to the *Romans*, was more like the blandiſhments of love, than the prayer of wretchedneſs. The victor, melting not only to pity, but to love, gave her his right-hand, the pledge of aſſured protection. *Masiniſſa* promiſed, without weighing the difficulty of performing; and, had he weighed it, he would ſtill have promiſed. For, when he began to conſider, by what means he might be able to keep his word, *Sophoniſba* being truly *Scipio*'s captive, he took counſel only of his paſſion. He married her that very day; flattering himſelf, that neither *Lælius* nor *Scipio* could think of treating, as a captive,

Y. R. 550.
 Bef. Chr.
 202.
 249 Conf.

the wife of *Masiniſſa*. The ceremony was hardly over when *Lælius* arrived. Far from diſſembling the diſpleaſure this marriage gave him, he was, at firſt, going to ſnatch the Queen from the arms of her husband, and ſend her away with the reſt of the priſoners to *Scipio*; but being overcome at length by the King's entreaties, who begged him to refer the matter to the judgment of the Pro-Conſul, he forbore that violence, and took *Masiniſſa* with him to aſſiſt in the reduction of ſome towns, which adhered to *Syphax*; while this unfortunate King, mad with rage at the ſucceſs of his rival, was ſent under a guard to *Scipio*'s camp.

The whole army were much affected with the ſpectacle of King *Syphax* in chains, a Prince, whoſe alliance had been ſo lately courted by two powerful Republics. The General remembered the hoſpitable entertainment the *Numidian* had formerly given him at his court: And the ſame remembrance encouraged *Syphax* to ſpeak with the more freedom to his conqueror. When *Scipio* asked him, what it was that could induce him, not only to reject the alliance of *Rome*, but, without provocation, to begin a war againſt her; "Madneſs," answered *Syphax*. "But this madneſs did not *then* commence, when I took up arms againſt the *Roman* people; *that* was the end of it, not the beginning. *Then* it began, *then* I forgot all private ties and public leagues, when I married a *Carthaginian* woman. It was the nuptial torch that ſet my palace on fire. *Sophoniſſa* was the ſorcererſs, who by her enchantments deprived me of my reaſon; nor did ſhe ever reſt till with her own hands ſhe had armed me with thoſe impious arms I have employed againſt my gueſt and my friend. But, in the miſt of my adverſity and ruin, I have this conſolation left, that I ſee the peſt, the fury gone into the houſe of my moſt implacable enemy. *Masiniſſa* will not be more prudent or more ſteady than *Syphax*: Nay, he will be leſs upon his guard; for he is younger. This at leaſt is ſure; *his* marriage ſpeaks more of folly and intemperance of paſſion than *mine*. *Sophoniſſa* will have all power over him; and it is in vain to hope ſhe will ever be brought to favour the *Roman* cauſe; ſo deeply rooted, ſo immovable is her affection to her country."

App. de
 Bell. Pu-
 nic. c. 15.

Though theſe words were dictated by the hatred of an enemy, and the rage of jealous love, yet they made a ſtrong impreſſion in the mind of the Pro-Conſul. *Masiniſſa*'s precipitate marriage in the miſt of arms, without conſulting, or even waiting for *Lælius*, made the King's prediction but too credible: And ſuch ſallies of paſſion, ſays *Livy*, ſeemed the more inexcusable to *Scipio*, as he, during his command in *Spain*, had never ſuffered himſelf, though young, to be tranſported by the charms of any of his fair captives. While he was revolving in his thoughts this ſtrange event, *Lælius* and *Masiniſſa* arrived. The Pro-Conſul received them both with equal marks of kindneſs; and having in a crowded aſſembly of his officers, expatiated in their praiſe, he took *Masiniſſa* aſide,

aside, and spoke to him in the following manner. "It was doubtless, *Masimissa*, some good qualities you saw in me, which inclined you, in *Spain*, to enter into friendship with me; and afterwards, in *Africa*, to commit yourself and your fortunes to my protection. Of all the virtues for which you think my friendship desirable, there is none in which I pride myself more than *continence*: And I wish, *Masimissa*, that *You*, to your other eminent virtues, would add *this* also. There is not, believe me, there is not so much danger, to our years, from armed enemies, as from the pleasures that on all sides surround us. He who has acquired the mastery over his appetites and passions, has made a nobler conquest, and gained greater glory, than we by our vanquishing King *Syphax*. The exploits of bravery which you have performed in my absence, I have just now publicly acknowledged, and *shall* remember: The rest I had rather you yourself should reflect upon, than that I, by the mention of it, should put you to the blush. *Syphax* was conquered and made prisoner, under the auspices of the people of *Rome*. He, therefore, his wife, his kingdom, his lands, his towns, all who inhabit them, all that belonged to *Syphax*, are become the property of the *Roman* people. *Sophonisba*, if she were not a *Cartaginian*, if her father did not command the army of our enemies, must, as well as her husband, be sent to *Rome*: It is the prerogative of the Senate and people there, to determine the fate of a woman, who is charged with having seduced a King from our alliance, and hurried him to take arms against us. *Masimissa*, get the better of yourself. Beware of tarnishing, by one vice, the lustre of many virtues. Do not lose the merit of so many services, by a single fault, to which the cause of it bears no proportion ^b."

Livy tells us, that this discourse brought blushes into the Prince's cheeks, and drew tears from his eyes. When he had promised an absolute submission to the General's pleasure, and had begged, that he might be permitted, as far as the situation of things would allow, to perform the rash promise he had given *Sophonisba*, of not delivering her into the power of any other person, he left *Scipio's* tent in confusion, and retired to his own. There shutting himself up, he spent some time

^b It is somewhat strange, that *Livy* should make his divine *Scipio* preach such a grave lecture upon *continence*, when he had nothing in his heart but *murder*. The main aim of his *Ethicks*, as appears by the sequel, was to persuade the Prince either to murder the woman he had just married, or to give her up to be murdered by the *Romans*. Had the *Numidian* married half the women of *Cyrrha*, he would probably have escaped the lecture, provided *Sophonisba* had not been of the number. But

R. 550.
B. F. Chr.
202.
49 Conf.

alone in sighs and groans, so loud as to be heard by the soldiers without the pavilion. At length he called a trusty slave, who had charge of the poison, which (after the manner of Kings) was kept ready against unforeseen adversities; and bid him, when he had prepared a potion, carry it to *Sophonisba*, with this message. "*Masiniſſa* would gladly have fulfilled the marriage engagement, the obligation of a husband to a wife; but since to do this is denied him by those who have the power to hinder it, he now performs his other promise, *that she should not be delivered up alive to the Romans*. *Sophonisba*, mindful of her father, her country, and the two Kings, whose wife she has been, will consult her own honour." When the minister of death came to the Queen, and with the message presented her the poison: "I accept, *said she*, this marriage-gift; nor is it unwelcome, if my husband could indeed do nothing kinder for his wife. This however tell him, *That I should have died with more honour, if I had not married at my funeral*." She spoke these words with a resolute countenance, took the cup with a steady hand, and drank it off. The news being brought to *Scipio*, he sent for the *Numidian* Prince; and, lest his distempered mind should carry him to some action yet more desperate, discouraged to him in friendly manner; now endeavouring to console him; then gently reproving him, for having expiated one act of temerity by another, and given a more tragical conclusion to the affair than was necessary. Next day the Pro-Consul assembled the soldiers, mounted his tribunal, and, before them all, addressing himself to *Masiniſſa*, stiled him King; and, when he had been lavish in his praise, presented him with a crown and cup of gold, a curule chair, an ivory scepter, an embroidered robe, and a tunick wrought with palm-branches. And these presents he enhanced, by saying, that, "in a TRIUMPH, than which nothing among the *Romans* was more magnificent, the triumphant victors had no statelier ornaments; and that *Masiniſſa* was the only foreigner the *Roman* people thought worthy of them." The King's affliction was soothed by these honours, and his mind raised from its depression, to the hope of possessing all *Numidia*.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 16.

The season of the year being far advanced, *Scipio*, when he had sent *Lælius*, with *Sypax*, and the rest of the *Numidian* captives, to *Rome*, returned to his old post near *Tunis*. *Carthage*, greatly alarmed at the neighbourhood of the *Roman* army, and the loss she had suffered by the captivity of *Sypax*, began now to think of changing her measures, and of endeavouring to gain time, by a fraudulent treaty of peace, till *Hannibal* and *Mago* should arrive from *Italy*. The Senate dispatched to the Pro-Consul thirty of its principal members; who cast themselves at his feet, threw the whole blame of the war upon the ambition of *Hannibal*, implored the clemency of the conqueror, and offered to accept any terms he should impose. *Scipio* haughtily answered, That his intention in coming into *Africa* was not

to make peace with the *Carthaginians*, but to conquer them, which he had now in a manner done. He added; *Yet to convince the world that Rome can put an end to wars, as well as begin them, with justice, I shall not refuse you a peace on these conditions:*

*You shall restore all prisoners, deserters, and fugitive slaves;
Withdraw your troops from Italy, and Cisalpine Gaul;
Make an absolute cession of Spain to us;
Yield up to us all the islands between Italy and Africa;
Give us all your long ships, except twenty;
Furnish my army with five hundred thousand modii of wheat, and three hundred thousand of barley;
And pay us 5000 talents.*

I allow you three days to consider of these conditions; and if in that time you agree to them, you shall have a truce, till the return of the ambassadors, whom you shall send to Rome, to conclude a peace there.

As the business of the *Carthaginians* was only to gain time, they made no great difficulty of consenting to *Scipio's* demands: And, the better to impose upon him, they sent a small number of *Roman* captives, and deserters, to *Rome*, with their ambassadors.

In the mean time, *Lælius* arrived at *Rome*, with *Syphax*, and the Numidian nobles taken in war. The Conscript Fathers, upon his report of the wonderful success of the *Roman* arms, decreed a four days supplication to the Gods. As to *Syphax*, they ordered that he should be confined a prisoner at *Alba*, (in the country of the *Marfi*;) They confirmed to *Masniſſa* the title of King, which *Scipio* had given him; and sent him new presents in the name of the Republic.

The campaign in *Bruttium* seems to have produced no remarkable action this summer. Several towns in that country surrendered to the Consul *Servilius Cæpio*, who is also said to have fought a battle with *Hannibal*, the success uncertain. The other Consul *Servilius Geminus* did nothing memorable either in *He-truria* or *Gaul*, except that he recovered his father and uncle from the captivity in which they had been, for sixteen years, among the *Boii*. He entered *Rome*, with one of them on his right hand, and the other on his left. But he was forced to petition the people to grant a decree, indemnifying him for having, contrary to law, executed the offices of Tribune of the Commons and Plebeian *Ædile*, in the life-time of his father, who had been a curule magistrate. His plea was, That he then knew not whether his father were alive or dead; and the people allowed it to be good.

Mago fell down upon *Insubria*, and fought a battle with two *Roman* armies, under the conduct of the Pro-Consul *Corn. Cethegus*, and the Prætor *Quintilius Varrus*. The victory was obstinately disputed, till the *Carthaginian* General, by a wound which he received, was constrained to yield the day to the *Romans*. He decamped the night following, and retired into

Y. R. 550.
Bel. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

Livy, B. 17.
c. 17.

c. 18, 19.

Y. R. 550. into *Liguria*. Hither came messengers from the Senate of *Carthage* with
 Bef. Chr. 202. orders to him to return to *Africa* as soon as possible. Embarking all
 249 Conf. his troops, both *Ligurian* and *Spanish*, he set sail immediately. Scarce
 had he doubled the island of *Sardinia* when he died of his wound;
 and a storm dispersing the fleet, many of the ships were taken by the
Romans.

When *Hannibal* received the same orders, as his brother, he was scarce
 able to restrain his tears. "Now, said he, the Senate openly and ex-
 pressly recal me; but they have been dragging me away ever since
 they refused to send me supplies of men and money. The Ro-
 mans, whom I have so often routed, have not vanquished *Hannibal*.
 It is the *Carthaginian* Senate that, by detraction and envy, have over-
 come me^a. Nor will *Scipio* exult more at my leaving *Italy*, than
Hanno; who since he can no other way destroy my family, is resolved
 to overwhelm it with the ruins of his country." However, as he had
 foreseen what now happened, he had prepared his fleet for a voyage.
 Sending away the useless part of his soldiery into the towns of *Bruttium*,
 under pretence of guarding them, he embarked all the strength of his
 army for *Africa*^b. No man ever went into banishment from his own
 country, with greater reluctance, than *Hannibal* left the country of his
 enemies. When he was out at sea, he often looked back on the coast,
 accusing Gods and men, and himself (says *Livy*) for being disappointed
 of his expected conquest.

Plut. life
 of Fabius.

The joy at *Rome*, on the news of his departure, was great, but not
 universal. Some of the Fathers thought it a dishonour to the *Roman*
 name, that *Hannibal* was suffered to leave *Italy* with all his army, as
 quietly as if he had been setting out from his own country. They also
 feared the difficulties which *Scipio* would have to struggle with; and *Fa-
 bius* increased their terror, by exclaiming, *That the Republic was never in
 a more deplorable state*. Others confided in the abilities of the Pro-Consul,
 and thought it the greatest of all advantages, to see *Italy* rid of her most
 dangerous and most implacable enemy: And the Senate, coming into
 this sentiment, directed that public thanksgivings should be offered to
 the Gods during five days.

Laelius, whom the Republic had just chosen Quæstor to *Scipio*'s army,
 in the room of *Cato*, was upon his way to re-embark for *Africa*, when
 he received an order to return to *Rome*: For the ambassadors from
Carthage being arrived, the Conscrip't Fathers thought it proper to
 have him present at so important a negotiation. The *Carthaginians* had

^a *Plutarch* imputes this to the good fortune which constantly attended *Rome*. It was this good fortune (says he) which poured forth *Hannibal* like water, and wasted him in *Italy*, while his countrymen, through envy and civil discord, refused to send him supplies.

Plut. de Fortun. Roman. S. 21.

^b *Livy* reports, that *Hannibal* massacred, in the temple of *Juno Lacinia*, some of the *Italians*, who had fled thither for refuge, after refusing to follow him into *Africa*.

their

their audience of the Senate in the temple of *Bellona*, without the walls of *Rome*. They spoke in much the same strain as before to *Scipio*, throwing all the blame of the war upon *Hannibal*; and, in conclusion, desired, *That the articles agreed on between Rome and Carthage, in the time of C. Lutatius, (the close of the first Punic war) might continue in full force, and be the foundation of a lasting peace.* Upon this, some of the elder Senators, who observed that these *African* ambassadors were young men, examined them concerning the expedients employed to put an end to that war: And the latter not being able to give any tolerable account of the times of *Lutatius*, the Fathers began to suspect that *Carthage* was not sincere in the present affair. When they came to vote (after the ambassadors had withdrawn) some were against coming to any determination without one of the Consuls, who were both absent; others advised the consulting *Scipio*, previously to any conclusion; and others, fully persuaded that *Carthage* was dissembling, were for commanding the ambassadors immediately out of *Italy*, as so many spies, and for directing *Scipio* to prosecute the war with vigour. *Laelius* joined in this opinion; and some writers say that it prevailed: But others, with more probability, affirm, that the peace was accepted on the foot upon which *Scipio* had proposed it in *Africa*.

Y. R. 550.
Bct. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

Whilst this affair employed the Senate, *Hannibal* was making the best of his way to *Carthage*. The Consul *Servilius Cæpio* resolving to follow him, left his province, and went into *Sicily*, to prepare for an expedition into *Africa*; but his design did not please the Conscrip't Fathers: They thought he intended to rob *Scipio* of the honour of concluding the peace. A Dictator was therefore created, merely that there might be a magistrate in the Republic, who should have an undisputed authority to recal *Servilius*. The Consul being recalled, obeyed, and returned to *Rome*.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 23.
Polyb. B.
15. c. 1.

About this time died in a very advanced age the famous *Q. Fabius Cunctator*. He was certainly, says *Livy*, worthy of the name of *Maximus* which he bore; and his glory equalled that of any of his ancestors. Prudence and circumspection were what distinguished him; not remarkable activity or an enterprizing genius. But it is a question, whether his caution was the effect of his temper, or owing to the nature of the war he had to conduct. Be that as it will, his wise management, in a dangerous conjuncture, saved his country from ruin: And the *Roman* people, sensible of their obligation to him, greatly honoured him while living; and, when he died, laid a tax upon themselves to defray the expences of his funeral.

Liv. B. 30
c. 24.

^a According to *Val. Max.* (B. 8. c. 13. f. 3.) *Fabius* was near an hundred years old when he died. If this were true, he must have been about eighty-six, when he

conducted the war against *Hannibal*, and about eighty-nine in his last Consulship.

^b *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

While

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Chr.
202.
249 Conf.

While the truce in *Africa* still subsisted, and before the ambassadors were yet returned, an accident discovered the fraudulent designs of the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* had thought it necessary to have a strong sea-armament, in order to terrify the enemy, and to remove the necessity of protecting his fleet, as formerly, with his land army; and he had therefore sent for a reinforcement of ships, both from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. The squadron from *Sardinia* arrived safe, but that from *Sicily* was distressed by a tempest, and many of the vessels being driven near the port of *Carthage*, the *Carthaginians* seized and plundered them. *Scipio*, highly incensed at this proceeding, dispatched *M. Bæbius*, with two other officers, to *Carthage*, to complain of the injustice, and demand satisfaction. These envoys hardly escaped the fury of the populace: And even the Senate, being bent on war, agreed to send them back without an answer; such dependance they had on *Hannibal*, who was daily expected: Nay, they gave orders (as some say) that the two galleys, appointed by them to convoy the *Quinqueremis*, on which the envoys were embarked, should leave it at a certain time; and that some ships, kept in readiness for that purpose, should attack and sink it. The *Quinqueremis* was accordingly deserted by her convoy, near the mouth of the river *Bagrada*, and being soon after attacked by three *Carthaginian* galleys, was forced to run aground on the strand; but the envoys escaped to the *Roman* camp.

P. 14b. B.
15. C. 1.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 25.

The General so impatiently expected by the *African* Republic, at length drew near the coast. To discover the country, he ordered a sailor to the mast-top; who being asked, what he saw, answered, *The ruins of a tomb, upon an eminence*. *Hannibal*, disliking the omen, sailed on; and landed his army at *Little Leptis*, a city between *Susa* and *Adrumetum*.

C H A P. XXXVII.

SEVENTEENTH YEAR of the War.

An interview between Hannibal and Scipio.

The battle of Zama.

Scipio enters into a treaty of peace with the Carthaginians, which is ratified the year following.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 27.

TIB. *Claudius Nero*, and *M. Servilius Pulex*, being chosen Consuls at *Rome*, for the new year, it fell by lot to *Servilius* to conduct the army in *Æturia*, and to *Claudius*, to command the fleet in *Africa*: But the latter, by a decree of both Senate and people, was to leave the direction of all affairs at land wholly to *Scipio*.

Hannibal

Hannibal, having learnt, soon after his landing, that hostilities were renewed, took measures to strengthen his army. Being in great want of horse, he sent to *Tycheus*, a friend of *Syphax*, and reputed to have the best in *Africa*; and of him obtained a body of two thousand *Numidian* cavalry. On the other hand, *Scipio* pursued the war with an uncommon fury, kindled by the perfidiousness of the *Carthaginians*. He took towns, not by capitulation, but assault, put the garrisons to the sword, and made all the inhabitants pass under the yoke. However, in the midst of his resentment he did not forget the laws of nations. *Bæbius*, who had been so ill treated, when sent on an embassy to *Carthage*, had since arrested the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, on their arrival from *Italy*, in the port where the *Roman* fleet lay; and he thought that the injury he had suffered would be retaliated upon them by *Scipio*. But the Pro-Consul did not consider so much what *Carthage* deserved, as what became a *Roman*. He commanded that the ambassadors should be well treated, and dismissed. As he continued, nevertheless, to make dreadful havock in the *Carthaginian* territory, the Senate dispatched orders to their General to advance and give him battle. *Hannibal* answered, that he would take the first opportunity that offered; and soon after, leaving his post at *Adrumetum*, drew near to *Zama*, a town in *Numidia Propria*, five days journey south west of *Carthage*. From hence he sent out spies, to discover the situation and strength of the *Romans*. These spies were apprehended: But though it was then customary in all nations, to put such men to death, *Scipio* gave direction to lead one of them into all the quarters of the camp, and shew him every thing he came to learn; which done, dismissing both him and his companions, he bad them go to their General, and give him the account he expected from them. *Hannibal* is said to have been struck with this magnanimity and air of confidence, and to have been thereby induced to ask an interview with the Pro-Consul, in order to a peace. *Scipio* consented, and, to meet him, advanced as far as *Nadagara*, a town on the confines of *Numidia*. The *Carthaginian* came and encamped within four miles of the *Romans*, not far from *Zama*.

Y. R. 551.
Bel. Chi.
201.
250 Conf.
Polyb. B.
25. c. 3.
App. in
Punic.
Polyb. B.
25. c. 3 4

The

* *Appian* tells us, that before this conference, *Hannibal*, being in great want of provisions, sent to *Masimissa*, desiring he would use his endeavours with *Scipio* to obtain a peace for the *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* consented to renew the former treaty, upon condition restitution was made of the ships, men and effects of his dispersed fleet, which had been seized, and that *Carthage* should pay a thousand talents as a fine. *Hannibal*

accepted these terms, and the Senate of *Carthage* likewise agreed to them, but the populace would not give their consent. They were jealous of their General and the Nobles, who they thought were desirous of making a peace advantageous to *Rome*, that by her means they might govern the more despotically at home. And the people were so full of these imaginations, that having got notice at this time, that

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.

There was between the two camps a large plain, entirely open, and where no ambush could be laid. This place being therefore chosen for the conference, the two Generals rode thither, escorted by an equal number of guards; from whom separating, and each attended only by an interpreter, they met in the mid-way. Both remained for a while silent, viewing each other with mutual admiration. *Hannibal* at length spoke thus.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 30.
Polyb. B.
15. c. 6.

“ Since fate has so ordained it, that I, who began the war, and who have been so often on the point of ending it by a complete conquest, should now come, of my own motion, to ask a peace, I am glad that it is of you, *Scipio*, I have the fortune to ask it. Nor will this be among the least of your glories, That *Hannibal*, victorious over so many Roman Generals, submitted at last to you.

“ I could wish, that our fathers and we had confined our ambition within the limits which nature seemed to have prescribed to it; the shores of *Africa*, and the shores of *Italy*. The Gods did not give us that mind. On both sides we have been so eager after foreign possessions, as to put our own to the hazard of war. *Rome* and *Carthage* have had, each, in her turn, the enemy at her gates. But since errors past may be more easily blamed than corrected, let it now be the work of you and me, to put an end, if possible, to the obstinate contention. For my own part, my years, and the experience I have had of the instability of fortune, incline me to leave nothing to her determination which reason can decide. But much I fear, *Scipio*, that your youth, your want of the like experience, your uninterrupted success, may render you averse from the thoughts of peace. He whom fortune has never failed, rarely reflects upon her inconsistency. Yet without recurring to former examples, my own may perhaps suffice to teach you moderation. I am that same *Hannibal* who, after my victory at *Cannæ*, became master of the greatest part of your country, and deliberated with myself what fate I should decree to *Italy* and to *Rome*. And now—See the change! Here, in *Africa*, I am come to treat with a *Roman*, for my own preservation and my country's. Such are the sports of fortune. Is she then to be trusted, because she smiles? An advantageous peace is preferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your own power, the other at the pleasure of the Gods. Should you prove victorious, it would

that *Asdrubal*, whom they had suspected of the same design, was returned to the city, they went in a tumultuous manner to seek him, in order to put him to death. He had fled to his father's tomb, and had there ended his days by poison. But the rage of the mutineers did not cease at the sight of his dead body. They dragged it

out of the tomb, cut off the head, fixed it on a lance, and carried it through the streets of *Carthage*. *App. Punic. c. 20.*

Thus far *Appian*; but neither *Livy* nor *Polybius* mention any thing of all this, and some parts of the story are inconsistent with what those authors relate.

“ add

"Add little to your own glory, or the glory of your country; if van-
 "quished, you lose in one hour all the honour and reputation you
 "have been so many years acquiring. But what is my aim in all this?
 "That you should content yourself with our cession of *Spain, Sicily,*
 "*Sardinia,* and all the islands between *Italy* and *Africa*. A peace on
 "these conditions will, in my opinion, not only secure the future
 "tranquillity of *Carthage*, but be sufficiently glorious for you, and for
 "the *Roman* name. And do not tell me, that some of our citizens
 "dealt fraudulently with you in the late treaty. It is I, *Hannibal*, that
 "now ask a peace: I ask it, because I think it expedient for my
 "country; and, thinking it expedient, I will inviolably maintain it."

Y. R. 557.
 B. Chr.
 201.
 250 Conf.

SCIPIO answered: "I knew very well, *Hannibal*, that it was the
 "hope of your return which emboldened the *Carthaginians* to break
 "the truce with us, and to lay aside all thoughts of a peace, when it
 "was just upon the point of being concluded; and your present proposal
 "is a proof of it. You retrench from their concessions every thing
 "but what we are, and have been long possessed of. But as it
 "is your care, that your fellow-citizens should have the obligation to
 "you of being eased from a great part of their burden, so it ought to be
 "mine, that they draw no advantage from their perfidiousness.

"Nobody is more sensible than I am of the weakness of man, and
 "the power of fortune, and that whatever we enterprise is subject to
 "a thousand chances. If, before the *Romans* passed into *Africa*, you
 "had, of your own accord, quitted *Italy*, and made the offers you now
 "make, I believe they would not have been rejected. But as you have
 "been forced out of *Italy*, and we are masters here of the open
 "country, the situation of things is much altered. And, what is chiefly
 "to be considered, the *Carthaginians* by the late treaty, which we en-
 "tered into at their request, were, over and above what you offer,
 "to have delivered up their ships of war, restored to us our prisoners
 "without ransom, paid us five thousand talents, and to have given
 "hostages for the performance of all. The Senate accepted these con-
 "ditions, but *Carthage* failed on her part; *Carthage* deceived us.
 "What then is to be done? Are the *Carthaginians* to be released from
 "the most important articles of the treaty, as a reward of their breach
 "of faith? No, certainly. If to the conditions before agreed upon,
 "you had added some new article to our advantage, there would have
 "been matter of reference to the *Roman* people; but when, instead of
 "adding, you retrench, there is no room for deliberation. The *Car-*
 "*thaginians* therefore must submit to us at discretion, or must vanquish
 "us in battle."

The

^b According to *Livy*, *Scipio* proposed to peace, provided the *Carthaginians* would,
 advise with his Council about granting besides fulfilling the conditions of the late
 treaty,

Y. R. 551.

Bef. Chr.

201.

250 Conf.

Polyb. B.

15. c. 9. &

169.

The conference hereupon broke off, the two Generals returned each to his camp, and bid their soldiers prepare for battle; a battle wherein the *Carthaginians* were to fight for their own preservation and the dominion of *Africa*; and the *Romans* for the empire of the whole world.

Early next morning *Scipio* led his troops into the plain, and drew them up after the *Roman* manner, except that he placed the cohorts of the *Principes* directly behind those of the *Hastati*, so as to leave sufficient space for the enemy's elephants to pass through from front to rear. *C. Iulius* was posted on the left wing with the *Italian* horse, and *Masinissa* with his *Numidians* on the right. The intervals of the first line *Scipio* filled up with his *Velites*, or light-armed troops, ordering them, upon a signal given, to begin the battle, and, in case they were repulsed, or broke by the elephants, to run back through the lanes before mentioned, and continue on their flight till they were got behind the *Triarii*. Those that were wounded, or in danger of being overtaken, were to turn off to the right and left, through the spaces between the lines, and that way escape to the rear.

The army thus drawn up, *Scipio* went from rank to rank, urging his soldiers to consider the consequences of a defeat, and the rewards of victory: on the one hand, certain death or slavery, (for they had no town in *Africa* strong enough to protect them,) on the other, not only a lasting superiority over *Carthage*, but the empire of the rest of the world.

Hannibal ranged all his elephants, to the number of above eighty, in one front. Behind these he placed his mercenaries, consisting of twelve thousand men, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, *Baleares* and *Mauritanians*.

treaty, agree to pay a fine for having seized the *Roman* ships, and violated their Embassadors, during the truce. The account in the text is taken from *Polybius*, who, being personally acquainted with *Masinissa*, and intimate with the younger *Scipio*, and his friend *Lælius*, is more to be depended on, than any other writer, on this subject.

Polybius adds [B. 15. c. 11.] that, which ever party should prove victorious in this battle, would not only become masters of *Africa* and *Europe*, but of all the rest of the known world. *Livy* [B. 30. c. 32.] is of the same opinion. This however could hardly be true of the *Carthaginians*; for had they proved victorious at *Zama*, they would not have been in so flourishing a condition, as in the beginning of the war; nor have had so good a prospect of conquering the *Romans* as just after the battle of *Cannæ*, when *Hannibal* was master of the greater part of *Italy*. The *Carthaginians*

were now driven out of *Spain*, had sustained infinite losses, and been at a vast expence during the course of a seventeen years war. On the other hand, *Rome* had recovered the possession of all *Italy*, had powerful armies on foot there, and strong fleets at sea; so that had *Scipio* been defeated, she could easily transport more forces into *Africa*. And this suggests a reason why *Hannibal* did not decline a battle with the *Romans*, and endeavour to consume their strength, without fighting. He doubtless foresaw, that they would daily grow stronger by continual supplies of men and money from *Italy*. Add to this, that the army which *Hannibal* now commanded seems to have been the last resource of *Carthage*. The greater part of it had been raised with difficulty, and it would be no easy matter to find pay and provisions for such numerous forces, during any considerable time, the treasury being exhausted, and the country ruined.

The new levies of *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*, together with four thousand *Macedonians*, under a General named *Sopater*, composed the second line. And in the rear of all, at the distance of about a furlong, he posted his *Italian* troops, in whom he chiefly confided. The *Carthaginian* horse formed his right wing, the *Numidians* his left.

Y. R. 557.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.

He ordered the several leaders to exhort their troops, not to be discouraged by their own weakness, but to place the hope of victory in him and his *Italian* army; and particularly directed the captains of the *Carthaginians* to represent to them what would be the fate of their wives and children, if the event of this battle should not prove successful. The General himself, walking through the ranks of his *Italian* troops, called upon them to be mindful of the seventeen campaigns in which they had been fellow soldiers with him; and of that constant series of victories, by which they had extinguished in the *Romans* all hope of ever being conquerors. He urged them to remember, above all, the battles of the *Trebia*, *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*; with any of which the approaching battle was in no wise to be compared, either with respect to the bravery, or the number of the enemies. "The *Romans* were yet unfoiled, and in the height of their strength when you first met them in the field; nevertheless you vanquished them. The soldiers now before us are either the children of the vanquished, or the remains of those whom you have often put to flight in *Italy*. Maintain therefore your General's glory and your own, and establish to yourselves the name of *invincible*, by which you are become famous throughout the world."

When the *Numidians* of the two armies had skirmished a while, *Hannibal* ordered the managers of the elephants to drive them upon the enemy. Some of the beasts, frightened at the noise of the trumpets and other instruments of war, which sounded on all sides, immediately ran back amongst the *Numidians* of the *Carthaginian* left wing, and put them into confusion, which *Masfinissa* taking advantage of, entirely routed them. Great destruction was made of the *Velites*, by the rest of the elephants, till these also being terrified, some of them ran through the void spaces of the *Roman* army, which *Scipio* had left for that purpose; others, falling in among the cavalry of the enemy's right wing, gave *Lælius* the same opportunity against the *Carthaginian* horse, as had been given to *Masfinissa* against the *Numidian*, and of which

* Neither *Polybius* nor *Livy* mention the number of forces *Hannibal* and *Scipio* had at *Cannæ*. *Appian* [in *Punic*. c. 22.] tells us, that *Hannibal* had near fifty thousand men in the field, and *Scipio* twenty three thousand foot, and fifteen hundred *Italian* horse,

six hundred *Numidian* horse, under one *Laetanius*, and a great body of cavalry, commanded by *Masfinissa*. But *Appian* gives a very romantic account of this battle, and differs widely from *Polybius* and *Livy*.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.

the *Roman* did not fail to make the same use. After this the infantry of the foremost lines joined battle. *Hannibal's* mercenaries had the advantage in the beginning of the conflict; but the *Roman Hastati*, followed, and encouraged by the *Principes*, who exhorted them to fight manfully, and shewed themselves ready to assist them, bravely sustained the attack, and at length gained ground upon the enemy. The mercenaries, not being seasonably supported by their second line, and therefore thinking themselves betrayed, they, in their retreat, fell furiously upon the *Africans*, so that these, the *Hastati* coming up, were obliged to fight for some time both against their own mercenaries and the enemy. When the two *Carthaginian* lines had ceased their mutual rage, they joined their strength; and, though now but a mere throng of men, broke the *Hastati*: But then the *Principes* advancing to the assistance of the latter, restored the battle; and most of the *Africans* and mercenaries were here cut off. *Hannibal* did not advance to their relief, the *Roman Triarii* not having yet engaged, and the *Principes* being still in good order: And lest the routed *Africans* and mercenaries should break the ranks of his *Italian* soldiers, he commanded these to present their spears at those who fled to them for protection, which obliged the run-aways to move off to the right and left.

The ground, over which the *Romans* must march before they could attack *Hannibal*, being strewed with heaps of dead bodies and weapons, and being slippery with blood, *Scipio* feared that the order of his battalions would be broke, should he pass it hastily. To avoid this mischief, he commanded the *Hastati* to give over the pursuit, and halt where they were, opposite to the enemies center: After which, having sent all his wounded to the rear, he advanced leisurely with the *Principes* and *Triarii*, and placed them on the wings of the *Hastati*. Then followed a sharp engagement, in which victory was long and eagerly disputed. It would seem, that the *Romans*, though superior in number, were once upon the point of losing the day; for *Polybius* tells us, that *Masinissa* and *Lælius* came very seasonably, and as if sent from Heaven, to their assistance. These Generals being returned from the pursuit of the cavalry, fell suddenly upon the rear of *Hannibal's* men, most of whom were cut off in their ranks; and of those that fled, very few escaped the horse, the country all around being a plain.

There died of the *Carthaginians* in the fight above twenty thousand, and almost the like number were taken prisoners. The loss on the side of the *Romans* amounted to about two thousand men. *Hannibal* escaped with a few horse to *Adrumetum*, having performed every thing in the engagement which could be expected from a great General. His army (says *Polybius*) could not have been more skilfully drawn up. For as the order of the *Roman* battalions makes it extremely difficult to break them, the *Carthaginian* wisely placed his elephant

Liv. B. 30.
c. 34.
Polyb. B.
25. c. 14.

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elephants in the front, that they might put the enemy in confusion, before the armies should engage. In his first line he placed the mercenaries, men bold and active, but not well disciplined, that by their impetuosity he might give a check to the ardour of the *Romans*. The *Africans* and *Carthaginians*, whose courage he doubted, he posted in the middle between the mercenaries and his *Italian* soldiers, that they might be forced to fight, or, at least, that the *Romans*, by slaughtering them, might fatigue themselves, and blunt their weapons. Last of all, he drew up the troops he had disciplined himself, and in whom he chiefly confided, at a good distance from his second line, that they might not be broken by the rout of the *Africans* and mercenaries; and kept them in reserve for a vigorous attack upon a tired and weakened enemy.

The *Carthaginian* General was soon called from *Adrumetum* to *Carthage*, Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf. Liv. B. 30. c. 35. to assist the tottering Republic with his Counsels. He declared, *That she had no resource, but in a peace*; and this, from the mouth of the warlike *Hannibal*, was decisive. The *Carthaginians* therefore prepared to make new supplications to the conqueror; whilst he, on the other hand, was considering how to make the best advantage of his victory. And having received a considerable reinforcement to his fleet, he went on board it, in order to appear before *Carthage*, giving instructions to *Cn. Octavius* to march their legions towards the same city. His intention was not to besiege it, but only to strike terror, and make the *Carthaginians* more eager for a peace; and the method he took had the desired effect. A galley adorned with olive-branches came out to him, with twelve deputies, who spared neither submissions, nor prostrations, nor promises. *Scipio* would give no answer, but that they should meet him at *Tunis*. He ordered his legions thither, sailed back with his fleet to *Utica*, and from thence went to *Tunis* by land. Thirty of the *Carthaginian* Nobles repaired to him, and humbly sued for peace. *Scipio* seemed at first to neglect their submissions; but at the bottom was as fond of concluding a treaty as they: For he knew that the Consul *Nero* was equipping a fleet, with all expedition, to come into *Africa*, and rob him of the glory of finishing the war. The conditions on which he insisted with the *Carthaginians*, were as follow.

^c *Livy* reports [B. 30. c. 36.] that a few days after the battle of *Zama*, *Fernandus* the son of *Sphax* came to the assistance of the *Carthaginians*, with an army of more horse than foot. That *Scipio* sent a part of his infantry and all the cavalry to encounter the *Nomades*. And that *Fernandus* was routed, fifteen thousand of his men slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoner. This story is not very probable, for *Hannibal*,

who was weak in cavalry, would doubtless have deferred fighting, had he known any thing of this approaching reinforcement, which he could not well be ignorant of, if it was within a few days march of him. *Polybius*, who, had there been any ground for this story, would probably have mentioned it, says nothing of *Fernandus*.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Chr.
201.
250 Conf.

Polyb. B.
15. c. 18.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 37.

We permit the Carthaginians to live according to their own laws, and customs; and grant them all the cities and provinces they had in Africa, before the War. The Romans shall immediately abstain from plundering them.

Carthage shall deliver up to the Romans, all their deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners of war;

Surrender to Scipio, all her ships of war, except ten Triremes, and all her Elephants trained up for war; and she shall not hereafter tame any more of these animals;

Enter into no war, either in Africa, or out of Africa, without the consent of the Roman people;

Restore to Masinissa all that she has usurped from him, or his ancestors, and shall make an alliance with him;

Supply the Roman Legions with corn, and pay their auxiliaries, till the return of the ambassadors whom she shall send to Rome, to have the peace ratified there;

* One million nine hundred thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds.

Pay to the Romans in the space of fifty years, ten thousand talents * of silver, at equal payments;

Put into Scipio's hands, an hundred such hostages as he shall chuse; the youngest of whom shall not be under fourteen, nor the oldest above thirty years of age.

Neither the peace, nor even a truce, shall take place, till the Carthaginians have restored to the Romans, the ships and effects taken from them during the former truce.

These were hard conditions; and upon the return and report of the ambassadors, Gisco, a man of distinction in the Republic, endeavoured in an assembly of the people, to dissuade them from complying. Hannibal, fearing the influence his harangue might have, mounted the Rostra, and drove the orator from it. And, perceiving that the people were angry at this his strange procedure, he thus addressed himself to them. *I was but nine years old when I went from this place, and have now spent six and thirty years in arms. In that time I have learnt tolerably well the art of war. It is your business now to teach me the laws, customs, and civilities, which ought to be observed in your Assemblies.* After this apology, he made a long discourse on the necessity of concluding the treaty, though the conditions of it were heavy. The assembly acquiesced in the opinion of a General whose inclination to arms, and whose hatred to Rome, they knew, would never have suffered him to think of peace, and he retained the least hope of success in war.

* Some authors say, that the Carthaginian General fled from the battle of Zama to the sea coast, where, getting immediately on board a ship, he sailed into Asia to Antiochus: That Scipio demanded him of the Carthaginians, and was answered, he

had left Africa. But others, better informed, tell us, that he continued some time in his own country, and was afterwards honoured with the chief magistracy in his Republic.

In pursuance of his advice, deputies were sent to *Scipio*, who to the articles abovementioned added this, *That, till the conclusion of the treaty, the Carthaginians should send no embassy to any state but the Roman; and that they should give him an account of all embassies that came to them from abroad.* Every thing being agreed on, *Carthage* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to get the peace confirmed there; and the Pro-Consul, to facilitate the negotiation, appointed three officers, of whom one was his brother *Lucius Scipio*, to accompany them.

Y. R. 551.
Bel. Chr.
291.
250 Conf.
Liv. B. 30.
c. 33.

The Consul *Nero*, who, on the renewal of hostilities in *Africa*, had, with the consent of the Senate, prepared a fleet in order to pass into that country, was long detained, by bad weather, on the coast of *Italy*, and about *Corfica* and *Sardinia*. Afterwards, a storm dispersed his ships near *Sicily*, and shattered many of them; and while they were refitting his Consulship expired.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and *P. Ælius Pætus* being chosen Consuls, the Senate refused to determine any thing concerning their provinces, till the *Carthaginian* ambassadors (now arrived at *Rome*) were first heard. But *Lentulus*, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war with *Carthage*, declared that he would suffer no affair to be brought before the Consular Fathers till they had decreed *Africa* for his province: His Colleague (a wise and modest man) declined any competition with *Scipio*. After the matter had been warmly debated in the Comitia, the people referred it to the Conscrip't Fathers; who decreed, that the Consul to whom the fleet should fall by lot, should sail with it to *Sicily*, and from thence, in case of war, to *Africa*; but that *Scipio* should have the sole conduct of the land-forces there: And, in case of peace, that the *Roman People* should determine whether the Consul or *Scipio* should conclude it, and who should lead back the victorious army.

Y. R. 552.
Bel. Chr.
290.
250 Conf.

After this, the Senate gave audience to the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, who were all men of the first rank in their country: *Asdrubal* (surnamed *Hædus*) was the chief of them; and as he had always opposed the *Barchine* faction and the rupture with *Rome*, he was the more favourably heard. In his speech, he cast the blame of the late war on the family of *Hamilcar*: Some things laid to the charge of the *Carthaginians* he endeavoured to excuse; others he confessed, lest by denying what was evident, he should make it more difficult to obtain pardon. And when he had flattered the *Romans* on their wonted moderation in prosperity, he concluded with exhorting them to preserve this character by their lenity to *Carthage*. The speeches of his Collegues turned chiefly on the deplorable condition to which their country was reduced. When they had ended, one of the Senators asked them, *What Gods will you invoke to witness the sincerity of your Oaths?* *Asdrubal* immediately answered, *The same who have so severely punished us for the breach of Oaths.*

Liv. B. 30.
c. 42.

Y. R. 552.
Bel. Chr.

200.

251 Conf.

Appian in
Punic.

p. 31, 32.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 43.

In the debate which followed, it was urged, in favour of the peace, that *Scipio*, who best knew the state of affairs in *Africa*, had given his opinion for it; that the *Romans* would have nothing to fear from *Carthage* for the future, since it would be easy to keep her low; that she would be left, by the articles of the treaty, unarmed amidst many nations greatly incensed against her on account of the slavery she had long kept them under; and would be narrowly watched by *Masiniſſa*; that to raze the city would bring upon the *Romans* the hatred of all the world; and to give up the dominions of *Carthage* to *Masiniſſa* would make him too powerful. *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, a relation of the Consul, opposed this opinion, and maintained, that such had been the cruelty and faithlessness of the *Carthaginians*, that to destroy them, would be to do an act agreeable both to Gods and men. The Senate however inclined to peace; but the Consul *Lentulus* interposed his authority, and forbade the decree to be passed. Hereupon two Tribunes of the commons laid the affair before the people. The Comitia empowered the Senate to grant a peace to *Carthage*, and appointed *Scipio* to negotiate the treaty, and bring home the troops. The Fathers approving the plan of the peace, sent, in company with the *Carthaginian* ambassadors, ten deputies to assist *Scipio* in settling affairs in *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* first delivered up all the deserters, and prisoners of war (amounting to 4000 men) and elephants. The *Latine* deserters were, by *Scipio's* order, beheaded, the *Roman*, crucified. Some of the elephants he sent to *Rome*, and gave the rest to *Masiniſſa*. Then the *Carthaginian* galleys and small ships (except ten triremes) to the number of 500 sail, were given up to the Pro-Consul, who burnt them at sea, within sight of *Carthage*. The only thing which remained, was the first payment of the tribute that was to be annual during fifty years. And now the covetous temper of these trading men remarkably shewed itself. When a tax was proposed for raising the necessary sum, they all burst into tears, except *Hannibal*, who at their weeping burst into laughter. This gave great offence; and *Asdrubal* *Hedus* reproved him for it. *What! Does it become you to laugh? You, to insult us on the miseries you have brought upon us?* To which *Hannibal* made this answer: *Could you look into my heart, you would see, that my laughter, far from being the effect of mirth, proceeds from a mind almost distempered with grief: Neither is it so unseasonable and absurd as your tears.* Then you should have wept, when our arms were taken from us, our ships burnt, and war forbidden us, even in *Africa*. That was the wound by which we fell. Do not flatter yourselves, that the *Romans* have consulted your quiet. No great city can be long in tranquillity. If it has not war abroad it will find enemies at home. But it seems we are touched with public calamities only so far as they affect our private fortunes, and the loss of our money is the chief thing we regret. When you saw *Carthage*

discerned.

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disarmed, and, amidst so many armed nations, exposed naked and defenceless, none of you dropt a tear; but when a little money is to be paid, you weep and mourn, as if our country was going to its burial. You may quickly find (I fear it much) that these tears have been shed for the least of your misfortunes.

Y. R. 552.
Bef. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

SCIPIO, before his departure from *Africa*, with the consent of the ten commissioners, settled *Masinissa* in the possession not only of his hereditary dominions, but of all the places conquered from *Syphax*; which possession was afterwards confirmed by the Senate.

On the Pro-Consul's return to *Italy*, both Senate and people unanimously concurred in decreeing him a triumph^a; and the show was more magnificent than any that had been yet seen at *Rome*.

He is said to have been the first *Roman* General, that, for having conquered a country, was called after its name: Through the esteem of his soldiers, the favour of the people, or the flattery of his friends (it is uncertain which) he acquired the surname of *AFRICANUS*.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 45.

^a According to *Polybius*, *Syphax* led in chains, was one of the ornaments of *Scipio's* triumph; but *Livy* tells us, that the King died before *Scipio* made his triumphal procession.



T H E

Roman History.

F I F T H B O O K.

From the End of the SECOND PUNIC WAR, in the
Year of *Rome* 552, to the End of the THIRD, in
607, when *Carthage* was destroyed.

C H A P. I.

*The occasion and commencement of the war with King Philip of Macedon.
Philip makes a fruitless attempt upon Athens: The Achæans reject his offers
of assistance against the tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

Y. R. 552.
Bet. Chr.
200.
251 Conf.

ROME, by her complete victory and triumph over the *Carthaginians*, was become terrible to all the nations around her; and not one of her neighbours, then in peace with her, appears to have had any disposition to a rupture. Some pretence of justice, however, she must always have for extending her dominion, and must not fail to be injured, or menaced, or, at least, affronted by the King or the people of whatever country, in the Senate's plan of usurpation, stood next to be invaded. Excellent reasons would, doubtless, have been found for bending the main strength of *Rome* against those provinces of *Gaul* which lay between her *Italian* territories and *Spain*, had not the countries of the *East* presented to the *Romans* a more alluring prospect. *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Asia*, would not only be richer prizes of victory, but, in all likelihood, of cheaper and easier acquisition. To make any considerable enlargement of empire to the west, many battles must be fought, many nations, brave and warlike, and independent of each other, be successively subdued, and *Italy* must bear almost the whole expence both of blood and treasure; and during so tedious a war, the powers of the *East* might perhaps take the alarm, suspend their mutual jealousies, and form a dangerous confederacy against an encroaching Republic, that seemed to set no bounds to her ambition. In attacking *Macedon* at this time, the Senate were sure to be assisted by their clients and allies the *Greeks*, who, they intended, should support the chief burden of the war, and who, they foresaw, would, after the ruin of that monarchy, naturally fall, from being auxiliaries and allies, to be subjects of *Rome*; and the *Macedonian* power, that only barrier, being demolished, the wealthy kingdoms of *Asia* would lie open

open to her invasions at pleasure. The first step then towards compassing these vast designs was to find matter of quarrel with King *Philip*; and therefore, though it could not be well imagined, that he, who, even while *Hannibal* was in *Italy*, had gladly come to an accommodation with the Republic, would now, after she had totally subdued the only formidable rival of her power, entertain thoughts of invading her dominions; yet this design, as we shall presently see, must be confidently imputed to him; the ambitious views of the *Macedonian* must be timely prevented; and *Rome*, for her own security, must be obliged to act offensively against so dangerous an enemy.

PHILIP was the son of *Demetrius* (great-grandson of *Antigonus*, one of the Captains of *Alexander the Great*.) He succeeded, while under age, to the kingdom of *Macedon*, after the death of his uncle and tutor, *Antigonus Doseu*. (This *Antigonus*, who assumed the power and title of King, having been called to the assistance of the *Achæans*, in their war with *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, had driven him out of *Peloponnesus*, and made himself the protector of *Achaia* and the arbiter of *Greece*.) He died very soon after the defeat of *Cleomenes*.) *Philip* had no sooner mounted the throne of *Macedon*, than the *Ætolians*, despising his youth, invaded the territories of *Messene* without any just cause. The *Messenians* made their complaint to the *Achæans*, who readily undertook to assist them; and after finding themselves not strong enough, engaged *Philip* of *Macedon* in the same cause. On the other hand, the *Ætolians* entered into a league with the *Lacedæmonians*. In this war, which was called the *local war*, *Philip* and the *Achæans* had greatly the advantage; yet the *Macedonian* granted peace to the *Ætolians* and their allies, just after *Hannibal* had defeated the *Romans* at the lake *Trasymenus*. For upon the news of this battle, *Demetrius* of *Pharos*, who, being expelled his dominions by the *Romans*, had taken refuge in *Philip's* court, persuaded the King to settle his affairs in *Greece*, and, seizing the opportunity given him by the weak condition of *Rome*, invade *Italy*: In consequence of which advice, the *Macedonian* soon after made a league with *Hannibal*; but the *Roman*, by engaging the *Ætolians*, the *Lacedæmonians* and *Attalus* King of *Perge*, to join in a war against *Philip*, kept him employed in *Greece*, and hindered the execution of his designs upon *Italy*; as has been already related. After the King had obtained a peace with *Rome*, he turned his thoughts to enlarge his dominions to the east, and secretly projected with *Antiochus the Great*, King of *Syria*, to share between them the kingdom of *Egypt*, where *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old, had lately succeeded his father *Ptolemy Philopater*. *Philip* also made a league with *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, gave him his daughter in marriage, and at his desire laid siege to *Cynus*, a *Greek* city on the borders of *Bithynia*, and which was then governed by an *Ætolian*, whom his countrymen had sent to the *Germans*, to be their General. The *Rhodians* and *Ætolians* interceded for the

Y. R. 552.
B. C. 200.
251 Conf.

Polyb. B.
16. c. 8.
Id. B. 16.
c. 1.

Id. B. 16.
c. 11.
Id. Excerpt.
B. 16. c.
1406. and
1419.
Liv. B. 31.
c. 14.

Polyb. Lib.
3.

* The port
of Athens.

Liv. B. 30.
c. 42.

the town; and *Philip*, by his ambassadors promised the former to spare *Cyus* for their sake. Nevertheless, while those ambassadors were making these assurances, the *Rhodians* received advice, that *Philip* had sacked the town, and then given it up to his son-in-law. This affront highly provoked them, and they persuaded *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, then in fear for his own dominions, from the ambition of *Philip*, to unite his forces with theirs, and begin a war with the *Macedonian*. The confederates attacked his fleet near the island *Chios*, and defeated it: But they not pursuing the advantage of their victory, *Philip* gathered together his scattered ships, and made a descent upon *Asia*. There he took *Iassos*, *Bargylia* and several other towns, and penetrating as far as the territory of *Pergamus*, laid it waste, not sparing even the temples of the Gods, or the Sacred Groves.

The *Athenians* also had at this time a quarrel subsisting with *Philip*, which began on the following occasion. Two *Acarnanians* happening to be at *Athens*, when the mysteries of *Ceres* were celebrated, had, through ignorance of the laws, entered the temple of the Goddess, without being initiated into those mysteries; and the *Athenians*, for this crime, had put them to death. The people of *Acarnania* made their complaint to the King, desiring his leave and assistance to make war upon *Athens*. *Philip* granted both, and the *Acarnanians*, in conjunction with some *Macedonian* auxiliaries, made an irruption into *Attica*, and carried off a great deal of booty.

After the sea-fight at *Chios*, the *Athenians* sent an embassy to the King of *Pergamus*, congratulating him upon his victory, and inviting him to their town. *Attalus* accepted the invitation, and having, together with some *Rhodians*, landed at *Piræus**, the magistrates of *Athens*, the priests and the citizens, with their wives and children, went out to meet him, and paid him extraordinary honours: A new tribe being at this time added to the ten they had before, they called it *Attalis*, from his name: All the *Rhodians* they complimented with the freedom of the city; and at the King's persuasion and theirs, formally declared war against *Philip*. The confederates then sent deputies to *Rome*, to complain of the injuries done by the *Macedonian*, and of the progress he had made in *Asia*. *Philip*, on the other hand, dispatched ambassadors to the Senate, justifying himself, and accusing *Aurelius*, the *Roman* ambassador in *Greece*, of having raised soldiers in that country, and of having, contrary to the treaty of peace, committed hostilities against his lieutenants: He also offered, that *Sopater* and the *Macedonians*, who had served as mercenaries in the *Carthaginian* army, and been taken prisoners at the battle of *Zama*, might be set at liberty. *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had dispatched from *Greece* to answer this charge, asserted, that the ambassador had not gone out of the territories of the *Roman* allies, and had only endeavoured to hinder them from being pillaged by the *Macedonians*. *Furius* also informed the Senate, that *Sopater* was one of the King's courtiers, and had been

been sent by him into *Africa*, with money and four thousand men, to assist *Carthage*. The Conscrip̄ Fathers approved of *Aurelius's* conduct, refused to deliver up *Sopater* and the *Macedonians*, and threatened the King with a speedy war if he proceeded in the course he had begun. Their answer to the deputies from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* was, that *the Senate would take care of the affairs of Asia*. Y. R. 552.
Bel. Car.
200.
251 Cons.

In consequence of these several answers, they passed a decree, empowering the Consul *Ælius* to name a General to sail with a fleet of thirty eight galleys for *Macedon*; and *Laevinus* being chosen for the expedition, he sailed thither without delay. On his arrival, *Aurelius* joined him; and, when they had consulted together, they agreed to write to the Senate, That *Philip* had made mighty preparations for war, and that it would be necessary to send a greater force into *Greece* than was there at present. Liv. B. 31.
c. 3.

Their letters did not arrive at *Rome* till new Consuls had been chosen, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who on the ides of *March*, the day they entered upon office, made a report to the Senate of the state of affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. The Conscrip̄ Fathers suspended their determination; till sacrifices should be offered to the Gods, and their will consulted. After this they assembled: The letters from *Greece* were now arrived, and also a new deputation from the *Athenians*, demanding succours against the King of *Macedon*, who threatened them with a siege; the Consuls took this opportunity to declare, that the Gods accepted the sacrifices, and that, by the report of the Aruspices, the entrails of the victims portended to the Republic victories and triumphs and augmentation of dominion. The assembly passed a decree, That thanks be returned to the *Athenians* for their fidelity; That the Consuls immediately draw lots for their provinces, and that he, to whom *Macedon* falls, shall ask the people's consent to a war with *Philip*. Y. R. 553.
Bel. Car.
199.
252 Cons.
Liv. B. 31.
c. 4

Macedon fell to *Sulpicius*. He assembled the Comitia by centuries, and proposed the war: but the motion was there rejected by a plurality of voices. For the commons of *Rome*, already exhausted by the long and previous war with *Hannibal*, had no inclination to begin a new one, that must, in all probability, be very burthensome. And *Plebeius*, one of their Tribunes, revived the old complaint, That the Nobles, from views of ambition and private interest, were for adding war to war, and the people might never enjoy any repose. The Senate, nevertheless, did not desist from their project. *Sulpicius* once more convened the people. To engage their consent to the enterprize, he put them in mind of the fatal consequences which had followed upon their delaying to send succours to the *Saguntines*, when threatened by *Hannibal*, as the *Athenians* were now by *Philip*. That their negligence in the former case had encouraged the *Carthaginian* to pass the Alps, and invade *Italy*; that though he had been five months coming from *Spain*, five days would be sufficient

Y. R. 557. sufficient to bring Philip upon their coasts; and, granting that the King and his Macedonians were not so much to be scared as Hannibal and the Carthaginians, yet certainly Philip was a more powerful Prince than Pyrrhus, who had led his victorious army almost to the walls of Rome. He further remarked them, That their present security was owing to Scipio's being suffered to transport his Legions into Africa; and, that it was undoubtedly good policy to keep hostilities at a distance, and make war only in an enemy's country. The arguments of the Consul prevailed, and the Centuries voted for war.

And now the chief concern of the Senate was to settle the several armies which were to act this year: No more than six Legions were raised in all. *Sulpicius* had leave to strengthen the two Legions assigned him for the Macedonian war, by as many volunteers as he could get from among the soldiers which *Scipio* had brought from Africa; but he was not to force any of them into the service. The Consul *Aurelius* also raised two Legions to march whithersoever the wavering nations of Italy made his presence necessary. And then the Praetorian armies were formed for the service in *Cisalpine Gaul*, *Bruttium*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*.

Justin, B. 32. c. 2. Embassadors arrived at this time from *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, King of Egypt, who, having escaped, in his minority, the wicked designs of his guardians, had (according to *Justin*) put himself under the protection of the Romans, and received from them *M. Lepidus* to be his guardian and defender against the threatened invasions of the Kings of Syria and Macedon. *Ptolemy* inclined to send succours to Athens, which Philip was marching to besiege; but he durst not undertake any thing till he had asked the consent of the Roman Republic. The Senate returned him thanks for the deference he had shewed them, and gave this answer to his embassadors, That Rome was resolved to support her allies; that she would give *Ptolemy* notice when she wanted his assistance; and that she knew his kingdom to be a faithful and firm support of the Republic.

The Consul *Sulpicius* was hindered from setting out for Macedon by ceremonies of religion. In the beginning of a new war, the Romans would have nothing customary of that kind neglected; the least omission of the usual formalities being thought to affect the success of the enterprize. It was judged proper, on this occasion, that *Sulpicius* should vow games in honour of *Jupiter*, and make him a present. Nevertheless it met with some opposition: For the Republic had not the sum necessary for the expence of the games; and the Pontifex Maximus declared, that the Gods did not care to be at uncertainties, that they were always for ready money; and that the sum vowed must be set apart at the time of the vow. However, this sentence of the Pontifex was over-ruled by the Pontifical College, before whom *Sulpicius*, by order, laid the affair. They decreed, that the Senate should be free

to determine the expence of the games, and the value of the present; and this was the first time that ever a vow was made of an indeterminate sum; or, *that the Gods gave credit.*

Y. R. 553.
Bel. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.

A sudden insurrection of the *Gauls* detained *Sulpicius* some time longer at *Rome*. *Hamilcar*, whom *Mago* had left in *Italy*, was at the head of them. He seized *Placentia*, burnt the town, put most of the inhabitants to death, and advanced towards *Cremona*: The *Cremonese* shut their gates against him, stood a siege, and gave notice of their danger to *Furius Purpureo*, the *Roman* Prætor, who, in the neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, commanded five thousand men of the allies. *Furius* not having strength sufficient to contend with the enemy, wrote to the Senate, desiring succours, and acquainting them that the *Gauls* were forty thousand strong. The Fathers decreed, that either the Consul *Aurelius* should, at the head of some Legions he had ordered to rendezvous in *Hetruria*, go to the relief of *Cremona*; or, in case he declined the commission, that those Legions should march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in the expedition against the *Gauls* by *Furius*, who should send his five thousand men into *Hetruria*. *Aurelius* chose to continue at *Rome*.

The Senate appointed also an embassy to *Carthage*, to complain of *Hamilcar*; and to require that he should be recalled and given up to the *Romans*, together with some deserters, who, according to the treaty, ought to have been given up before. The same ambassadors had instructions to go into *Numidia*, with presents and a compliment to *Masiniſſa*, on the recovery and enlargement of his dominions; and they were to signify to him, that as *Rome* was entering upon a new war with *Macedon*, it would be very acceptable, if he would send the Republic some squadrons of *Numidian* horse.

Masiniſſa was now in possession of the capital, together with a great part of the kingdom of *Syphax*. *Vermina*, the son of that dethroned King, held the other part. In the low condition to which the victories of *Scipio* had reduced him, he could have no security against the ambition of *Masiniſſa*, but in the protection of *Rome*. To the Senate therefore he sent envoys to solicit a reconciliation. They endeavoured to excuse what part he had acted in the war against the *Romans*; laid the blame upon the *Carthaginians*; reminded the Senate that *Masiniſſa* had been the enemy of *Rome*, before he became her friend; assured them, that neither *Masiniſſa* nor any other would do more to deserve the favour of the Republic than *Vermina*, and, in conclusion, begged he might receive from the Senate the title of King, and be admitted into their alliance and friendship. The Fathers answered, That *Syphax* had, without any just cause, renounced their friendship, and become their enemy; that *Vermina* ought to ask a peace of the *Roman* people, before he aspired to be stiled King by them; an honour which they con-

Y. R. 353.
Bel. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.

ferred only upon those Princes, who had deserved it by important services. They added, that *Vermina* might have recourse to the Roman ambassadors who were going into *Africa*; that they would be empowered to declare the conditions upon which the Republic would enter into a treaty with him; and that if he would have any alteration made in the terms they offered, he might again have recourse to the Senate. Such was the haughtiness which the Romans assumed, after the reduction of *Carthage*.

Livy, B.
31. c. 13.

At this time the public creditors, who had lent their money, on the promise of being reimbursed at three several payments, complained loudly for want of the last, which had been delayed beyond the time on account of the expences of the *Macedonian* war. The Senate, to do these creditors justice in the best manner they could, assigned over to them certain lands, which belonged to the public, and were within fifty miles of the city, at the rent of one *As* per acre, adding this condition, that when the State was able to pay, it should be in the option of the creditors to keep the lands, or receive their money.

c. 26.

Philip of *Macedon* began the campaign long before the Consul *Sulpi- cius* left *Rome*. The King dispatched *Philocles* with 2000 foot and 200 horse to lay waste the lands of the *Athenians*; and, ordering *Heraclides* to *Maronea* with the fleet, he himself with the main of his army marched thither by land. Having easily made himself master of this town, afterwards of *Ænus*, and some other places, he over-ran the *Cbersonesus*, and from thence crossed the *Streights*, and sat down before *Abydos*. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, instead of opposing *Philip*, wasted their time in negotiations to bring the *Ætolians* and others of the *Greeks* into the new alliance. All the assistance they sent to *Abydos* was 300 *Pergamenians* and one *Rho- dian* galley. The inhabitants made a stout defence; and when *Philip*, after he had beat down a part of the wall, refused them their lives and liberty, they took a solemn oath to massacre their wives and children, set fire to the town, burn their effects, and die themselves in the breach. Animated with this fury, they fought so desperately, on the next assault made by *Philip*, that he lost almost all hope of reducing them. But now the chiefs of the *Abydenians*, having time to reflect on their inhuman design, and thinking it a less evil to submit to the King, than to imbrue their hands in the blood of so many women and children, sent to him to beg mercy. Just at this time *M. Æmilius* arrived in *Philip's* camp. He was the youngest of three ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, with orders to coast along *Greece* in their way to *Asia*, and to come, if possible, to a conference with the King of *Macedon*. The ambassadors hearing at *Rhodes*, that *Philip* was besieging *Abydos*, it was agreed amongst them, that *Æmilius* should go and confer with him. The Roman signified to the King, that the Senate required of him, not to make war with any nation in *Greece*, not to meddle in *Ptolemy's*

Polyb. B.
16. c. 15.

A
MAP
of
MACEDON



Ptolemy's affairs, and to give satisfaction for the injuries he had done to Attalus and the Rhodians: Adding, that, if he complied with these demands, the peace might still continue between Rome and him; if he did not, he must expect war. *Philip* began to excuse himself, alledging, that the *Rhodians* had been the aggressors. *But what have the Athenians done?* (replied *Æmilius* interrupting him) *Wherein have the Cynians or the people of Abydos offended? Have any of these been the aggressors?* To this the King answered, *There are three reasons of your haughty behaviour, and for which I forgive it: You are a young man without experience, You are very handsome, and you are a Roman. I earnestly wish that Rome may not violate the treaty; but if she does, I shall, with the assistance of the Gods, defend myself.* This conference put an end to all thoughts of peace, and *Æmilius* was dismissed. The chiefs of the *Abydenians* surrendered the city; but the multitude remembering the oath they had sworn, a fit of rage seized them, and they fell to massacring their wives, their children, and themselves. *Philip*, surprized at their madness, ordered proclamation to be made through the town, that all those, who had a mind to hang themselves, or cut their own throats, should have three days time to do it.

Philip repassed the *Hellepont*. *Sulpicius* was now wintering near *Apollonia*; he had come too late in the year to attempt any thing. Upon his arrival he sent *Claudius Centho* to *Athens* with twenty galleys and some Roman legionaries to cover the *Athenian* territories from the ravages of *Philocles*. *Centho* not only put a stop to the hostilities of the *Macedonians*, but took revenge on the *Chalcidian* pirates for their robberies: He sailed with the best part of his squadron, surprized *Chalcis* in the night, pillaged it, beat down the statues of King *Philip*, burnt all his magazines, arsenals, and engines of war, and then returned with the spoil to *Athens*. The *Macedonian*, upon the first news of the taking of *Chalcis*, hastened to that town, thinking to surprize the *Romans* there: But they were gone. Thence he marched with great expedition to *Athens*, in the hope of finding it unprepared for resistance. The *Athenians* however had notice of his coming, and drew out their forces to fight him. *Philip*, pleased with an opportunity to shew his bravery before a multitude of people, who crouded on the walls to see the engagement, gave his men this short exhortation, *Fix your eyes on me, and remember, that where the King is, there his troops ought to be.* Then falling upon the *Athenians* with incredible fury, he drove them into the town, and pursued them to the very gates. Next day the besieged, strengthened by a reinforcement of *Romans* and *Pergamenians*, appeared in order of battle before the walls; *Philip* thought proper to remove to a greater distance, and posted himself at *Eleusis*. In that neighbourhood he signally vented his rage, sparing neither tombs nor temples, nor even the images of the Gods. After this, understanding that the diet of *Achaia* was assembled at *Argos*, to de-

Y. R. 553.
Bef. Chr.
199.
252 Conf.

Tit B 320
C. 22

V. R. 553. rate upon a war with the tyrant *Nabis*, (who after the death of *Maebanidas* had usurped the *Lacedæmonian* throne) he hastened thither, and offered his assistance to the *Acæans*, upon condition that they would furnish garrisons for the cities of *Oreus*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*: But they perceiving that his views were to embroil them with the *Romans*, declined his offers. Whereupon he returned into *Attica*, renewed his devastations there, and then marched into *Boeotia*.

c. 21. In *Italy*, the Prætor *Furius*, at the head of the army which the Consul *Aurelius* should have commanded, (had he not chosen rather to continue at *Rome*) defeated the *Gauls* in a pitched battle, near *Cremona*. Of forty thousand of the enemy, scarce six thousand escaped. *Aurelius*'s jealousy was awakened by this success. Vexed at having missed so favourable an opportunity of acquiring glory, he, to repair his loss in some measure, put himself now at the head of his troops: But *Furius* had left him little to do. The victorious Prætor returned to *Rome*, and in the absence of the Consul obtained a triumph, by a decree of the Senate, though contrary to the judgment of the oldest Senators; because the army, with which he had conquered, had not fought under his *Auspices*.

c. 48. The ambassadors who had been sent to *Carthage*, and into *Numidia*, were now returned. They had found no reason to be dissatisfied with the *Carthaginians*, who, with regard to *Hamilcar*, had answered, that they would punish him the only way they could, which was by banishment and confiscation of his effects. All the *Roman* deserters they could find, they had delivered up; and had sent to *Rome*, by way of present, two hundred thousand modii of wheat, and as much to the *Roman* army in *Macedon*. *Masiniſſa* offered the Republic a reinforcement of two thousand horse: The Senate accepted only of one thousand; and these the King transported into *Macedon* at his own expence, sending with them two hundred thousand modii of wheat, and as many of barley. As for *Vermina*, he had submitted himself to the conditions of peace which the ambassadors proposed; and it is probable that he then assumed the title of King, over that part of *Mæſesyliæ* which *Masiniſſa* had not conquered from *Syphax*.

CHAP. II.

The Ætolians decline taking part in the war. Some slight engagements between the Romans and Macedonians. The Ætolians declare for the Romans. The ridiculous behaviour of the Athenians with regard to Philip. The Consul Flaminius lands in Greece; has a conference with Philip; forces his entrenchments; gains over the Achæans to the interest of Rome: Has another conference with Philip. The battle of Cynocephalæ. A peace concluded.

THE Consular *Fasces* were transferred to *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Villius Tappulus*. *Scipio Africanus* was chosen at the same time one of the Censors; and likewise declared Prince (or President) of the Senate. The conduct of the war in *Italy* fell to *Lentulus*, the war of *Macedon* to *Villius*: But these two heads of the Republic, after the example of their predecessors, continued long at *Rome*, and did not go to their provinces till it was very late. *Sulpicius*, who, from being Consul was now become Pro-Consul in *Greece*, came out of his winter-quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrbachium*, on the banks of the *Aspus* a river of *Illyricum*. *Apustius*, whom he sent out with a detachment to ravage the borders of *Macedon*, took several places by assault. Upon his return from this expedition, some petty Kings in the neighbourhood, who had been formerly in alliance with the Romans, came to offer their services to the Pro-Consul; amongst these *Pleuratus*, King of the *Dardani* in *Illyricum*, *Bato* a sovereign (probably) of a country near *Illyricum*, and *Amynder* King of the *Atbamanes*, a people of *Epirus*.

The devastation made by the Romans in *Macedon* brought *Philip* from *Bæotia* to the defence of his own country. He took all the measures for that purpose which became an able General. As a diet of the *Ætolians* was now actually assembled at *Naupactus*, he sent ambassadors to dissuade them from joining his enemies. *Furius Purpureo* went thither on the part of the Romans; and some envoys from *Athens* repaired to the same place. *Damocritus*, Prætor of the *Ætolians*, presided in the diet. The *Macedonian* ambassadors were first heard. Their speeches were full of invectives against the Romans, whom they treated as *Barbarians*, ambitious, perfidious and cruel; giving, as proofs of this charge, their proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, their invasion of *Sicily*, first under pretence of assisting the people of *Messina*, afterwards

Y. R. 554.
Bet. Chr.
198.
253 Conf.
Liv. B. 32.
c. 7. & B.
34. c. 44.
B. 31. c. 27.

c. 29.

Y. R. 534
 Bet. 193.
 253 Conf.

wards of delivering *Syracuse* from the tyranny of *Carthage*. "What has been the consequence? *Rome* holds *Messina*, *Syracuse*, and all the city in subjection, and sends her annual Governors into the island to lord it over the natives: She would now make use of you, *Etolians*, to conquer *Philip*; but should he be ruined, you yourselves would soon become a prey to the *Barbarians*, and, when the *Romans* are your masters, too late repent of having rejected the friendship of the King of *Macedon*." The ambassadors concluded with pressing the diet to continue firm to the treaty made with *Philip* a few years before. The *Athenians*, who spoke next, expatiated upon the inhumanity and unparalleled impiety of the *Macedonian*, who in his barbarous method of making war had violated even the sepulchres of the dead, and the sanctuaries of the Gods: And they exhorted the assembly to join in the common cause of the two most formidable powers, that of *Heaven*, and that of *Rome*. After this *Furius Purpureo* was heard. His speech turned chiefly on a justification of the *Roman* conduct, with regard to the cities mentioned by the *Macedonians*. He insisted on the moderation and lenity of the republic in her conduct towards *Carthage*, and returned the reproaches of cruelty upon *Philip*; and lastly, he advised the assembly to lay hold of the present opportunity of renewing their confederacy with *Rome*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than conquer with the *Romans*. The diet inclined to favour the *Roman* cause; but *Damocritus* suspended their determination, by declaring, that nothing which related to peace or war could legally be determined out of a general diet, which this was not. The artful *Greek* made a merit afterwards, with his countrymen, of his address in this affair, pretending that his design was only to gain time till by the progress of the war it should appear which side was the stronger.

The King was now at *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*. He gave the command of his fleet to *Heraclides*, with orders to guard the coast; and he marched himself with the land-army to meet the Pro-Consul, who was advancing into the very heart of *Macedon*. Skirmishes soon happened between some flying squadrons. *Philip*, to encourage his troops, by shewing, that his regard for them extended beyond their death, would needs take particular care to have the slain brought to the camp, and funeral rites performed. But this had a quite contrary effect to what the King proposed; the soldiers were terrified when they beheld the large and dreadful wounds made by the *Roman* sabres in the bodies of their companions; for the swords, which the *Greeks* used, were chiefly for thrusting, and made but small wounds.

Philip having recalled a detachment he had sent under his son *Perseus* and his Governors, to guard the passes of *Pelagonia*, and hinder *Pleuratus* and the *Dardani* from entering *Macedon*; his army was now considerable, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and he came and posted himself within two hundred paces of

the

Chap. II. First Macedonian War.

311

the Roman camp. The third day *Sulpicius* offered him battle; but the *Macedonian* judged it not proper to venture a decisive action, till he had studied the enemy, and their manner of fighting. To this end, he first detached a small party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next day he sent out all his cavalry and light armed infantry, under *Anaxagoras*, and laid an ambush for the *Romans*, which they escaped, through the ill management of the *Macedonians*. In a third action, near *Octolopium*, whither *Sulpicius* had removed his camp, the King, pursuing too eagerly some advantage he gained in the beginning of the fight, had like to have lost his life, as he did the battle.

Y. R. 554.
Bef. Chr.
198.
253 Conf.

This ill success, and the intelligence *Philip* received, that *Pleuratus* King of the *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*, in order to join the *Romans*, made him leave his post; he decamped in the night, without the Pro-Consul's perceiving it. *Sulpicius* after a few days pursued him, and forced his way into *Eordæa*, through some narrow passes, notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Macedonian* to stop him. Having lived here a while upon free quarter, he returned to *Apollonia*, and there delivered up the army to the Consul *Villius Tappulus*, who was arrived from *Rome*.

Liv. B. 31.
c. 38, 39.

At this time the *Veteran* soldiers who had served under *Scipio*, and had entered the present service as volunteers, grew impatient to return to *Italy*, that they might enjoy some repose; and they demanded in a very mutinous manner to be dismissed. The Consul could not deny their request to be reasonable; but he reproved them for their manner of asking, bid them return to their colours, and promised to write to the Senate to procure their discharge. The season of the year, which was far advanced, would not suffer *Villius* to undertake any thing of moment this campaign.

B. 32. c. 3.

While *Philip* found that he was no longer pursued by the *Romans*, and that the Consul gave him time to breathe, he took advantage of the opportunity, and marched against the *Ætolians*, who at length had taken part with the *Romans*, and jointly with *Amynander* King of the *Atbamans*, made an irruption into *Macedon*. He defeated them, and forced them to retire into their own countries. *Anaxagoras*, whom he had detached against the *Dardani*, had the like success.

B. 31. c. 40.

As to sea-affairs, *Apustius*, to whom the Pro-Consul *Sulpicius* had given the command of the *Roman* fleet, had early in the year sailed from *Cercyra*, joined the naval force of King *Attalus* off the coast of *Argolis*, and sailed thence to the port *Piræus*; which so elevated the *Atbamans*, that they behaved themselves in the most ridiculous manner. To express their resentments against the King of *Macedon*, they passed a decree to destroy the statues of him and his ancestors, which they had before worshipped, break down their altars, and abolish the festivals instituted to their honour; ordering that for the future, the priests should, as often as they prayed for the *Athenians* and their allies, pronounce

c. 4.

Y. R. 554.
Bel. Cit.
198.
253 Conf.

pronounce curses against *Philip*, his children, his kingdom, his sea and land forces, and all the race and name of the *Macedonians*; and that the places where any thing had been written, or put up in honour of the King, should be looked upon as impure and detestable. They added, that whatever mark of ignominy any body should propose to lay upon *Philip*, the people of *Athens* should consent to it; and that it should be lawful to kill any man who should say or do any thing in honour of the King. Thus, says *Livy*, the Athenians made war upon *Philip* by words and writings, in which their only strength lay. The united fleets having spent the summer in expeditions of no great importance on the coasts of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Eubœa*, in some of which they were assisted by twenty *Rhodian* galleys under the command of *Agessimbrotus*, returned about the autumnal æquinox to *Pyraeus*. *Apollonius* left thirty of his ships there, and with the rest sailed to *Cercyra*, as *Attalus* did to *Asia*, after some stay in *Attica* to celebrate the feast of *Ceres*.

Liv. B. 32.
C. 4.

Philip continued to keep the field; but after a fruitless attempt to take *Thaumacia* in *Thessaly*, a strong town situated on a rock, he returned to *Macedon*, to make preparations for the next campaign; and the Consul *Villius* spent the winter in *Apollonia*.

The other Consul *Lentulus*, who should have led his army against the *Gauls*, did not stir from the city, until *Bebius* the Prætor of *Gaul*, who had put himself at the head of the Consular army, was defeated by the *Insubrians*. He had rashly entered their country, where being surrounded by the enemy, he lost near seven thousand of his men. Upon this news the Consul hastened to the camp, and dismissed *Bebius* with ignominy, but did nothing of moment in his province, being soon recalled to *Rome* to preside at the *Comitia* for the great elections.

It was not customary to raise any person to the Consulate till he had previously passed through the offices of *Quæstor*, curule *Ædile*, and Prætor. Great opposition was therefore made by two Tribunes of the people to the proceeding of the *Comitia* for the grand elections, which were now held by *Lentulus*. Two of the candidates were *F. Quinctius Flamininus*, and *Sext. Ælius Pætus*, surnamed *Catus*. They had neither of them been in the Prætorship; and the former, who was but thirty years of age, had never been so much as *Ædile*. The affair at length devolved upon the Senate: As the Tribunes had only custom and no law on their side, the Fathers decreed, that the centuries should be free to chuse the two candidates in question; and they were accordingly elected Consuls.

Y. R. 555.
Bel. Cit.
197.
254 Conf.

The first business of these new magistrates was to introduce into the Senate the ambassadors of King *Attalus*. They came to complain of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, who had invaded the territories of their master; and they requested that the *Romans* would either send some troops to guard his dominions, or allow *Attalus* to carry back his own fleet to defend them. *Antiochus* was secretly in league with *Philip*, and the Senate

were not ignorant of it, but they thought it advisable in the present conjuncture to dissemble their resentment: They answered therefore, that they were obliged to *Attalus* for the assistance of his fleet and his troops; but did not desire to detain them longer than it was convenient for him: That the Roman Republic made use of what belonged to others, solely at the pleasure of the owners, whom she always considered as free to withdraw their aid, when they pleased: That she could not send him help against *Antiochus* her friend and ally; but would dispatch ambassadors to acquaint him, that as she employed *Attalus's* fleet and his troops against *Philip* their common enemy, it would be agreeable to her if *Antiochus* would put an end to the war with the King of *Pergamus*; and that it was but reasonable, the friends and allies of *Rome* should be at peace amongst themselves. Embassadors were accordingly sent; and *Antiochus* complied.

Y. R. 555.
Bef. Chr.
297.
254 Conf.

The war of *Macedon* fell by lot to *Flaminius*; that with the *Gauls* to *Ælius*.

Flaminius did not imitate the dilatory conduct of his predecessors. With eight thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, most of them chosen out of the troops which had served under *Scipio*, he hastened to *Brundisium*, and from thence set sail for *Corcyra*. *Philip* was now in great perplexity; in danger from powerful enemies who attacked him by sea and land, while he had reason to fear the inconstancy of his allies, and the resentment of his subjects. The *Macedonians* hated his government on account of his minister *Heraclides*. This man (says *Polybius*) a *Tarentine* by birth, of the dregs of the people, and abandoned to all manner of debauchery, was excellently formed by nature for mischief. He had a ready invention, a great memory, and a wonderful talent for flattering the great. Banished his own country on account of some traiterous practices, he had taken refuge in the *Macedonian* court, and there, insinuating himself into the King's favour, had grown to such a height of power, and made so bad an use of it, as to be one of the chief causes of the ruin of the kingdom. *Philip*, at this time, to sooth his people, discarded and imprisoned his minister: What became of him afterwards history has not informed us. The *Macedonians* were obliged to give up some towns to the *Achaans*, in order to bind them to his interest in this dangerous conjuncture. Having made great preparations for war during the winter, he advanced with his army in the spring, and encamped near *Apollonia* on the river *Aus*, where it runs through a very narrow valley between two mountains, the one of which he ordered *Albenagoras* to take possession of with the light armed troops, and posted himself on the other with the remainder of his forces. The situation of his camp was so strong, both by art and nature, that *Villius*, who had brought his legions within five miles of it, being in person to take a view of it, was terrified at the appearance

Polyb. B.
13. c. 2.

Y. R. 555. it made. He called a council of war to deliberate, whether it would
 Bef. Chr. not be better to march about and enter *Macedon* the same way that
 197.
 254 Conf. *Sulpicius* had gone last year, than to attempt forcing the King's en-
 trenchments. The officers were divided in opinion, and during this in-
 determination *Flaminius* arrived and took upon him the command of
 the army.

And now a new council of war being held, it was resolved to attack
 the *Macedonian* camp, lest the *Romans*, by taking a long circuit, should
 happen to want provisions, and be forced to protract the war to a great
 length. But when the resolution of the council should have been put in
 execution, forty days were spent in fruitless contrivances how to sur-
 mount the difficulties; and this respite gave *Philip* hopes of procuring
 a treaty of peace. By the means of some chiefs of the *Epirot* nation he
 Liv. B. 32. obtained an interview with the Consul. *Flaminius* demanded nothing
 C. 10. in favour of the *Romans*: But he required that *Philip* should restore
 to the *Greeks* all the cities he possessed of theirs, and make satisfaction
 to all those whose territories he had plundered. The King did not
 refuse to surrender the cities which he himself had taken from the *Greeks*,
 but was unwilling to part with those which his ancestors had conquer-
 ed; and he offered to submit himself to the arbitration of neutral powers,
 who should judge of the injuries the *Greeks* had suffered from him.
 The Consul briskly replied, That there was no need of such an arbi-
 tration; that as he was the aggressor, he ought to repair all damages.
What cities then, said Philip, would you have me restore? All *Thessaly*,
 answered the *Roman*. The King in anger replied, *What more, Con-
 sul, could you have demanded, if you had conquered me?* This said, he im-
 mediately broke off the conference, and went away.

Plut. life of *Flaminius* The next morning hostilities began, but with little advantage to either
 side. After some days the Consul detached a party of four thousand
 foot, and three hundred horse, under the guidance of a shepherd,
 whom *Charops*, one of the chiefs of the *Epirots*, had sent to him for
 that purpose. This fellow knew all the paths and by-roads over the
 mountains; and he undertook to lead the detachment, (which was to
 march only by moon-light) in three nights time to the top of a moun-
 tain which over-looked the *Macedonian* camp. They had orders to give
 the signal by fires, when they had gained the post appointed them. The
 third day, *Flaminius* caused two thirds of his army to march up and
 assail the enemy's entrenchments. In the heat of the action, the detach-
 ment falling suddenly down, like a torrent from the mountain, on
 the *Macedonians*, put a speedy end to the conflict. *Philip* was one of
 the first that fled. About five miles from his camp he stopped, upon a
 little hill, the ways to which being narrow and difficult, he thought he
 might safely wait there for his troops; which when he had got together,
 he retired with them into *Thessaly*, having lost only two thousand men.

This

This defeat produced other ill consequences to *Philip*: The *Ætolians* and *Albamans* encouraged by it, entered *Thessaly* on different sides, and made great havoc and devastation in that unfortunate country. Y. R. 555.
Bef. Chr.
197.
254 Conf.

Flaminius, with his victorious legions, marched through *Epirus* in pursuit of the King, entered *Thessaly*, and took several fortresses garrisoned by *Macedonians*. But *Atrax* a town upon the river *Peneus*, ten miles from *Larissa*, held out against him even after he had made a breach in the wall: The garrison drew themselves up in a phalanx behind the breach, and bravely repulsed the *Romans*. *Flaminius* thinking it of consequence not to have his army affronted by a handful of men, and having ordered the place, where the wall had fallen, to be cleared of the rubbish, and a tower of a great height filled with soldiers, to be moved thither, advanced, in person, with his legions to the attack: But the breach being narrow, and the *Macedonians* standing firm, all his efforts to enter proved vain, and he was constrained to raise the siege. *Philip* had retired to the famous vale of *Tempe*, from whence he sent succours to the cities in his interest. Livy, B. 32.
c. 13.
c. 15.

Whilst the Consul was thus employed in the northern part of *Thessaly*, his brother *L. Quinctius*, whom he had made admiral of the fleet, being joined near the island of *Andros* by *Attalus's* fleet of twenty four ships from *Asia*, and that of the *Rhodians* consisting of twenty, laid siege to *Eretria* and *Carystus*, maritime cities of *Eubœa*, and when he had carried these places, entered the *Saronic* gulph, and appeared before *Cenchrea*, one of the ports of *Corinth*.

It was now time for the Consul to think in what part of *Greece* he should pass the winter. Neither *Ætolia* nor *Acarmania* had any maritime city which could furnish quarters for his troops, and had at the same time a haven large enough to contain all the store-ships necessary to supply the army with provisions. He chose therefore to winter in *Phocis*, a country not far from *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*, and where the city of *Anticyra* on the gulph of *Corinth* would be commodious both for his soldiers and his ships. Having turned his arms that way, *Anticyra* surrendered, after a slight defence. He took likewise *Anbrysas*, *Hyampolis* and *Daulis*; and whilst he lay before *Elatia*, he learnt that the *Acœans* had banished *Cylliades* the chief of the *Macedonian* faction among them, and chosen for their Prætor, *Aristænus*, a man well affected to *Rome*. The Consul therefore judged this a favourable opportunity to gain that nation to the interest of the Republic; in order to which he sent a deputation to them, with offers to put *Corinth* under the jurisdiction of *Acœia*, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting proposal, and the diet assembled to deliberate upon it. *Cleomedon* appeared there as ambassador from *Philip*, and pressed them to a neutrality; *L. Calpurnius* spoke on the part of the *Romans*; the envoys from King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and the *Athenians*, were likewise heard. Next day the assembly met again c. 12.

Y. R. 355.
Bef. Chr.

197.
254 Conf.

Liv. B. 32.
c. 21, 22.

again to debate the matter without admitting the foreign ministers, but could not come to any resolution; they feared both the *Romans* and *Philip*, and were under obligations to the latter; they had not even the courage to declare their sentiments, though pressed to it by *Aristenus* the President: An universal silence reigned in the assembly. After some time *Aristenus* in a long harangue represented to them the situation of their affairs, and urged the necessity of their joining the *Romans*, who, he said, were in a condition to force them to the compliance they had condescended to request: But this discourse did not bring the *Achaëans* to any agreement among themselves. The disputes grew warm, even to mutual reproaches, and the ten * *Demiurgi* were equally divided. The diet sat but one day longer, and the most part of this they spent in contention. In the end, one of the *Demiurgi*, of *Philip's* party, was brought over to the *Roman* interest, by the prayers and threatenings of his father: The deputies from *Dymæ*, *Megalopolis*, and some of those from *Argos*, seeing how the affair was like to be determined, rose up, and left the assembly, for these three cities * were under particular obligations to *Philip*. The rest of *Achaia* made an alliance with the *Athenians*, *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferred concluding a treaty with *Flamininus*, till the return of some ambassadors sent to *Rome* to get it approved. Nevertheless the *Achaëans*, for their own interest, immediately lent assistance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*.

The city was attacked on the side of *Cenchrea* by *Quintilius*, at the gate of *Sicyon* by the *Achaëans*, and on the side of the port *Lechaëum* by *Attalus*. It was at first hoped by the confederates that a difference would arise between the garrison and the inhabitants, and that they should thereby become masters of the place: But *Androsthenes*, who commanded the garrison for *Philip*, had gained the affections of the *Corinthians*, and being powerfully supported by some *Roman* deserters, who had served in *Hannibal's* army, and by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men under *Philocles*, one of King *Philip's* Generals, he obliged the besiegers to drop their enterprize.

c. 25.

After this, *Philocles* marched to *Argos*, * where the *Achaëan* diet had placed a commander named *Ænesidemus*, a man faithful to his trust; but the inhabitants being in the interest of *Philip*, took arms, and obliged the Governor to capitulate. *Ænesidemus* obtained leave for the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, to depart in safety, but he continued there himself, with a few of his friends. *Philocles* went to ask him, why he staid, and what he intended to do? To which he answered, To die in the place committed to my care. Hereupon *Philocles* ordered some *Thracians* to let fly their arrows at the *Achaëan* and his friends: They were all slain.

* The ten *Demiurgi* seem to have been the chief magistrates of ten cities which, at this time, composed the *Achaëan* state. Livy, B. 38. c. 30.

Flamininus,

Chap. II. The Macedonian War.

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Flamininus, after he had taken *Elatia*, retired for the winter to *Anteyra*. Y. R. 1955.
Bef. Chr.

The time of the elections at *Rome* now drew near, and *Ælius*, who had done no great matter in *Cisalpine Gaul*, was called home to assemble the Centuries. They chose *C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus* Consuls. It was thought fit at this time to increase the number of Prætors to six, by creating two new ones for the government of *Hisber Spain* and *Further Spain*. The Consuls being both ambitious of conducting the war in *Macedon*, were in great haste to draw lots for that province: But this motion was opposed by two Tribunes of the Centuries, who represented to the people the ill consequences which might attend the recalling *Flamininus* from *Greece* in the midst of his successes: *Cornelius* and *Minucius* at length consented to leave the matter to the determination of the Senate, if the Tribunes would do the same. Accordingly it was referred to the Conscript Fathers, and they decreed, that *Flamininus* should continue in his command till the people thought fit to recall him; they granted him also a recruit of five thousand foot, three hundred horse, and three thousand seamen and rowers, and left him his brother *Quintilius* to conduct the fleet under his direction; *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were to serve in his army as his Lieutenants. As for the two Consuls, they were both ordered into *Cisalpine Gaul* against *Hamilcar*, who still headed the revolt there. 197-
254 Conf.
Y. R. 1956.
Bef. Chr.
196.
255 Conf.

Flamininus, who knew nothing of what was doing at *Rome*, and had some apprehension of being recalled, was very desirous of having it in his power, in that case, to conclude an honourable treaty with *Philip*, before any successor could arrive to rob him of the glory: And therefore, though he at first pretended an unwillingness to grant an interview which the King demanded, he at length consented to it, and it was agreed that the place of conference should be on the sea-coast, not far from *Nicea*, a city on the *Maliac Gulph*. *Philip* came to this place by sea, in one of his ships of war, attended by five small vessels; and he had on board with him his two secretaries. With *Flamininus*, who came on foot to the sea-shore, were *Amynder* King of the *Atthamans*, *Dionysoderus* ambassador from *Attalus*, *Agemibrotus* Admiral of the *Rhodian* fleet, *Phæneas* General of the *Ætolians*, and *Aristæus* and *Xenophon*, two deputies from the *Acæans*. *Philip* continued in the prow of his ship, which lay at anchor. *Why don't you come ashore?* said the Pro-Consul, *we shall hear one another better. Which of us do you fear? The Gods alone I fear*, answered the King, *but there are with you some men, whom I cannot trust, and lest of all the Ætolians. The danger is equal on both sides*, replied *Flamininus*, *there is always some bazard in conferences with enemies. No,* said *Philip*, *the danger is not equal. Were Phæneas dead, the Ætolians might easily chuse another Prætor, but were I killed, the Macedonians could not so readily find another King.* Polyb. E.
17. c. 1.
Livy, B. 27.
c. 32

Then

Y. R. 556. Then, both parties remained silent for some time, the Pro-Consul expect-
 Bef. Chr. 196. ing, that as *Philip* had asked the conference, he would speak first.
 255 Conf. The King said, it belonged to him who was to prescribe the terms of
 peace to speak first, not to him that was to accept them; To which
Flamininus answered, "I shall tell you plainly the conditions, without
 "which no peace is to be hoped for. Restore to the *Romans* all the
 "places you have invaded in *Illyricum* since the last peace; surrender
 "up our deserters; evacuate the cities you have taken from the *Egyptians*
 "since the decease of King *Ptolemy Philopator*; satisfy all the just preten-
 "sions of our allies, and immediately leave *Greece*."

Then the ministers of the King of *Pergamus*, and of the other allies, by the order of the Pro-Consul, made severally their demands. Some required *Philip* to restore cities, others ships which he had taken; and others demanded of him to rebuild temples which he had demolished. The deputies of *Achaia* would have *Corinth* and *Argos* reunited to the body of their state. *Phœneas* and *Alexander* spoke on the part of the *Ætolians*. The former confidently insisted on the King's restoring all the places he had usurped from them, and his entirely evacuating *Greece*. But *Alexander*, who was esteemed a notable speaker, went farther, and, addressing himself to the King, reproached him with carrying on the war in an ungenerous manner, and not like the Kings of *Macedon*, his predecessors, who used to meet their enemies in the open field, and there decide their differences by battle, sparing the towns, that they might possess them as the reward of their victories. Whereas *Philip's* method was, to avoid fighting, over-reach his enemies in conferences, pillage and burn towns, even those of his allies, more of which he had destroyed in *Thessaly*, the last year, than an enemy would have done. The King bringing his ship nearer the shore, replied: That *Alexander* had made a very theatrical harangue, and like an *Ætolian*; that no man would willingly do an injury to his allies; but that the circumstances of affairs were sometimes such, as obliged those that had the management of them to do things very much against their inclinations. He was going on, when *Phœneas* interrupted him, saying, That he trifled, and must either conquer in war, or submit to the strongest. *Philip* immediately answered, *That's clear, indeed, even to a blind Man.* *Phœneas* had weak eyes, and the King, who loved a jest, alluded to this infirmity. He then ridiculed the *Ætolians*, for assuming the airs of the *Romans*, and, like them, ordering the King of *Macedon* to quit *Greece*. He asked them, what it was they meant by *Greece*; some of the *Ætolian* nations, he said, were not *Greeks*. Would they give up these to him? Next he answered the ambassadors from *Pergamus* and *Rhodes*, and offered to restore the ships he had taken from them; yet adding, That it would be more equitable if they were required to restore his ships, since every one knew, that they were

Chap. II. First Macedonian War.

319

are the aggressors in the war. He offered likewise to give up the country of *Paræa* to the *Rhodians*: And, as *Attalus* had insisted upon reparation of the damage he had done to the woods of *Nicephorium* and the grove of the temple of *Venus*, "Since Kings, said he, must treat of such matters, I shall repair those damages, the only way they can be repaired; I shall send thither gardeners and trees, and be at the expence of planting." In the end of the conference he desired the parties would deliver him their several pretensions in writing, and he promised to consider them: *I am alone*, said he, *I have none to assist me with their counsels*: To which the Pro-Consul answered, *You deserve to be alone, for you have deprived yourself of all your friends*. The King was stung with this reproach, but put on a forced smile. Mutual promises being given, that the conference should be continued the next day in the same place, *Philip* retired with his ships, and *Flamininus* returned to his camp.

V. R. 556.
Bef. Clit.
196.
255 Conf.

Polyb. L.
17. c. 7.

At the next meeting, the King desired, that in order to cut off a thousand frivolous disputes, the conference might be between him and *Flamininus* only. This was agreed to, and then *Philip* came ashore with two of his confidants, and went a little apart with the Pro-Consul. The King offered to give up all he possessed in *Illyricum* to the *Romans*; *Pharjalus* and *Larissa* to the *Ætolians*, but refused to restore *Thebes* to them; he offered likewise to restore *Paræa* to the *Rhodians*, but reserved *Jassos* and *Bargilie*; he promised to surrender *Argos* and *Corinth* to the *Achaïans*, and to restore to King *Attalus* the ships and prisoners he had taken from him. But when *Flamininus*, upon his return to the deputies made this report, they all raised a great clamour. *Philip*, perceiving by the noise what opposition his proposals were like to meet with, desired a third interview the next day, at another place not far from *Nicæa*. They met accordingly; and then the King exhorted the deputies of the nations not to be averse from a peace, and proposed to refer all differences to the arbitration of the *Roman Senate*: The deputies at first opposed this motion, but it was at length agreed to, and commissioners were sent to *Rome* from the King, the Pro-Consul and all the confederates.

The commissioners of the allies were first heard in the Senate, and they insisted chiefly on the necessity of obliging *Philip* to give up *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, *Corinth* in *Achaia*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*: These three places he had called, *The Fetters of Greece*. What was urged on this head, raised such strong prejudices against *Philip*, that when one of his ambassadors was beginning a studied harangue, the Senators interrupted him, and said; *Tell us, will the King of Macedon give up Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrias?* The ambassadors, surprized at this question, answered, that their master had given them no instructions as to that matter: Whereupon they were dismissed, and a decree passed giving full powers.

Y. R. 556.
Bef. Chr.
196.
255 Conf.

Liv. B. 32.
c. 38.

B. 33. c.
1.
Plut. life
of Flami-
ninus.

Liv. B.
23. c. 21.

powers to *Flaminius* to pursue the war, or make peace, as he should think proper.

Philip, finding his hopes frustrated, turned his thoughts wholly to the war; and as it was of great importance to him to preserve *Argos*, and yet difficult to do it, because it was in the heart of *Archaia*, he put *Nabis*, the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, into possession of that city, upon condition of its being restored to him in case he came off conqueror in the war. But the tyrant was no sooner master of the place, than he plundered all the inhabitants, committed the most horrible cruelties, and, in order to preserve his new possession, entered into a treaty with *Flaminius* (who at his request came from *Phocis* for that purpose) and furnished the Pro-Consul with six hundred *Cretans* to act against *Philip*. After this, *Nabis*, having extorted all the money he could from the men of *Argos*, brought his wife *Apega* thither to practice robbery upon the women. When they came to court, she admired their jewels and rich clothes, and by using good words with some, and menaces with others, entirely stripped them of all their finery. Then the Tyrant leaving a garrison in the place, returned to *Lacedæmon*. The Pro-Consul spent the winter at *Anticyra*.

Early in the spring *Flaminius*, understanding that the general diet of *Boetia* was summoned to meet at *Thebes*, left his quarters, and, under a guard of only one *Manipulus*, advanced towards that city, accompanied by King *Attalus*. The Pro-Consul had ordered two thousand *Hastati* to follow him at some distance; these were hid by the hills about *Thebes*. *Antipbilus*, the Prætor of *Boetia*, seeing the Roman General approach with so small a guard, came out to meet him; and all the inhabitants, out of curiosity to see what past, ran either to the ramparts, or out of the gates, mostly without arms. When they saw the two thousand *Hastati* appear, they thought themselves betrayed, but dissembled their uneasiness: *Flaminius* caressed the *Boeotians*, and gave them leave to hold the diet, which had been appointed to meet the next day. *Attalus*, who was present at the assembly, spoke first, and with great vehemence urged them to engage in an alliance with the Romans. In the midst of his harangue he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which took away his speech, and he presently after fell down; and though he was brought again to himself, he had lost the use of some of his limbs. [His attendants, a few days after, put him on board a galley, which carried him to *Asia*, where he died at seventy one years of age, leaving his crown to his eldest son *Eumenes*.] This accident did not break up the assembly; and as there was no room for debate upon *Attalus's* motion, *Flaminius* being master of the town, the *Thebans* and all *Boetia* entered into a confederacy with the Republic.

The Pro-Consul having now no enemies behind him, marched into *Theffaly*, in quest of *Philip*, who had taken the field. In the neighbourhood

hood of *Pheræ*, a city of *Magnesia*, the two armies encamped near each other. But as the country all around was thick set with trees, and full of gardens and ruined walls, neither of the Generals thought the ground proper for a pitched battle, and they decamped as it were by consent. *Philip* bent his march towards *Scoiussa*, where he could have plenty of forage for his army; and *Flaminius*, suspecting his design, hastened towards the same town, in order to lay waste the fields round it. The roads by which the two armies marched, being divided by a ridge of hills, they advanced as far as *Cynocéphale** without knowing any thing of each other. Here they came to a decisive battle before either party was prepared for it. The day being foggy, some troops of *Roman* horse, that had been detached to discover the enemy, fell in unawares with a detachment of *Macedonians*. A skirmish ensued. On both sides, having sent advice to their respective Generals of what had happened, they received successive reinforcements. Various was the fortune of the conflict. Once the *Romans* would have been totally routed, if five hundred *Ætolian* horse had not sustained them, and gallantly opposed themselves to the enemy's impetuosity. *Flaminius*, the fog being at length dispersed, put his whole army into the best order he could; and, with his left, advanced against the right of the *Macedonians*, which *Philip* had, by this time, formed into a deep Phalanx, on the ascent of a hill. The Phalanx, by its weight, the excellency of its arms, and the advantage of the higher ground, entirely broke the *Roman* battalions that were before it. *Flaminius*, thinking all lost on this side, joined his right, which had already made an impression on the left of the enemy: For this left was not in the order of a Phalanx; the inequality of the ground would not suffer it: Nor, indeed, had the troops come up early enough to be put into any good order for battle: They were therefore soon routed. Among those who pursued them, was a Legionary Tribune, who observing that *Philip*, with his victorious Phalanx, was still pressing after the left of the *Romans*, turned from the flying enemy, and, with twenty companies, fell upon the Phalanx in the rear. Such being the order of a Phalanx, that it cannot face about, nor the Phalangites fight singly, the hindmost ranks were slaughtered without making resistance; others threw down their arms and fled: The foremost was charged in front, by the *Roman* Legionaries, whom they had routed; for these, having rallied, returned now to the fight. The King perceiving the day lost, gathered about him as many of his *Macedonians* and *Thracians* as he could, and fled to *Tempe*. His army, before the battle, consisted of about twenty-one thousand foot and two thousand horse, and that of the *Romans* was not much more numerous: Of the former, eight thousand men were killed and five thousand taken prisoners: The *Romans* lost only seven hundred. To add to the King's misfortune, his General *Androsthenes*, whom he had left in *Corinth* with six thousand men, was

Y. R. 550

Bot. Ch.

196

255 Conf

Polyb. B.

17. C. 1.

* The

Dogs,

Heads,

tail to

called.

Liv. B. 33.

c. 14.

Y. R. 556. defeated just at the same time, in *Achaia*, by *Nicostratus* Prætor of that nation.

196.
255 Conf.

Polyb. Le.
5.4. 6.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 12.

The *Ætoliæ* by their vanity gave the Pro-Consul great uneasiness. They had indeed bore a good part in the late battle of *Cynocephalæ*, but in their songs which they dispersed over all *Greece* they assumed the chief glory of the success to themselves. *Flamininus** took an opportunity to mortify their pride. Three envoys coming from *Philip*, under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality to ask a conference in order to a peace, the Pro-Consul gave them an answer without consulting the Chiefs of the *Ætoliæ*. Provoked at this affront, they spread a report, that he was bribed by the King, and was betraying the common cause; but in truth the *Roman* had very different motives for hearkening to *Philip*'s proposals. *Antiochus*, styled the Great, King of *Syria*, was preparing to come into *Europe* with an army, and *Flamininus* desired to conclude a treaty with the *Macedonian* before the arrival of the *Syrian*. Calling therefore a council of the allies, he asked them upon what terms they thought it might be proper to grant a Peace to *Philip*. *Amyntander* King of the *Atbamanes* declared, that he should be pleased with any terms that would secure the liberty and tranquility of *Greece*. But the *Ætoliæ* spoke with great warmth and haughtiness. They said, that the *Roman* General was doubtless very much in the right, when a peace was in question, to consult with those who had been his companions in the war; but that he greatly deceived himself, if he imagined, the *Romans* could have a durable peace, or the *Greeks* assured liberty, without either killing *Philip* or dethroning him. The Pro-Consul answered, that it was never the intention of the *Romans*, nor agreeable to their manners, to carry things to such extremity; nor was it for the interest of *Greece* to ruin *Macedon*, which stood as a barrier against the irruptions of the *Thracians*, *Illyrians*, and other barbarous nations; and concluded with saying, that he would grant a peace to the King, but upon such terms as should not leave him in a condition to renew the war.

Philip, the next day, appeared at the congress, and prudently declared: That he accepted the articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the arbitration of the *Roman Senate*. Upon this a truce was granted him for four months to negotiate a peace at *Rome*; but *Flamininus*

* *Plutarch* has transmitted to us some verses made by *Alcæus*, on this occasion. They are in the form of an epitaph upon the *Thessalians* slain at the battle of *Cynocephalæ*, and to this effect. "Passenger, on this field lie, unpitied, and unburied, thirty thousand *Thessalians*, vanquished in battle by the *Ætoliæ*,* and the *Latines*, whom *Flamininus* led from the plains of *Italy*. A mighty overthrow to the *Thes-*

salians! And the bold boastful *Philip* fled swifter than the swift hinds." *Flamininus* is said to have been vexed at this epitaph, because it did not honour him enough; but *Philip* only laughed at it, and answered the poet in verse, imitating his two first lines. "Passenger, Upon this bleak hill stands, leafless and stript of its bark, a very conspicuous gibbet for the poet *Alcæus*."

demand

demanded his son *Demetrius*, and some other Lords of his court, for hostages, and also two hundred talents; on condition nevertheless, that both the money and the hostages should be restored if the peace did not take place. The *Macedonian* complied, dispatched embassadors to *Rome*, and retired into his own dominions.

Y. R. 550.
Bef. Cl.
196.
255 Conf.

IN *Italy*, *Cetbegus*, who had marched against the *Insubrians* and *Carni*, obtained a complete victory over them on the banks of the *Mincius*; thirty-five thousand of those *Gauls* were slain in the action, and five thousand seven hundred made prisoners, among these, *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*. *Minucius* the other Consul had no opportunity of coming to a pitched battle with the *Ligurians* and *Boii*, against whom he commanded, but he over-ran their country and laid it waste.

Livy, B. 1.
c. 30

From *Spain*, the accounts at this time were not so favourable. In the *Hisiber Province* the Prætor *Sempronius Tuditanus* had been defeated by the *Spaniards*, and lost his own life in the action; and in *Further Spain* several towns had been seized by two petty Kings. There was almost a general disposition to shake off the *Roman* yoke.

c. 1.
c. 21

WHEN the embassadors from the King of *Macedon* arrived at *Rome* the Republic had just chosen new Consuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. These magistrates, finding that the Senate was going to assign *Italy* for the province of both, moved that one of them might have *Macedon*. *Marcellus* contended that a peace with *Philip* would not be durable, should the army be withdrawn from *Greece*; and he made such a stir in the Senate that he would perhaps have gained his point, if the Tribunes had not carried the affair before the *Comitia*: The tribes unanimously voted for a peace, and appointed *Flamininus* to act as General in *Macedon* till the treaty with the King should be concluded, and for this last purpose ten commissioners were sent thither, accompanied by *Philip's* embassadors.

Y. R. 551.
Bef. Cl.
196.
256 Conf.

The articles of the peace, between the *Roman* Republic and King *Philip*, as they were drawn up by the Senate, were as follow:

All the cities of the *Greeks*, both in *Europe* and in *Asia*, shall enjoy perfect liberty, and be governed only by their own laws.

c. 30.

Philip shall, before the celebration of the *Isthmian games*, evacuate all the Greek cities where he has garrisons; particularly *Euromus*, *Padasia*, *Bargylæ*, *Iassos*, *Thasios*, *Myrina*, *Abydos* and *Perinthus*.

As to *Cius*, the *Pro-Consul* shall notify the Intentions of the Senate to King *Prusias*.

Philip shall restore to the *Romans* all their deserters;

Deliver up all his ships that have decks, except five, and one at *Hexaremis*;

Never have above five thousand men in pay; never make use of elephants in his armies; nor wage war out of *Macedon*, without the consent of the *Romans* *.

He shall pay the republic a thousand talents, one half immediately, and the other half in ten years, at ten equal payments.

* So says *Livy*: But we do not find that this article was observed; and *Polybius* does not mention it.

Y. R. 557.
B. r. Chr.
195.
256 Conf.

These articles being communicated to all the states of Greece, were approved by all, except the *Ætolians*; who asked the other *Greeks*, Why they thought themselves so much obliged to *Flaminius* for taking the chains off their legs and putting them about their necks? For observing, that while other towns were particularly specified, no mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, they insinuated that *Rome* had an intention to appropriate those places to herself, and thereby become mistress of Greece: A suspicion not ill founded: The Senate had purposely avoided mentioning them, in order to leave it in the breast of *Flaminius* and the Council of ten, to keep them, or set them free. Some of the council were for putting strong garrisons into those cities, to guard them against *Antiochus*: But *Flaminius* opposed this motion, remonstrating, that if the *Romans* would refute the calumnies of the *Ætolians*, and gain universal esteem, they must restore liberty to ALL GREECE. It was therefore finally resolved, that the *Romans* should have possession of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias* and the citadel of *Corinth*, only till the apprehensions of *Antiochus's* coming into *Europe* were over.

Plut. life
of Flami-
nius.

LIBERTY to GREECE was soon after proclaimed by a herald in a vast assembly of the *Greeks*, met together from all parts to celebrate the *Isthmian* games. Their amazement and joy upon this occasion were inexpressibly great; they could never sufficiently admire the disinterestedness of the *Romans*, who had proposed to themselves no other fruit from the labours and expences of the war, than the pleasure of making other nations happy.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 34.

The members of the council of ten, (now dissolved) took each his district, to put the decree in execution. They reinstated the allies of *Rome* in the possession of all those places which the *Macedonian* Kings had taken from them; so that *Philip* was confined within the ancient bounds of *Macedon*. The *Ætolians* were the only people, of the allies, dissatisfied; they had been refused some towns which they thought they had a right to. They frequently complained, "that the conduct of the *Romans* towards them was extremely changed since the victory over *Philip*," "though, without the help of the *Ætolians*, they could neither have obtained that victory, nor even have come into *Greece*;" and in the end had recourse to *Antiochus the Great*, King of *Syria*.

* Had *Rome* seized upon *Greece* at this time, it is probable she could not have held it long. The *Greeks* always jealous of their liberty would have been easily stirred up to revolt by *Philip*; and a dangerous combination might soon have been formed against the Republic, by *Greece* and *Macedon*, in which the King of *Syria*, and several other *Asiatic* Provinces, would in all likelihood have joined, to put a stop to the encroachments of *Rome*. Besides, the *Romans* were

now projecting a war with *Antiochus*, which the *Syrian* endeavoured to avoid; and the most plausible pretext they could find for it, (as appears by a speech of the *Rhodian* deputies in the Senate. Liv. B. 37. c. 54.) was the freedom of the *Greek* colonies under his dominion. It was necessary therefore for the Republic to keep her word with the *Greeks* in *Europe*, that she might be believed by those in *Asia*.



C H A P. III.

Antiochus the Great invades Thrace.

A conference between Antiochus and some Roman commissioners.

M. Porcius Cato chosen Consul. He opposes the repeal of the Oppian law.

He conducts the war in Spain.

Hannibal escapes from Carthage into Syria.

Flaminius makes war upon Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, Nabis submits.

Antiochus courts the friendship of Rome.

Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage into a new war with Rome.

ANTIOCHUS the Great was one of those Princes called *Seleucide*; the founder of which family was *Seleucus Nicator*, an officer in the army of *Alexander the Great*. *Seleucus* was succeeded, in the throne of *Syria*, by his son *Antiochus Soter*, and he by his son *Antiochus the God*. This *God* being poisoned by his wife *Laodice*, was succeeded by his son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left two sons, *Antiochus Ceraunus*, and the *Antiochus* who now engages our attention.

Y. R. 557.
Bel. Chu.
195.
256 Cont.
Appian
Syriac
Justin. B.
27. C. 1.

He possessed all the countries of *Asia* from the Eastern borders of *Mædia* to *Æolis* and *Ionis*; also *Calo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and all the coast of the *Mediterranean* quite to *Egypt*. His pretence for coming into *Europe* was to recover possession of *Thrace*, which *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyfimachus*; and he purposed to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, formerly demolished by the *Thracians*, and make it the capital of a kingdom, for one of his sons.

Upon the news of the *Syrian's* arrival, and of the enterprize he had in view, some of the *Roman* council of ten, who had dispersed themselves in *Greece*, hastened to *Lyfimachia*, to dissuade him from attempting any conquest in *Europe*. He received them at first with great politeness; but the *Romans* soon provoked his pride by those airs which they assumed wherever they came. They told him, that his whole conduct since his leaving *Syria* displeased the Republic, that he ought to restore all the cities he had usurped from *Ptolemy*, and that it was not sufferable he should possess those he had taken from *Philip* during his war with *Rome*, and which the *Romans*, as conquerors, had the sole right to dispose of. What! said they, shall the *Romans* have been at the expence of the war, and shall *Antiochus* reap all the advantages of it? But should we connive at your conquests in *Asia*, shall we therefore suffer you to invade *Europe*? Is not this a declaration of war against the *Roman Senate* and people? You may indeed deny it; but you might as well come into *Italy* and deny that you have any design against the Republic. To this *Antiochus* answered,

I have

Polyb. B.
17. C. 31.
Liv. B. 33.
c. 39.

Y. R. 557. I have long observed, That Rome is very attentive to the conquests I make, but never thinks of setting bounds to her own. Know, that you have as little right to examine what I do in Asia, as I have to concern myself about what you do in Italy. He then asserted the justice of his claim to Thrace, and to the towns he had taken from *Ptolemy* and *Philip*, alleging, that they had been all usurped from his ancestors. The conferences were interrupted by a report that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead. *Antiochus* reckoning *Egypt* to be his own, hastened aboard his fleet to sail to that country and take possession of it. But putting in at *Patara* in *Lyca*, he was there informed that *Ptolemy* was still alive. After this, having narrowly escaped shipwreck near the mouth of the *Sarus* in *Cappadocia*, he returned to *Antioch*, the capital of his dominions, and spent the winter there. He had left his son *Seleucus* at *Lyssimachia* with a land army to finish the rebuilding of the city, and defend it.

Valerius
Ant. apud
Liv.
Liv. B. 33.
c. 36, 42.
Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

IN *Italy* the two Consuls *Marcellus* and *Furius*, had carried on the war with success against the *Cisalpine Gauls*, and had entirely destroyed two considerable armies of them^b.

AT the elections for the new year *M. Porcius Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were raised to the Consulship. As the affairs of *Spain* grew very urgent, the Senate resolved to send thither one of the Consuls with an army. The conduct of it fell by lot to *Cato*.

While preparations were making for his departure, the *Roman* ladies took a step, which was a perfect novelty in the Republic. About twenty years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and when the treasury was very low, a Tribune of the people named *Oppius* had got a law passed, That no woman should wear above half an ounce of gold in ornaments; or wear purple; or ride in a chariot, either at *Rome*, or within a mile of it, unless she were to assist at a public sacrifice. The ladies had conformed themselves to this law in a time of general distress; but they thought it intolerable to be under the restraint of it now, when the Republic abounded with riches; and they made a great stir to get it repealed. The Consulship of the austere *Cato* seemed a very improper time for moving this affair; but their passion for finery would brook no delay. They prevailed with *Valerius* and *Fundanius*, two of the Tribunes, to present their request to the *Comitia*; and, contrary to custom, ran thither themselves: Neither the orders of their husbands, nor the rules

Liv. B. 34.
c. 1.

^b The *Pontifices* and *Augurs*, who had paid no taxes during the late war, were now obliged to pay for all the years they had been deficient: But they were at the same time eased of one burdensome part of their functions; for the *Romans* erected a new sort of sacerdotal college, under the name of *Epulones*, whose office was confined wholly to the care of the religious feasts; the number of these priests in the beginning

was only three, and all chosen out of *Plæbian* families. *Porcius Læcas* was one of the first three. This was he who when Tribune two years before got the famous *Porcian* law passed, which forbade, under very severe penalties, to whip or put to death a *Roman* citizen: But this privilege did not extend to the armies, where the Generals had an absolute power of life and death.

of decency, nor public authority, could keep them at home. They beset the ways which led to the Forum, and solicited the men as they passed, urging the justice of their pretensions: They offered their petitions even to the Consuls and Prætors. *Cato* was inexorable; he made a long harangue to the assembly in behalf of the law and against the women. "*Romans*, had each of us been careful to maintain over his own wife the rightful authority of a husband, we should not have had this trouble with the women in a body: But our prerogatives having, by female tyranny, been overturned at home, are now also contemned and trampled upon in the Forum. I thought it had been a fable, That, in a certain island, all the men were cut off by a conspiracy of the women. But there is no mischief of which that sex is not capable, if you allow them to hold, among themselves, assemblies, private parties, and gossipings.

"I cannot determine with myself, whether the thing they ask, or their manner of asking it, be the more pernicious. To us certainly it would be very shameful, to have laws imposed upon us by a secession of the women, as we had formerly by a secession of the commons. I could not help blushing when I came through such a crowd of women in my way to the Forum; and had it not been for the respect I bear to the individuals, and that it might not be said, they were publicly rebuked by a Consul, I would have asked them, *What manners are these, to run mobbing about the streets, beset the highways, and solicit men that are not your husbands? Could not each of you have asked the very thing in question of your husband at home? Are you less coy, are you more free of your blandishments in public than in private? And to other womens husbands than to your own? Though even at home, if you desired modestly to confine your cares within your proper sphere, you would not think it decent for you to concern yourselves about what laws are here enacted or repealed.* Our ancestors would not allow women to transact even private affairs without a director; they were under the authority of fathers, brothers, husbands: *We* are to suffer women (God deliver us!) to assume the government of the state, assemble in the Forum, and vote in the Comitia! A curb for an untractable nature, an untamed animal: Never imagine that women will of themselves set bounds to their liberty, if you do not. The restriction they are under by the *Oppian* law is the least of their grievances; they want a liberty in all things without controul. And what will they not attempt if they gain their present point? Recollect all the laws by which our ancestors have restrained the licentiousness of women, and subjected them to the men. By all these we can hardly keep them within tolerable bounds: What then will be the case, if, by the repeal of one law after another, you put them upon an equality with us? If once equal, they will soon become superior. But let us hear the reason why the matrons thus flock into the streets,

"and

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

Y. R. 558. " Bel. Chr.

194.
257 Conf.

* See p.
172.

" and scarce forbear mounting the rostra to harangue the people. Is it
" to redeem their fathers, their husbands, their children, or their bro-
" thers, from *Hannibal's chains*? This evil is now far, and may it
" always be far from the Republic. But when it was present, you
" * forbade women's appearing in public, to offer you even pious
" petitions. Is it religion that has assembled them? Are they to re-
" ceive the Goddess *Cybele* from *Phrygia*? Can the women assign, for
" this sedition of theirs, any pretence that will bear being mentioned?
" We would shine, say they, in gold and purple: We would ride
" through the city in our chariots, triumphing over the conquered law,
" and the suffrages of the citizens: We would have no bounds set to
" our expences; no controul upon our luxury.

" You have often, *Romans*, heard me complaining of the profuse-
" ness both of the women and the men, not only of private men, but
" even of the magistrates: And that the city is infected with two very
" different vices, covetousness and luxury; plagues which have been the
" ruin of all great empires. The Republic becomes daily more flou-
" rishing: We have now passed into *Greece* and *Asia*, countries full of
" temptations to ungovernable appetites; and begin to handle the trea-
" sures of Kings: I am much afraid lest these riches get a more abso-
" lute power over us than we have obtained over them.

" In the memoir of our Fathers, *Pyrrhus*, by his ambassador *Cynar*,
" attempted to corrupt with bribes not only the men but the women.
" There was then no *Oppian* law to restrain the luxury of women; yet
" none of them yielded to the temptation. And what do you think
" was the cause? The same which our ancestors had for not making
" any law relating to this matter: There was no luxury to be restrained.
" Should some *Cynus* now go about the city with his bribes, he would
" find women enough standing in every street, to receive them openly.

" There are some desires which I can by no means account for. A
" little shame or indignation may perhaps naturally arise at our being re-
" strained from what others are indulged in; but why should it give
" you uneasiness to be dressed in the same manner as every body else
" *must* be dressed? It is indeed a very culpable shame to be ashamed of
" frugality or poverty: And, were it not, the law in the present case
" has secured you from all reproach. You are not so richly dressed as
" you could afford to be. Why? The law has forbid it. But, says a
" very fine lady, with a great deal of money at command, *Truly I have*
" *no notion of a law, that puts all people upon an equality. Why should*
" *not a woman of distinction be distinguished by wearing gold and purple?*
" *Must people of nothing have their beggary screened by a law?—Romans,*
" *would you have an emulation of this kind prevail among your wives?*
" *Would you see the richer coveting to have what none else can purchase?*
" *And the poorer, for fear of being despised, making efforts in expence,*
" *beyond their ability? She who once begins to blush for doing what*
" *she*

"she ought, will quickly come to do, without blushing, what she ought
 "not. What she can purchase with her own money she will; what
 "she cannot purchase, she will ask of her husband. Unhappy is the
 "husband if he grants, more unhappy if he refuses; for another will
 "give her what he denies.

Y. R. 558.
 Ref. Chr.
 194.
 57 Conf.

"When your wives expences are no longer limited by law, you
 "yourself will never be able to set bounds to them. To imagine
 "that things will be upon the same footing as before the law was enact-
 "ed, is a vain thought. A wicked man should never be accused, or
 "not absolved; and luxury unmolested would have been more tolera-
 "ble than now, when, after being provoked, as a wild beast by chains,
 "it is let loose again to range at pleasure."

Two of the Tribunes, both of the *Junian* family, and both bearing
 the name of *Brutus*, seconded *Cato*, and spoke against the repeal.
 Then *Valerius*, who had undertaken to be the ladies advocate, rose up.
 "If, *Romans*, our petition had been opposed by private persons only,
 "I should have waited in silence for your determination: But when
 "the Consul, *M. Porcius*, a man, the dignity of whose office and
 "character, had he said nothing, would alone be of great weight
 "in the opposition, has in a long and elaborate speech inveighed against
 "our motion, I think it incumbent on me to make some answer. And
 "let me first of all observe: That the Consul has spent more time in
 "bitterly reproving the women, than in giving reasons why our petition
 "should not be granted. That the ladies have presumed publicly to
 "solicit you to repeal, in a time of peace and prosperity, a law made against
 "them during the war, and in a time of adversity, he is pleased to
 "call a *mobbing*, a *sedition*, and sometimes a *secession* of the women:
 "Hyperbolic words, merely to exaggerate the matter! for we know,
 "that *M. Cato*, always a weighty speaker, is sometimes a *severe* one
 "too; though doubtless a very good-natured man. What is there
 "new in this proceeding of the women? Did they never appear in
 "public before? Look, *Marcus*, into your own book *de Originibus*;
 "you will there see that they have often appeared, and always for
 "the public good: go back to the days of *Romulus*, to the bloody
 "conflict between the *Roman* and *Sabine* armies in the middle of the
 "Forum; Call to mind that critical period, when total destruction
 "hang over *Rome* from *Marcus Coriolenus* at the head of the *Volturnian*
 "legions; and many other occasions where the women's appearing in
 "public has proved of public utility. What they have often done for
 "the common interest, shall we wonder if they now do, in an affair
 "which particularly concerns themselves?"

"As to the law in question; Is it one of the ancient laws of the Kings,
 "or of the twelve tables; a law, without which our ancestors thought
 "it impossible to preserve decency among the women? No such thing:
 "It is a law of about twenty years standing, enacted in the Consulship of

Y P 176 Conf. " *Sc. Fabius* and *T. Sempronius*: And as, before it took place, the wo-
 men behaved themselves irreproachably for many ages, why must we
 " *scilicet*, that, upon the abrogation of it, they will abandon them-
 selves to luxury? That it was not made with a view to bridle
 " their extravagance, the time when it was enacted is a sufficient
 " proof. *Hannibal* had gained a great victory at *Canne*: He was in
 " possession of *Terentum*, *Arpi*, and *Capua*, and threatned even *Rome*
 " with a siege: Our allies had revolted: We had no soldiers for the
 " lines, no seamen for the fleet, no money in the treasury: We were
 " obliged to buy slaves to recruit our troops, the price to be paid at the
 " end of the war: The publicans, upon a promise of being reimbursed
 " at the same time, furnished corn and other necessaries for the army:
 " Private people, at their own expence, supplied the fleet with sailors
 " and rowers: All orders of men lent their gold and silver to the pub-
 " lic: The widows and orphans brought their money into the treasury.
 " Were the ladies at that time so taken up with dress and finery, that
 " the *Oppian* law was wanted to restrain their luxury? Were not the
 " sacrifices to *Ceres* long deferred, because the women were all in mourn-
 " ing? And did not the Senate, for that reason, confine the term of
 " mourning to thirty days? Who does not see that the want and mi-
 " sery of the city were the occasion of this law, and that it was design-
 " ed to continue no longer in force than the reason of it should continue?
 " The men of all ranks feel the effects of the happy change of public
 " affairs; and shall the women not participate of the fruits of peace
 " and tranquillity? Shall the men wear purple? Shall the priests, the
 " magistrates, both of *Rome* and of the colonies, shall even our children
 " wear it? Shall the dead be wrapt in purple? And shall your wives not
 " be permitted to have a purple cloak? *You* are allowed to have purple
 " in the furniture of your houses. Shall your houses be more sumptu-
 " ously adorned than your wives? And as to gold, why may not their
 " trinkets be considered as a fund to supply the wants of the public on
 " great emergencies? They have formerly so proved.
 " *Cato* says, there will be no emulation, in point of dress, among the
 " women of *Rome*, if they are all under the same restrictions. But what
 " a spirit of envy and indignation will it raise in every *Roman* woman,
 " when she sees those ornaments, which she is forbid to wear, allowed
 " to the *Latine* women? Sees them shining in gold and purple, and
 " riding in chariots through the streets, while she is obliged to fol-
 " low on foot, as if the seat of the empire were in the cities of our allies,
 " not in *Rome*? Such a distinction might be felt even by men: How ex-
 " tremely mortifying then must it be to female minds, which very small
 " matters are sufficient to disturb! They can have no magistracies, no
 " sacerdotal dignities, no triumphs, no spoils, nor trophies of war. Neat-
 " ness, ornaments, elegant dress, these are the triumphs of women: In
 " these they delight, in these they place their glory: Our ancestors called
 " these,

“these, *mundus muliebris*, the world, the every thing of woman. Are wo-
 “men to be always in mourning? What is a woman’s mourning, but
 “her not wearing gold and purple? And by what does she distinguish
 “a day of public devotion and thanksgiving, from other days, but the
 “finery of her dress? We are told, that if you repeal the Oppian
 “law, you will not, by your private authority, be able to restrain the
 “women from any thing which that law forbids them to have; and
 “that your daughters, wives and sisters will be left under your com-
 “mand. While fathers or husbands are alive, the subjection of women
 “can never cease; and they themselves detest that liberty which is
 “only to be acquired by their becoming widows and orphans. They had
 “rather have their dress regulated by you than by the law. And ought
 “it not to be your choice to hold them under your guardianship and
 “protection, rather than in slavery? To be stiled fathers and husbands,
 “rather than masters?”

“The Consul, as I before observed, made use of some invidious
 “expressions; *a sedition, a secession of the women*: As if they were just
 “going to seize the sacred Mount, or the *Aventine Hill*, as the commons
 “heretofore did in their anger. No, *Romans*, their weakness must
 “submit to whatever you are pleased to determine: But the greater your
 “power, the more moderate you ought to be in the use of it.”

The debate lasted all the day, so that the putting the question
 was deferred to the next. Then the women, more impetuous than
 ever, besieged the houses of the two *Brutus*’s, the only *Tribuns of the*
people in the opposition; and by irresistible importunity forced them to
 yield. The *Comitia*, being thus at full liberty, repealed the *Oppian*
 law.

AND now a nobler career presented itself to the austere *Cato* than a
 war with women. He set out for *Spain* with a Consular army, em-
 barked at *Lana* in *Etruria*, and landed at *Rhoda* [now *Roset*] in *C ta-*
luna. From thence he marched by land to *Emporia*, where he was
 met by the *Pro Consul Helvius*, who had just obtained a victory over
 the *Spaniards*.

To the Consul came ambassadors from the King of the *Hergetes*, a *Frontier*
 nation well affected to the *Romans*, praying, that five thousand men
 might be sent to protect his kingdom, that was threatened, by the
 enemy, with a general devastation. *Cato*, perplexed at this demand, be-
 cause unwilling either to desert his allies, or to divide his army, after
 a whole night’s deliberation thought of this expedient. He told the
 ambassadors, he would risk his own safety for the interest of their na-
 tion; and accordingly gave orders for equipping some galleys, to trans-
 port the succours desired. The rumour of these preparations being spread
 to, the enemy were seized with terror, and hastily left the country of
 the *Hergetes*. As for the detachment, it embarked, sailed a little way,
 and then, under pretence of contrary winds, returned to the port from
 whence it had set out.

Y. R. 558.
 Ref. Chr.
 174.
 257 Conf.

Cato's troops consisting for the most part of raw soldiers, it was necessary to take some pains to discipline them; and the more, as they had to do with the *Spaniards*, naturally brave and resolute, and, by their wars with the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, much improved in the military art. The Consul was just such a General as his army wanted; a pattern of vigilance, sobriety and indefatigable constancy in labour; his dress always plain, his provisions the same with those of the common soldiers.

When he had formed his army to his wishes, he took the field, and obtained a complete victory over the enemy. And in order to keep the *Spaniards* in obedience for the future, he made use of the following artifice. He wrote private letters to the Commanders of many of the fortified towns, ordering them to demolish their fortifications immediately, and threatening revenge, in case of disobedience. Each of those Commanders being ignorant of the orders sent to the rest, and dreading the Consul's resentment, they all, without delay, beat down their walls and towers; so that most of the towns in the hither province were dismantled in one day. In short, *Cato* settled *Spain* in such tranquillity and order, that the Senate did not think it necessary to send a new Consular army thither.

Livy, B. 33.
 c. 45, &
 164.

ABOUT the time that *Cato* left *Rome* to go into *Spain*, letters came from *Carthage*, giving advice, that *Hannibal* was in secret intelligence with the King of *Syria*, and forming designs against the *Romans*. These letters were sent by the enemies of the *Barchine* faction, whom *Hannibal*, lately Prætor or chief magistrate of *Carthage*, had highly provoked, by some acts, agreeable to the people, and beneficial to the commonwealth. It had been the custom for the judges to hold their offices for life. This gave them the chief sway in the Republic; and they were tyrannical in the exercise of their authority. As the Quæstors, after the expiration of their office, became judges of course, this prospect of future greatness had so raised the pride of a certain Quæstor (of the opposite faction) that he refused to appear on a summons sent him by the Prætor. *Hannibal* resenting the affront, caused some officers to seize the Quæstor; and, bringing him before the assembly of the people, not only complained of his insolence, but of the mischief the State suffered by having perpetual judges; and he obtained a decree that the judges for the future should be chosen annually.

Nor was this the only act for the public good, by which the Prætor increased the number of his enemies among the nobles. Those who had the management of the public money, had embezzled great part of it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the *Romans* the stipulated tribute; and a new tax was going to be laid for this purpose. *Hannibal* prevented the oppression: Making enquiry after the embezzled money, he found enough to pay the *Romans*, without the burden of a new imposition. *Scipio*, knowing these things, is said to have defended the *Carthaginian*

Carthaginian in the Senate of *Rome*, urging that it was below the dignity of the *Roman* people to list themselves amongst *Hannibal's* personal enemies, and take part in the factions of *Carthage*. The *Confcript* Fathers, notwithstanding *Scipio's* remonstrance, sent thither *C. Servilius*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Terentius Culleo*, to accuse *Hannibal* in the Senate, of holding correspondence with *Antiochus*. These ambassadors, by the advice of *Hannibal's* enemies, gave out, on their arrival, that they were come to adjust some differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Masfiniffa*. *Hannibal*, nevertheless, had too much penetration not to see into the real designs of the *Romans*. On the day when he purposed to make his escape, having appeared in public, as was his daily custom, he left *Carthage* about the dusk of the evening, in his town dress, accompanied by only two persons, both ignorant of his determination. He had appointed horses to be in readiness at a certain place, whence riding all night, he came to a tower of his own by the sea side. There he had a ship furnished with all things requisite, as having long foreseen the present necessity. Thus *Hannibal* took his leave of *Africa*, lamenting, says *Livy*, the misfortunes of his country more than his own. Passing over to the isle of *Cercina*, he found there in the haven some merchant ships of *Carthage*. The masters saluted him respectfully; and the chief among them enquiring whither he was bound, he answered, he was going ambassador to *Tyre*. He then invited all the merchants and masters of ships to a sacrifice; and it being hot weather, he would by all means hold his feast upon the shore; whither, because there wanted shade, he desired them to bring all their sails and yards to be used instead of tents. They did so, and feasted with him till it was late at night, and they fell asleep. He then left them, and, putting to sea, held on his course to *Tyre*. All the remainder of that night, and the day following, he was sure not to be pursued; for neither would the merchants be in haste to send news of him to *Carthage*, as thinking he was gone ambassador from the state; neither could they get away from *Cercina*, without some expence of time, in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage* the disappearing of so great a man raised various conjectures. Some guessed rightly, that he was fled; but the greater part believed, that the *Romans* had made away with him. At length news came, that he had been seen in *Cercina*. The *Roman* ambassadors, having now no other business, accused him (with an ill grace) as an enemy to peace. They said, it was well known, that he had heretofore stirred up King *Philip* to make war upon the *Romans*, and had lately by letters and emissaries been urging *Antiochus* to the like measures. They added, that if the *Carthaginians* would satisfy the people of *Rome*, they must make it appear, that these things were not done by their authority, or with their approbation. To this it was answered, that *Carthage* would do whatever the *Romans* should think equitable. [It is probable, she, at this time, passed sentence of banishment against the most illustrious citizen she could ever boast of.]

Hannibal

the Y. R. 558.
Bet. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

Y. R. 558.
B. f. Ch.
194.
257 Conf.

Hannibal coming to *Tyre*, the mother city of *Carthage*, was received and entertained in a manner suitable to the dignity of his character. From thence he went to *Antioch*; but made no stay there, the King being just gone to *Ephesus*. Thither he followed him, and found him wavering between peace and war.

Liv. B. 33.
c. 43.

c. 45.

B. 34. c.
22.

UPON the report of the plenipotentiaries who had concluded the peace with *Macedon*, the Roman Senate had judged it necessary that *Flaminius* should continue Pro-Consul in *Greece*. They now began to make preparations for a war with *Antiochus*; and as there was reason to suspect, that *Nabis*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, would side with the King, orders were sent to the Pro-Consul immediately to attack *Nabis*, if he thought it for the interest of the Republic. *Flaminius*, in execution of these orders, having convened a Diet at *Corinth*, at which deputies from all the *Greek* nations were present, proposed to them the recovering *Argos* out of the hands of *Nabis*. He represented to the assembly, that in the war with *Philip*, which the *Romans* and *Greeks* had jointly carried on, they had each their motives apart; but in the enterprize which he now suggested, the *Romans* had no other interest than the honour of perfecting the liberty of *Greece*, which must be deemed incomplete, so long as the noble and ancient city of *Arges* remained under the domination of a tyrant. "But (said he) it belongs to you to determine in this affair; and if neither a concern for that city, nor the danger of such an example (the contagion of which may spread) has any weight with you, we shall acquiesce." The *Athenian* deputy hereto made a very eloquent answer, and in terms as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thanks to the *Romans* for what was past, and highly extolled the generosity of their present proposal, whereby, unrequested, they freely offered to continue that bounty which, at the earnest desire of their associates, they had lately extended to all *Greece*. To this he added, that great pity it was to hear such noble virtue and high deserts ill spoken of by some, who took upon them to foretel what harm those their benefactors meant to do hereafter, whereas gratitude would rather have required an acknowledgment of the benefits already received. Every one saw that these last words were directed against the *Ætians*. Wherefore *Alexander*, the Prætor of that nation, rising up, reproached the *Athenians*, that they, whose ancestors used to be the foremost in the defence of the general liberty, were now fallen so low, as to betray the common cause by flattery and base compliances. He then inveighed against the *Ætians*, who, he said, had been soldiers to *Philip* till they deserted and ran away from his adversity: That they had got *Corinth* for themselves, and would now have a war undertaken for their sakes, that they might be lords also of *Argos*; while the *Ætians*, who first engaged in the war with *Philip*, and had always been friends to the *Romans*, were defrauded of some places which anciently and of right belonged to them. Neither did *Alexander* stop here. He accused the *Romans* of fraud in keeping

garrisons

garrison in *Chalcis*, *Demetrius* and the citadel of *Corinth*, though they had always professed, that *Greece* could never be in liberty while those places were not free. “And what did (said he) do they seek by a war with *Nabis*, but a pretext to continue their armies in this country? “Let them withdraw their legions and evacuate *Greece*, which cannot indeed be free till their departure; and as to *Nabis*, the *Ætians* will undertake, if he do not voluntarily give up *Argos*, to compel him “by force of arms to submit to the good pleasure of all *Greece*, now at “unity.” This boasting of the *Ætians* raised the indignation of the other *Greeks*, especially the *Acheans*, who called them robbers, a race worse than barbarian, that had nothing *Greek* but their language, as they had nothing human but their shape. *Flaminius* said, he would have answered the *Ætians* if there had been any occasion for it; but that he was perfectly content with what he saw was the general opinion concerning the *Romans* and them.

In conclusion, the whole assembly, except the *Ætians*, concurred in determining upon a war with *Nabis*, in case he refused to deliver up *Argos* to the *Acheans*.

When all things were ready for marching, ambassadors arrived from *Atreus*, to propose a treaty of alliance with *Rome*. *Flaminius* answered, that they must address themselves to the *Roman* Senate; for the ten commissioners being absent, he could say nothing to the matter. He then advanced towards *Argos*, expecting, according to some assurances that had been given him, that, upon his near approach, there would be an insurrection in the town, by which he should easily become master of it. Finding these hopes disappointed, he resolved, instead of besieging that place, to march strait to *Lacedæmon*, and crush the Tyrant at once. All preparations were made for this attempt; and his brother *Quintius*, the Admiral of the *Roman* fleet, appeared off the *Lacedæmonian* coasts with forty ships of war.

Nabis, struck with terror at the approach of these sea and land forces against him, augmented the number of his troops, fortified his capital and massacred fourscore of the principal men in it, whom he suspected of disaffection to him. *Flaminius* marched to the banks of the *Eurotas*, and from thence ravaged the country to the walls of *Lacedæmon*, while his brother *Quintius*, after having reduced some towns on the sea coast, laid siege to *Gythium*, a strong city which might be called the port of *Lacedæmon*, and the repository of all its riches. Here he met with so vigorous a resistance, that though he was joined by the *Mediterranean* with eighteen galleys, and by King *Lumenes* with forty, he would have been forced to raise the siege, if the Pro-Consul had not seasonably come to his assistance with four thousand men: Upon their appearance the besieged immediately capitulated.

The surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis's* measures; he sent to *Flaminius*, and asked a conference in order to a peace. They met in a plain

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Cont.

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

plain which lay between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman* camp. The King spoke first, and desired to know "for what cause the *Romans* made war upon him; for he was quite ignorant of it. It could not be (he said) on account of the tyranny and cruelty they charged him with, he being the very same man now as when he and they became friends and allies, and joined in the war against *Philip*: That *Flamininus* then called him King, not Tyrant. Neither could it be because he held *Argos*: for he was in possession of that city when he made a league with the *Romans*, and was left in possession of it by the treaty. "In a word, he had done nothing since his alliance with *Rome* contrary to his engagements." All this seems to have been very true: For the Pro-Consul was reduced, in his answer, to deny that he had made any league with *Nabis*; arguing, that it would have been quite improper and indecent for the *Romans*, when making war against *Philip* for the liberty of Greece, to contract a friendship with a Tyrant, the most outrageous that ever was; [from whence it followed, that no such friendship had been contracted.] Nothing was done the first day towards a peace. The next, *Nabis* offered to give up *Argos*, and restore all the allies their deserters; adding, that if the *Romans* had any other pretensions, they should be given him in writing, that he might consult with his friends. To this *Flamininus* agreed; and going back to his camp, assembled the chiefs of the confederates. The greater part of them were for pursuing *Nabis* to the last extremities; but the Pro-Consul wanted to finish matters with the Tyrant, that he might return to *Rome* with the glory of having completed the deliverance of all Greece; he was afraid lest a successor should arrive and rob him of some part of that honour. However, finding the chiefs of the allies very obstinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their opinion; but told them, that, as the siege would probably be long, great sums of money, great store of provisions, and materials for engines of war would be needful; and pressed them to send immediately to their respective cities for these necessaries, before the roads grew bad. This cooled their ardour for the siege: Knowing the difficulty they should have to raise the sums proposed, without alienating the minds of their people from them by new taxes, they left the Pro-Consul at full liberty to settle the terms of peace. He then sent his demands in writing to *Nabis*. The Tyrant was not only to evacuate *Argos*, and give up all deserters, but to surrender immediately to the *Romans* all the places he held in *Crete*: He was to have no more than two galleys, of sixteen oars each, in his service; build no cities nor castles in the territories of others, nor even in his own; give the Pro-Consul five hostages, such as he should chuse, of whom the Tyrant's own son should be one; and lastly, pay down a hundred talents, and thereafter fifty talents annually for eight years.

When the Tyrant had read the conditions to the *Lacedæmonians* assembled in the market-place, and asked them what answer he should give the Pro-Consul, the multitude cried out, Give him no answer at all: Pursue the war. These clamours were very agreeable to *Nabis*, and he prepared to sustain a siege. *Lacedæmon* was not entirely surrounded by a wall. *Lycurgus* would have no fortification to the city, but the bodies of the citizens. The *Spartan* tyrants afterwards raised walls, at certain distances, in those places where they were most wanted. The *Romans* attacked the town with fifty thousand men, and forced their way into it at the openings between the walls. *Nabis* was so terrified, that he thought only of making his escape: but his son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who had more presence of mind, causing the houses to be set on fire in all places where the *Romans* had entered, this obliged them to retire. Nevertheless, the Tyrant sent *Pythagoras* to the Pro-Consul, with an offer to submit to those conditions of peace which he had before rejected. *Flaminius* at first received the ambassador with scorn, and ordered him out of his tent; *Pythagoras* however, throwing himself at his feet, obtained by many intreaties what the other was very desirous to grant. As for *Argos*, the cause of the war, it had already recovered its liberty; the *Argives* had taken arms, and driven the garrison out of the town.

Y. R. 558.
Bef. Chr.
194.
257 Conf.

Notwithstanding that *Greece* was thus entirely quieted, the Pro-Consul continued there all the winter. He was honoured with the office of president at the *Nemean* games, where, by his orders, a herald proclaimed liberty to *Argos*. The *Achæans*, though pleased to have that city reunited to their state, were yet somewhat dissatisfied to see *Lacedæmon* left in slavery. And as for the *Ætolians*, they (finding fault with the peace, as they had before found fault with the war) openly and loudly spoke of it in the harshest terms, that the *Lacedæmonians* were suffered to continue under the domination of *Nabis*, though their lawful King (*Agisipolis*) was in the *Roman* camp: and that while the noblest of their citizens, expelled by the Tyrant, must live in banishment, the *Roman* people made themselves his guards to support him in his tyranny.

AT Rome, *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus* and *Ti. Sempronius Longus* were raised to the Consulate. *Scipio* had hoped either to succeed *Cato*, and finish the *Spanish* war, or to be sent to the *Levant* against the King of *Syria*; but the *Spaniards* were already quelled, and the Senate did not yet think it a proper season to commence a war with *Antiochus*. *Sempronius* made a campaign in *Gaul*, against the *Boii*.

Y. R. 559.
Bef. Chr.
194.
258 Conf.
L. v. B. 34.
c. 46.

Flaminius, proposing to return this summer to *Italy*, assembled at *Corinth* the chiefs of the *Greek* cities, and there recounted to them all that the Generals his predecessors, and he himself had done in *Greece*, from the time that the *Romans* first entered that country. Every thing he said was highly applauded till he came to mention the affair of *Nabis*. And though he alledged, in justification of his conduct, that he could

Y. R. 559.
B. C. 193.
258 Conf.

not destroy the Tyrant without ruining *Lacedæmon*, this did not satisfy the assembly. In conclusion he declared to them, that he was going to leave *Greece*, and would, before his departure, withdraw his garrisons from *Corinth*, *Cbalcis* and *Demetrias*; by which it would be evident to all the world, that the *Ætolians* lied, when they said, the *Greeks* had only changed masters, and that the *Romans* had driven Philip out of the country, that they themselves might tyrannize there. He exhorted the several states to judge of their friends only by their actions; use their liberty with moderation; and preserve concord among themselves, as the best security against Kings and Tyrants. "When a state (said he) is divided, the weaker party, rather than submit to their own countrymen, will call in the assistance of foreigners. Be careful to maintain that liberty which strangers have procured you, and let not the *Romans* have cause to think that they have misplaced their benefits and their friendship." This discourse (says *Livy*) which seemed to flow from a father-like affection, drew tears from the eyes of many of the assembly; and they exhorted one another to remember and regard *Flaminius's* advice as the dictates of an oracle. In testimony of their gratitude, they fought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to slavery in *Greece*, and delivered them up to him, to the number of twelve hundred: The greatest part of these had been prisoners of war whom *Hannibal* had sold. After this *Flaminius* returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a triumph which lasted three days.

Y. R. 560.
B. C. Chr.
192.
259 Conf.

IN the beginning of the next year, when *L. Cornelius Merula* and *Q. Minucius Thermus* had the consular fasces, ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus* and several Kings and states of *Asia* and *Greece*. They were all favourably heard by the Senate, except those from the King of *Syria*. Upon a pretence, that the affair with him was intricate, his ministers were referred to *Flaminius* and the ten commissioners, who together with him had settled the affairs of *Greece*. They came to a conference. *Menippus*, one of the two chiefs of the *Syrian* embassy, said, he wondered what intricacy there could be in their proposals, since all they asked was a treaty of amity and alliance with *Rome*. He added, that there were three kinds of leagues: one between the victorious and the vanquished; another between states that had made war upon each other with equal advantage; and a third between such as had never been enemies. That as a league with *Antiochus* must belong to this last kind, he was surprised the *Romans* would think of treating his master like a vanquished Prince; and prescribe to him what cities of *Asia* he should set at liberty, and from what cities he might exact tribute. To this *Flaminius* answered, that since *Menippus* went so distinctly to work, he would as distinctly tell him the conditions without which the *Romans* would have no treaty with the King of *Syria*. "Antiochus must either keep out of *Europe*, or be content that the *Romans* interest themselves in protecting the cities of *Asia*." *Hegefanax*, the other chief of the embassy,

bassly, replied, with indignation, that it was monstrous to think or expelling *Antiochus* from the cities of *Thrace* and the *Chersonesus*, which his ancestor *Seleucus* had with great glory conquered from *Lyfmachus*, and which the King himself had with no less glory recovered from the *Thracians*; that there was a wide difference, in point of justice, between the *Romans* despoiling him of his lawful possessions, and his requiring the *Romans* not to concern themselves with *Asia*, which had never been theirs: That *Antiochus* indeed desired an alliance with *Rome*, but upon honourable, not disgraceful conditions. To this *Flamininus*: "Since in the present affair we are to consider what is glorious (as indeed it ought to be the first, if not the sole consideration with a people the most renowned of any in the world, and with so great a King) Tell me; Which is more glorious, to desire the liberty of all the *Greek* cities wheresoever they are; or to desire to keep them under tribute and in slavery? If *Antiochus* judges it for his glory, once more to enslave the towns which his ancestor conquered in war, but which neither his father nor his grandfather ever possessed; the *Roman* people think it becoming their honour and steadiness, not to desert the *Greeks*, whose patronage they have undertaken: and as they have already delivered the *Greek* cities that were under the domination of *Philip*, so they now intend to set at liberty those that are in subjection to *Antiochus*. Colonies were not sent into *Æolis* and *Ionis* to be held in slavery by Kings, but to propagate the race of the *Greeks*, and spread that ancient nation over the world." The *Syrian* ambassadors answered, that they neither would nor could agree to any thing that tended to a diminution of their master's dominions.

Next day, *Flamininus* having made a report of the affair to the Senate, in presence of the ambassadors from *Greece* and *Asia*, the Conscrip^t Fathers desired the *Asiatics* to tell their respective cities, that unless *Antiochus* quitted *Europe*, *Rome* would assert their liberty against him, with the same courage and the same fidelity, with which she had defended the *European Greeks* against *Philip*. *Menippus* begged the Senate would not be hasty to pass a decree which must set the whole world in arms; that they would take time themselves, and allow the King time to consider; that perhaps *Antiochus* might obtain some mitigation of the conditions, or yield some points for the sake of peace. The Fathers agreed to defer the matter; and sent to the King of *Syria* the same ambassadors who had been with him at *Lyfmachia*, *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius* and *P. Ælius*.

Scarce had these set out from *Rome*, when deputies arrived from *Carthage*, with accounts, that the *Syrian* was certainly preparing for war,

* All the provinces of *Asia* from the eastern borders of *Media* to *Æolis* and *Ionis* were subject to *Antiochus*. He had lately made himself master of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea* and *Samaria*, and in short of all the country quite to *Egypt*. In *Europe* he held *Thrace*, and the *Chersonesus*. He had three sons old enough to succeed him in the throne, and four daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable alliances.

V. R. 60.
Bet. Chr.
192.
299 Conf.
Justin. B.
31. c. 3, 5.
Liv. B. 34.
c. 60.
App. in
Syr. c. 90.

and that *Hannibal* excited him to it. The *Carthaginians* had indeed been very favourably received by *Antiochus*, who looked upon him as the ablest counsellor he could have in a war against the *Romans*.

AS to the method of carrying on this enterprize, *Hannibal* was always of one and the same opinion. He asserted, that the *Romans* were invincible every where but in *Italy*. To attack them in that country was, he said, like stopping a river at the fountain head. The arms of the *Italians* would then be turned against themselves, and they overcome by their own strength; which, were they left at liberty to employ abroad, no King nor nation would be a match for them. He added, that his own example furnished a proof of this; who, so long as he continued in *Italy*, was never vanquished by the *Romans*, but that his fortune changed with the scene of action. He therefore advised *Antiochus* to trust him with the command of an hundred galleys, ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. With this fleet he proposed to sail first to *Africa*, in hopes the *Carthaginians* might be prevailed on to enter into a confederacy with the King. If they refused, he would nevertheless make a descent in some part of *Italy*, and there rekindle a war against the *Romans*. *Antiochus* approving this advice, *Hannibal*, to sound his countrymen, sent one *Aristo*, a *Tyrian*, to *Carthage*; giving him private tokens to his friends, but no letters, lest his business should be discovered. The *Tyrian* however was suspected, on account of his frequent visits to those of the *Barchine* faction; and was cited to appear before the Senate of *Carthage*. Some were for imprisoning him as a spy, but others represented the ill consequences of such a proceeding, when they had no evidence against the accused; it would be a discouragement to traders, the *Tyrians* might make reprisals, and all foreigners would take umbrage. These considerations suspended their resolution, and in the mean time *Aristo* made his escape. Before he went off, he used a policy to extricate *Hannibal's* friends. In the dusk of the evening he stole into the hall, where public audiences were given, and over the president's seat, affixed a writing which contained these words; *Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the Senate of Carthage*. The stratagem succeeded, for it prevented an enquiry after any particular men as corresponding with *Hannibal*. However the *African Republic* thought it proper to send an embassy to *Rome*, to inform the Consuls and Senate of what had happened, and at the same time to complain of some usurpations of *Masiniissa* on the lands of *Carthage*. The King, taking advantage of *Hannibal's* absence, and of the new heats arisen on his account, had invaded the fine maritime country called *Emporia*, in which the city of *Leptis* yielded the *Carthaginians* the tribute of a * talent a day; and knowing that they had sent complaints of him to *Rome*, he dispatched ambassadors thither, to vindicate himself. * The Senate were prejudiced against the *Carthaginians*, because they had neither put *Aristo* nor his ship under arrest, and had thereby afforded him means to escape. When their ambassadors

Liv. B. 43.
c. 62.
* 1931. 158.
Aibuthnot

came

came to be heard, they urged that *Emporia* was within the bounds set them by *Scipio Africanus*, and that *Masinissa* himself had lately acknowledged their title to that country, by asking their leave to pass through it, in pursuit of a rebel, who had fled out of his kingdom to *Cyrene*. The *Numidian* ambassadors confidently answered, that the *Carthaginians* lied, as to the bounds marked out by *Scipio*. "If rights (said they) are narrowly enquired into, what title have the *Carthaginians* to any land in *Africa*? They are *strangers* in that country, who [about seven hundred years ago] had leave given them to build upon as much ground as they could compass with an ox hide. Whatever they hold beyond those bounds has been acquired by force and injustice. As to the territory in question, they cannot prove that they have continued possessed of it, from the time that they first conquered it, or even for any considerable time together. It was held sometimes by the Kings of *Numidia*; sometimes by the *Carthaginians*; just as the fortune of the frequent wars between them happened to decide." The ambassadors concluded with desiring, that *Emporia* might be left on the same footing as it was before the *Carthaginians* were enemies to *Rome*, or the King of *Numidia* her friend; and that the *Romans* would not interfere in the dispute. The Senate answered, that they would send commissioners into *Africa* to determine the affair on the spot. *Scipio Africanus*, *Cornelius Cethegus* and *Minucius Rufus*, being accordingly dispatched thither, heard the matter discussed, but made no decree in favour of either party. Whether they acted thus of their own head, or by order of the Senate, is not so certain, says *Livy*, as it is, that they suited their conduct to the state of affairs at home; otherwise *Scipio* alone could have ended the dispute by a word. But *Polybius* tells us, that the *Romans* always gave sentence against the *Carthaginians*, not because these were always in the wrong, but because it was the interest of the judges to give such sentence. As to the present dispute, he says, *Masinissa* had seized upon the lands of *Emporia*, but could not take the fortified towns; and that after many embassies to *Rome* from both parties, the *Carthaginians* were not only deprived of the lands and towns in question, but obliged to pay 500 * talents for the profits they had received from thence, since the time that *Masinissa* made his claim.

The *Roman* arms prospered this year in *Spain*, under the Prætor *Scipio Nasica*; and in *Gaul* the Consul *Merula* obtained a complete victory over the *Bœii* near *Mutina*.

THERE never was a stronger competition for the Consulship than now. Three Patricians and four Plebeians, all men of great note, professed themselves candidates. Of the former, *Scipio Nasica*, so famous for his virtue, and who had lately signalized himself in *Spain*, was supported by his cousin-german the Great *Scipio*; and *Quintilius*, the late successful Admiral in *Greece*, recommended by his brother *Flaminius*: The Plebeians were, *Lælius*, the friend of *Scipio Africanus*, *Cn. Domitius*, *Ænobarbus*,

V. R. 560
Bef. Chr.
192.
259 Conf.

Legat. 118.

* 96,875 L.
As talent

Y. R. 560. *Anobarus*, C. *Livius*, *Salinator*, and *Man. Acilius Glabrio*. It was natural to suppose, that the greatest man in the Republic would gain the majority of suffrages in favour of those he espoused: yet, strange as it may appear, *Flaminius* had a better interest than *Scipio*. *Scipio*'s glory was the greater, but it was therefore exposed to greater envy. And as he had long resided at *Rome*, the people familiarized to the sight of him, had lost much of their first admiration. Besides, they had already rewarded him with the Consulship and Censorship, since his return from *Africa*. *Flaminius*, on the other hand, had of late been little seen at *Rome*; his victories and his triumph were recent; he solicited in behalf of a brother, his partner in the war, and had neither asked nor obtained any favour since his return from *Greece*. L. *Quintilius* was declared Consul with *Cn. Domitius Anobarbus*, and the Great *Scipio* had the double mortification of not succeeding either for his cousin or his friend.

C H A P. IV.

The Ætolians and Nabis raise commotions in Greece.

Antiochus determines on a war with Rome. He is jealous of Hannibal. Nabis assassinated.

Antiochus lands in Thessaly; Flaminius defeats his endeavour to bring the Achæans to a neutrality. Hannibal's advice to the King.

Y. R. 561. *B. E. Chr.* 191. 260 Conf. **E**VER since the departure of *Flaminius* from *Greece* the *Ætolians* had been endeavouring to raise up new enemies against *Rome*; though true policy would have made them cautious of giving the *Romans* any pretence of returning into that country. Having chosen one *Thoas*, a factious man, for their chief, they resolved in a general diet of the nation to shake off their alliance with the Republic, and form a confederacy against her. To this end they dispatched deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis* and *Antiochus*. The *Macedonian* and *Syrian* were not hasty in coming to a determination; but *Nabis* immediately took arms, and besieged *Gythium*.

Joseph. B. 12. c. 3. App. in Syriac. 88. The King of *Syria* about this time celebrated the nuptials of his daughter *Cleopatra* with *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; he married his second daughter to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and offered his third to ^b *Eumenes* King

^b The founder of the kingdom of *Perseus* was one *Philetærus* an eunuch, who belonged to *Decimus* a *Macedonian* officer in the army of *Antigonus* the first. After the death of *Antigonus*, *Philetærus* accompanied his master, who went over to *Lyfimachus* King

King of *Pergamus*, in hopes to draw him thereby from the interest of *Rome*: But *Eumenes* rejected the proposal, and chose rather to adhere to the *Romans*, believing that, sooner or later, they would be the conquerors, and well knowing that he must become a vassal to the *Syrian* if the latter should prevail.

Early in the spring *Antiochus* marched from *Ephesus* to make war upon the *Pisidians*, and while he was engaged in this enterprize, *Villius*, the Roman ambassador, arrived at *Ephesus*. His colleague *Sulpicius* had fallen sick by the way, and was left at *Pergamus*. *Scipio Africanus* accompanied *Villius*, and, according to some authors, was in the embassy. *Hannibal*, being then at *Ephesus*, the civilities that passed between him and the *Romans*, and the frequent conversations he had with them, rendered him suspected by *Antiochus*. *Villius* went to *Apamea*, and

Claudius & Aulus App. Livy, B. 35. c. 14. App. in Syr. c. 90.

^{B.} King of *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* gave him the charge of his treasures, which he had laid up in the castle of *Pergamus*. *Philetærus* was for some time faithful to his trust, but dreading the intrigues of *Arfnoe* (the wife of *Lyfimachus*) who hated him, he offered the castle and the treasures to *Seleucus Nicator*, then at war with *Lyfimachus*. The latter being slain in battle, and *Seleucus* dying soon after, *Philetærus* retained *Pergamus*, with the country round about it, and reigned there as king (though without the title) twenty years. He had two brothers, the eldest of whom had a son named *Eumenes*, and to him *Philetærus* left *Pergamus*. This *Eumenes*, by some victories he gained over the Kings of *Syria*, not only secured to himself the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also made several new acquisitions. When he had governed two and twenty years, he died of a debauch; leaving his dominions to *Attalus*, the son of *Attalus*, the youngest brother of *Philetærus*.

^{B.} *Attalus* was greatly harassed by *Achæus*, who setting himself up as King against *Antiochus the Great*, reigned in the lesser *Asia*. *Achæus* invaded *Pergamus*, made himself master of the country, and besieged *Attalus* in his capital. But he was delivered by the *Tectosages*, a nation of the *Gauls*, whom he called out of *Thrace*, and recovered all he had lost. When these *Gauls* had once got footing in *Asia*, they laid the neighbouring countries under contribution, and at last would have forced *Attalus* to pay them tribute. Hereupon he took the field against them, defeated them in battle, and obliged them to confine themselves within that pro-

vince which from them took the name of *Galatia*. After his victory, *Attalus* assumed the title of King, and joined with the *Romans* and other allies in the war against *Philip of Macedon*, as has been before related. He was succeeded in the throne by his son the present *Eumenes*.

It is reported, that *Scipio* one day asked the *Carthaginian*, Whom he thought the greatest General? *Hannibal* immediately declared for *Alexander*, because with a small body of men he had defeated very numerous armies, and had overrun a great part of the world. And who do you think deserves the second place? continued the Roman. *Pyrrhus*, replied the other: He first taught the method of forming a camp to the best advantage. No body knew better how to choose ground, or post guards more properly. Besides, he had the art of conciliating to him the affections of men; inasmuch, that the Italian nations chose rather to be subject to him, though a foreigner and a King, than to the Roman people, who had so long held the principality in that country. Thus *Scipio* was twice mortified; but still he went on, And whom do you place next to these? *Hannibal* named himself; at which *Scipio* smiled, and said, Where then would you have placed yourself if you had conquered me? To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, Before *Alexander*.

Plutarch, in his life of *Pyrrhus*, makes *Hannibal* give *Pyrrhus* the first place, *Scipio* the second, and himself the third, without mentioning *Alexander*; but in his life of *Flaminius*, *Hannibal* gives *Alexander* the first place, *Pyrrhus* the second, and himself the third.

Y. R. 561. and here had an audience of the King. The Romans insisted upon the
 Bef. Chr. 391. same terms which *Flamininus* had prescribed to the Syrian ambassadors.
 260 Conf. The conference was warm, but not long; for the sudden news which the
 Liv. B. 35. King received, at this time, of his son *Antiochus's* death put an end to it.
 c. 15. A suspicion prevailed, that the father, jealous of the young Prince's rising
 merit, had caused him to be poisoned; and though this suspicion had no
 good foundation, it was necessary for the King to destroy it by the ap-
 pearances of an extraordinary grief. He therefore, without concluding
 any thing, dismissed *Villius*, who returned to *Pergamus*.

Antiochus gave over all thoughts of the *Pisidian* war, and went to
Ephesus; where, under pretence of desiring solitude in his affliction, he
 shut himself up in his palace with his favourite, *Minio*. This courtier,
 who knew little of foreign affairs, but had great confidence in his own
 abilities, pressed the King to send for the Roman ambassadors to *Ephesus*,
 and undertook so to manage the argument as to leave them nothing to
 say. *Antiochus*, wearied with fruitless conferences, and thinking that
 his mourning would be a good excuse for treating with the Romans by
 his minister, approved the motion, and sent for *Villius* and his Collegues.
 The amount of *Minio's* logic was this: That his master had as good a
 title to the obedience of the Eastern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors
 had conquered, as the Romans had to that of the Western Greeks in *Italy*
 and *Sicily*. *Sulpicius* answered: That if the King had nothing better
 to offer for his cause, it was indeed but what modesty required, that he
 should chuse to have his cause pleaded by any body rather than himself.
 "What similitude (said he) is there between the two cases? Ever since
 "our conquest of the *Neapolitans*, *Tarentines*, and other *Italic* Greeks, our
 "tenure has been perpetual and uninterrupted; but, can you say the
 "same of *Antiochus's* dominion over the *Asiatic* Greeks? Why, at your
 "rate of reasoning, we have been doing nothing in Greece: *Philip's*
 "posterity may one day reclaim the possession of *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and
 "*Demetrias*. But what business have I to plead the cause of the Greek
 "cities of *Asia*? their ambassadors are here; let us call them in."
 These ministers had been beforehand prepared and instructed by *Eumenes*,
 who was not without secret hopes, that he should get whatever was ta-
 ken from *Antiochus*. There was great plenty of ambassadors; who be-
 ing admitted, fell to making their complaints and demands, some right,
 some wrong; it was nothing but a scene of altercation and wrangling

It is also related, that while *Hannibal*
 was at *Ephesus*, he went, upon the invitation
 of some of his acquaintance, to hear the
 lectures of a celebrated peripatetic philo-
 sopher, named *Phormio*. The philosopher,
 who was a most copious speaker, entertained
 him, for several hours (knowing his pro-
 vention and character) with a discourse on
 the duties of a General, and the whole ex-

tent of the military art. All the rest of the
 audience were beyond measure delighted;
 and some of them asked *Hannibal*, What
 he thought of their philosopher? The *Car-
 thaginian* frankly answered, that he had met
 with many a silly old fellow, but so very a
 dotard as this he had never seen before.
Cicer. de Orat. l. 2. c. 18.

between .

between them and *Minio*, neither party yielding any thing. The conference broke off; and the *Romans* returned home in all points as uncertain as they came. So writes *Livy*: But *Appian* reports, that the *Syrian* offered, as the price of an alliance with *Rome*, to restore all the *Asiatic Greeks* to their freedom, except the *Ætolians* and *Ionians*: A fruitless concession, because the *Romans* had not come with views of peace and amity, but only to inform themselves of the true state of affairs in *Asia*.

Soon after the ambassadors were gone, *Antiochus* called a council of the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*, to give their opinions concerning a war with the *Romans*. *Hannibal* only was not consulted: His familiarity with *Scipio* and *Villius* had made the King jealous of him. In council every one declared vehemently for a war: Nay *Alexander of Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Philip*, and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, confidently promised the King victory, if he would pass into *Greece*, and make that country the seat of the war. *Nabis* and the *Ætolians*, he said, were already in arms; and *Philip* would take the field on the first sounding of the *Syrian* trumpets. He added, that much depended upon expedition; and therefore begged the King would hasten his departure; and in the mean time send *Hannibal* into *Africa*, to cause a diversion.

THE little regard shewed to *Hannibal*, since his familiar intercourse with the *Roman* ambassadors, convinced him that the King had taken umbrage at that part of his conduct. At first the *Carthaginian* bore his disgrace in silence; but now, thinking it advisable to clear himself, he begged an audience of *Antiochus*. Being called into the Council, he directly asked the King the reason of his displeasure; and, when he had heard it, expressed himself in the following manner. "I was scarce nine years old, when *Amilcar*, my father, at the time of a solemn sacrifice, led me to the altar, and made me swear, that, to my last breath, I would be an irreconcilable enemy to the *Roman* nation. Under this Oath I carried arms for six and thirty years; it was this which made me leave my country, when my country was in peace with *Rome*; it was this which brought me like a banished man into your dominions; and, under the conduct of the same oath (if you disappoint my hopes) in whatever part of the earth I can hear of strength, wherever I can hear of arms, thither will I fly, in search of enemies to the *Romans*. If, therefore, any of your courtiers would raise their credit with you, by defaming me, they should invent some other crime, than my friendship to *Rome*. No; I hate the *Romans*, and am hated by them; and that I speak truth, I call the Gods to witness, and the manes of *Amilcar* my father. Whensoever you are in earnest for a *Roman* war, reckon *Hannibal* among your surest friends; but if any thing constrain you to peace, in that affair you must seek some other counsellor." This

Y. R. 561.
Bef. Chr.

191.
262 Conf.

Liv. B. 35.
c. 27.

dispute reconciled the King to *Hannibal*, at least for a time. The Council unanimously determined for war.

Rome, upon the return of her ambassadors, sent a body of troops under the Prætor *Bæbius* to guard the eastern coast of *Italy*, and to be in readiness to embark for the *Levant*, if there should be occasion. She ordered two fleets to be fitted out, one for *Sicily*, the other for *Greece*; whither she also dispatched *Flamininus* and three other Senators, in quality of ambassadors. When they arrived in that country, *Nabis* was yet engaged in the siege of *Gythium*. He frequently detached parties to make incursions on the lands of the *Achæans*. These, fearing to begin a war without the approbation of *Rome*, wrote to *Flamininus* for his consent. He counselled them to wait for the arrival of the *Roman* fleet, before they took arms. Nevertheless they held a general diet at *Sicyon* upon the affair; and the assembly, being divided in their sentiments, desired to know the opinion of *Philopæmen*, their president. He answered, "It is a wise institution among us, that our Prætors should not declare their opinions when the assemblies are deliberating about war. It is your province to determine what shall be done; mine to execute your orders. And I will take all possible care, that you shall not repent of your choice, whether it be peace or war." These words more powerfully inclined the diet to war, than if the President had openly declared for it. War they decreed, and gave the conduct of it to *Philopæmen*.

The first enterprize of this brave man was to relieve *Gythium*: He set sail for that port with what galleys he could get together; but being (as *Livy* says) a land-officer, and not used to sea-affairs, he failed in his attempt. He was defeated within sight of the place by the *Lacedæmonian* fleet. However, he soon retrieved his honour, by two victories, which his able conduct gave him over the tyrant at land.

Whilst the *Achæans* carried on the war against the *Lacedæmonians*, the ambassadors from the *Roman* Republic were busy in visiting the chief cities of *Greece*. The inhabitants of *Demetrias* had been informed, that *Rome* intended to restore to *Philip* his son *Demetrius*, and to put the King again into possession of their city, in order to prevent his joining with *Antiochus*; a rumour not altogether groundless. It was with some difficulty therefore, that *Flamininus* could pacify them. He went thence to the diet of *Ætolia*, where *Menippus*, ambassador from *Antiochus*, had been introduced by *Thoas*, one of the chief authors of the *Ætolian* defection. The *Roman* in vain endeavoured to dissuade the assembly from calling the *Syrians* into *Europe*: they passed a decree, in his presence, for inviting *Antiochus* to come and restore the liberty of *Greece*. *Flamininus* demanding a copy of the decree, was answered by *Damocritus* the Prætor, "We have affairs of greater moment to dispatch; we shall tell you the purport of it, on the banks of the *Tiber*."

After

Y. R. 561.
Bib. Chr
191.
260 Conf.

J. N. B. 35.
C. 34.

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After this the *Ætoliæ* took measures to seize three important cities; *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, ^{Y. R. 561.} *Lacedæmon* in *Peloponnesus*, and *Chalcis* in *Æolia*. ^{But Chæ.} *Digles*, *Alexamenus* and *Tboas* were the persons appointed for these expeditions. ^{171.} The first got possession of *Demetrias*, through the treachery of one of the principal citizens. To surprise *Lacedæmon*, *Alexamenus*, with a thousand foot, and some young horsemen, went thither, as carrying succours to *Nabis*. The Tyrant received them without suspicion: And their leader having insinuated to him, that it would be for his honour to have his troops well disciplined, and make a good appearance when *Antiochus* should arrive, he every day drew them out and exercised them in a plain near the city. At one of these reviews *Alexamenus* assassinated him. Had the murderer harangued the *Lacedæmonian* soldiers during their first astonishment, it is probable they would have approved of the action; because the Tyrant was hated: but the *Ætoliæ* hastened to plunder the royal palace, and this giving the *Lacedæmonians* time to recover themselves, they entered the city, massacred all the pillagers they met, and, among the rest, the infamous *Alexamenus*. *Philopamen* took advantage of this event, appeared with a body of troops before the town, and persuaded the inhabitants to resume their liberty. Accordingly, *Lacedæmon* from being a monarchy became a Republic, and a part of the *Achaian* body. ^{172.}

As for *Tboas*, he failed in his attempt upon *Chalcis*; the *Eubæans* were upon their guard, and adhered steadily to *Rome*. He went therefore trait to *Antiochus*, and as by the false reports he had spread, in *Greece*, magnifying the King's strength, he had drawn over many to his party; so now he deceived the King by what he told him of the disposition of the *Greeks*. He assured him, that all *Greece* was in motion; that the people universally desired and intreated his coming among them; and that his fleet would no sooner appear on the coast, but the shore would be crowded with soldiers to offer him their service. He added, that *Demetrias*, a town of great consequence, being at present in the *Ætolian* interest, he might there commodiously land his troops. At the same time he endeavoured to dissuade the *Syrian* from dividing his naval force; "but if a part of his fleet must be sent to *Italy*, the conduct of it, he said, ought to be given to any body, rather than to *Hannibal*. That he was an exile, and a *Carthaginian*, to whom fortune and his own restless disposition would be daily suggesting new projects. The very glory he had acquired in war, and for which he was courted, was too great for a lieutenant in the King's army; the King ought to be looked upon as the only General, the spring and director of all. Should *Hannibal* lose a fleet, or an army, the loss would be the same

^b The *Ætoliæ*, in this enterprize upon *Lacedæmon*, seem to have been actuated by the apprehension of its falling into the hands of the *Achæans*, rather than enmity to *Nabis*, who was at this time engaged in

the same cause with them. And *Livy* tells us, the Tyrant was so hated by the *Lacedæmonians*, that there was reason to think they would attach themselves to whoever should destroy him.

Y. R. 561. "as if any other had lost it: but if success attended his arms, *Hannibal*,
 Bel. Chr. "not *Antiochus*, would have all the glory. The King might have the
 191. "Carthaginian to attend him, and might hear his opinion: a cautious
 160 Conf. "use of his talents would be safe and profitable; but to trust him with
 "the supreme direction of affairs, would be dangerous both to *Antio-*
 "chus and to *Hannibal*."

None are so prone to envy, says *Livy*, as those of high rank and fortune, with low, little minds: The King immediately dropt all thoughts of sending *Hannibal* into *Italy*, the only wise measure that had been proposed in relation to this war. It being concluded that *Antiochus* should pass into *Greece*, he, before he set sail, went with a frivolous pomp of ceremony to *Ilium*, and there sacrificed to *Minerva*. This done, he took shipping, and landed at *Demetrias* with ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants; an army hardly considerable enough to take possession of *Greece*, had it been wholly unprovided of troops; much less to oppose the power of *Rome*.

As soon as the *Ætolians* heard of the King's landing, they assembled a diet at *Lamia*, in order to invite him, in form, to come to their assistance. The *Syrian*, knowing their design, was already on his way, when he received their invitation; and being, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, introduced into the assembly, he began to excuse his coming into *Greece* with an army so much inferior to what they had expected. "It was (he said) a strong evidence of his good will to them, that upon the call of their ambassadors, he had hastened to their aid, without waiting till any thing was ready, or even till the weather was fit for sailing. He assured them, he would in a short time satisfy their utmost expectations; that as soon as the season would permit, they should see *Greece* full of men, arms, and horses, and all the coast covered with his ships. Neither would he spare any expence or labour, or decline any danger, to remove the *Roman* yoke from their necks, give *Greece* real liberty, and make the *Ætolians* the most considerable of all her states. When his forces should arrive, all sorts of provisions (he said) would arrive with them. In the mean time, he hoped the *Ætolians* would furnish him with corn and other necessaries for the troops he had brought."

This discourse was heard with applause; and the diet passed a decree constituting *Antiochus* General of the *Ætolians*, and appointing him a council of thirty persons to whom he might have recourse on all occasions. The first attempt he made, by their advice, was to gain over *Chalcis* in *Ægea*; and as they imagined that much depended upon expedition, he hastened away with a thousand *Syrians* and some *Ætolians*, crossed the *Hellespont*, and appeared before the gates of *Chalcis*. The *Ætolians*, in an amicable conference with the *Chalcidians*, endeavoured to persuade them to enter into a treaty of friendship with *Antiochus* (without renouncing their alliance with *Rome*) and assured them, that the King was not

come to make war upon Greece, but to deliver her from slavery. *Antiochus*, one of the chiefs of the *Chalcidians* answered, "That he wondered what cities of Greece they were, to set which at liberty *Antiochus* had left his kingdom, and come into Europe. For his part, he knew of none that had either a Roman garrison, or paid tribute to Rome, or was obliged to do any thing contrary to its own laws. The *Chalcidians* therefore neither wanted a protector nor a garrison; since by the favour of the Romans they enjoyed both peace and liberty. They were indeed far from despising the friendship of the King, or even of the *Ætolians*; but desired, the first instance of that friendship might be their leaving the island immediately: For the *Chalcidians* were determined not only not to receive them within their walls, but to enter into no alliance with them, without consent of the Romans." The King, hereupon, thought proper to return to *Demetrius*, for he had not with him a sufficient number of troops to take *Chalcis* by force.

Nor did he succeed better in his endeavours to bring the diet of *Achaia*, held at *Ægium*, to a neutrality. His minister there extravagantly magnified the Syrian power, and boasted much of an innumerable multitude of horsemen, that were coming over the *Hellepont* into Europe, some in complete armour, others so excellent archers that nothing was safe from their arrows, and who were surest of hitting an enemy when they turned their backs upon him. And though these horsemen were sufficient to trample down all the armies of Europe joined together in a body, yet the King would also bring into the field a numerous and terrible infantry; *Dabæ*, *Medes*, *Elimæans*, *Cadusians*, names scarce heard of before in Greece. He represented the fleet of *Antiochus* as so prodigiously great that all the ports of Greece could not contain it: "The squadrons of the right composed of *Sidonians* and *Tyrians*; those on the left of *Aradians* and *Sidete* from *Pamphylia*; nations whose bravery in naval engagements, and skill in maritime affairs had never been equalled." He added, that "it would be superfluous to reckon up the warlike stores, or the sum of money *Antiochus* had amassed: They knew the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded with gold. The Romans therefore would not have to do with *Hannibal* or *Philip*, the former only one of the chiefs of a single city, and the latter confined within the narrow limits of *Macedon*; but with the great King of all Asia and a part of Europe. And that this King, though he came from the extremity of the East to deliver Greece from slavery, yet asked nothing of the *Achaëans* that was contrary to their treaty with the Romans. He only desired they would stand neuter, and be quiet spectators of the war between him and Rome."

Archidamus, the *Ætolian* minister, exhorted the assembly to comply with this motion; nor did he stop here, but proceeded to inveigh against the Romans in general, and *Flamininus* in particular. He boasted that the victory over *Philip* was entirely owing to the courage of the *Ætolians*, who

Y. R. 561.
Bef. Chr.
191.
260 Cons.

Y. R. 361.
Bel. Chr.
191.
260 Conf.

who alone were exposed to danger, while the noble Commander of the Romans employed himself wholly in making vows and sacrifices. To this *Flaminius*, who was present, answered, "*Archidamus* considers before whom, rather than to whom he speaks. The bravery of the *Ætolians* is well known, in Greece, to shew itself more in councils and assemblies, than in the field. They little care therefore what the *Acheans* think, whom they cannot hope to impose upon; it is to the King's ambassador, and by him to the absent King, that *Archidamus* makes his boasts. And now, if any one was ignorant before of what has made *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* friends, he may learn it from the speeches of their ministers: By lying to each other, and bragging of that strength they never had, they have puffed up one another with vain hopes. While the *Ætolians* talk loudly, that *Philip* was overcome by them, and the *Romans* protected by their valour, and that you and the other States of Greece will undoubtedly join them; the King on the other hand boasts of his clouds of horse and foot, his *Dakæ*, *Cadusians*, *Aradians*, and the rest; and covers the seas with his prodigious fleets. This puts me in mind of an entertainment we once had at *Chalcis* at a friend's house, an honest man, and who understood good eating. It was in the beginning of June; and we therefore much admired how in that season of the year, he had procured such variety of venison as we saw at his table: upon which my friend (not so vain as these orators) bid me not deceive myself; for that what I saw was nothing more than common pork: My cook, said he, has indeed disguised it, and given it different tastes and different names; but all this variety of dishes is made of one tame swine. 'Tis just so with regard to this pompous enumeration of the King's forces: They are all *Syrians*, by whatever strange names they may be called; all one sort of men; and for their servile dispositions much fitter to be slaves than soldiers. And I wish, *Acheans*, I could but picture to you the great King in all his mightiness and bustle. You would see something like two petty legions, incomplete, in his camp. You would behold him one while almost begging corn of the *Ætolians* to be measured out scantily to his soldiers; then borrowing money at use to pay them. You would see him hurrying from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; from *Lamia* to *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*: Now standing at the gates of *Chalcis*; and by and by, when denied entrance, and having only seen *Aulis* and the *Euripus*, returning to *Demetrias*. Indeed *Antiochus* did ill to believe the *Ætolians*; and the *Ætolians* were as much in the wrong to hearken to his vanity. Be not you therefore deceived, but rely on the faith of the *Romans*, which you have so often experienced. And as for the neutrality so much recommended to you, nothing can be more contrary to your interests. For without gaining any honour, or even thanks from either side, you would undoubtedly be the prize of the conqueror." The *Acheans* without hesitation declared for the *Romans*.

Antiochus

Chap. IV. The ROMAN HISTORY.

351

Antiochus and the *Ætolians* had sent an embassy to the *Bacauds*, to court their alliance. These returned answer: That when the King came into their country, they would consider of what was proper to be done.

The *Libamians* were brought over to *Antiochus* by means of *Philip* the brother of *Apamea*, *Antynander's* wife. *Philip* deduced his pedigree from *Alexander the Great*, and pretended to be the true heir of *Macedon*: And the *Syrians*, encouraging his vanity, made him hope that he should one day possess that throne.

After this, the King, hearing that *Eumenes* and the *Achæans* were sending a garrison into *Chalcis*, made what haste he could to prevent them. He instantly sent away *Menippus* with three thousand men: and followed in person with the rest of his army. *Menippus* intercepted and cut off a party of five hundred *Romans* that were marching to the defence of *Chalcis*; and though the *Pergamenians* and *Achæans* had entered the place, the inhabitants opened the gates to *Antiochus*: after which he soon reduced the whole island of *Eubœa*. Thence he passed into *Bœotia*; and this country also renounced her confederacy with *Rome*, and submitted to him.

Upon his return to *Chalcis* (which he made his chief place of residence) he, by letters, invited his friends and allies to meet him in council at *Demetrias*, in order to determine, whether it were proper to make any attempt upon *Thessaly*. Some were for an expedition into that country immediately; some for deferring it till the spring; others advised only the sending ambassadors thither. When *Hannibal's* opinion came to be asked, addressing himself to the King, he spoke to this effect. "Had I ever been consulted since our arrival in *Greece*; had my opinion been asked, when you were considering how to act with regard to the *Eubœans*, *Achæans* and *Bœotians*, I should have said what I am now going to say, when the debate is concerning *Thessaly*. Our first, our principal object should be to gain over the King of *Macedon*. The *Eubœans*, the *Bœotians*, the *Thessalians*, who have no strength of their own, will always follow the dictates of their fears. Through fear they will now be on your side; and, as soon as the *Romans* come into *Greece*, turn again to them, pleading weakness as an excuse for having submitted to you. Of how much greater importance would it be to engage *Philip* in your cause, who, if he once espouses it, must of necessity be steady; and whose friendship will bring us an accession of real strength; a strength that, not long ago, was of itself sufficient to withstand the whole power of the *Romans*? If I am asked what reason I have to hope that *Philip* will join in the alliance, I answer: In the first place, his interest requires him so to do: and in the next, you *Ætolians* have always asserted he would. Your ambassador here, this same *Thoas*, when he was pressing the King to fall into *Greece*, employed, as one of his strongest arguments, the raging anger of *Philip*, to find himself, under the colour of a peace, reduced to "slavery."

Y. R. 66.
Bel. Chi.

191.
260 Conf.

Liv. B. 35.
c. 47. 50.

Livy, B.
36. c. 6.

Y. R. 561. "Nabury. I remember, he compared the King's fury to that of a
 Bet. Chr. "wild beast chained or shut up, and struggling to get loose. If this
 121.
 260 Conf. "be true, let us break his chains and set him free; that he may turn
 "against the common enemy all that wrath which has been so long re-
 "strained. But, if he will not be brought over to our cause, let us at
 "least take care that he do not join our enemies. Your son Seleucus is at
 "Lysimachia with an army: If he attacks Macedon on the side of Thrace,
 "this, by keeping Philip employed in the defence of his own dominions,
 "will hinder him from assisting the Romans—Thus far with regard to
 "Philip. What my opinion is, in relation to the general plan of the war,
 "you have known from the beginning. Had I then been hearkened to,
 "the news at Rome would not now be, that Chalcis in Eubœa is taken,
 "and a castle upon the Euripus demolished; but that Hetruria, Liguria,
 "and Cisalpine Gaul are in a flame; and, what perhaps would strike
 "more terror, that Hannibal is in Italy. Be that as it will, our present
 "situation, I think, requires, that you send immediately for all your sea
 "and land forces, and provisions necessary to maintain them; for they
 "cannot be supplied by this country. When your fleet arrives, it
 "should be divided; one part of it stationed at Corcyra to prevent the
 "Romans landing in Greece, and the other sent to that coast of Italy,
 "which looks towards Sardinia and Africa. It will also be expedient
 "that you in person march your land forces to the coast of Illyria,
 "near Epirus. There you may preside over all Greece, and keep the
 "Romans in awe by the fear of an invasion: nay from thence may actually
 "pass into Italy, if you should think it proper. This is my opinion:
 "and if I should not be thought the most skilful in managing other wars,
 "yet surely it will be granted, that I have learnt, both by good and
 "bad fortune, how to manage a war against the Romans. In the execution
 "of the advice I have given, I am ready to assist with faithfulness and
 "alacrity. But whatever resolution you take, may the Gods grant you
 "success." Such was the substance of Hannibal's discourse. His counsel
 "was applauded, and not followed. Of all he had proposed, the King
 "did nothing, except sending to Asia for his fleet and land forces.

As to Thessaly, it was determined to dispatch ambassadors to the Thessalian Diet held at Larissa: and the Syrian marched with his army to Pheræ in the same country. While he was there waiting to be joined by the Athamanes and the Ætolians, he sent Philip, the brother in law of Amynder, with two thousand men to Cynocephale, where the bones of the Macedonians slain in the battle when the King of Macedon was vanquished by the Romans, still lay unburied. Antiochus thought, that if this pretender procured them burial, he would thereby gain the affection of a people over whom he claimed the government. But this step served only to irritate the true King of Macedon. And he, who perhaps was hitherto undetermined, not only sent advice to the Roman Prætor M. Bæbius, of the irruption of the Syrians into Thessaly, but offered him the assistance of his forces.

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The *Syrian's* embassy to the *Thessalians* having proved fruitless, he, with the help of the *Ætolians* and *Amynander*, reduced, by force of arms, *Pherie*, *Scotussa*, *Cypra*, and the greatest part of *Thessaly*: and then laid siege to *Larissa*. *Bæbius*, now joined by *Philip*, sent *Ap. Claudius* with a detachment to reinforce the garrison. When *Claudius* came near the town, he posted himself upon a hill within view of the *Syrians*, made his camp larger than his forces required, and lighted up more fires than were necessary. *Antiochus*, thinking the whole *Roman* army and King *Philip* were coming to the relief of *Larissa*, immediately raised the siege, under pretence that winter was at hand, retired to *Demetrias*, and from thence to *Chalcis*. Here he became enamoured, though past fifty years old, of the daughter of a *Chalcidian* named *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house he lodged. The disproportion of her age and condition to those of the King, made the father very averse to the marriage, fearing she would soon repent her advancement to so glittering a station: But *Antiochus* at length obtained his content; and the nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence. The King spent the rest of the winter in feasting and diversions: His officers and soldiers, infected by his example, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery.

Y. R. 561.
Bel. Ch.
191.
260 Conf.

C H A P. V.

The Romans declare war against Antiochus.

The Consul Acilius lands in Greece.

Antiochus routed at Thermopylæ. He returns into Asia.

The Ætolians ask a peace with Rome, but will not submit to the terms on which it is offered.

Flaminius takes the island of Zacynthus from the Achæans, and persuades them, he does it for their good.

The Syrians are vanquished at sea.

The conduct of the war against Antiochus being given to L. Scipio, his brother Africanus assists him in quality of his Lieutenant.

WHILST *Antiochus* lay asleep in pleasures, the *Romans* were very watchful of their affairs in the *Levant*. Some late success of their arms had made all things quiet in *Spain* and *Italy*, which put them in a better condition to provide for a war in the *East*. They fitted out a hundred quinqueremes to scour the *Eastern* seas; and after the election of magistrates, and a regulation of the troops appointed to serve this year, formally declared war against *Antiochus*. The new Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew lots for their provinces. *Greece* fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for

Y. R. 562.
B. C. 190.
261 Conf.

Liv. B. 36.
c. 2.

c. 4.

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Y. R. 562.
Bel. Chr.
190.
261 Conf.

his departure, ambassadors arrived from the Kings of *Egypt* and *Macedon* with offers of money, provisions and troops. *Masinissa* likewise would have contributed to the expences of the war, which the *Romans* were going to undertake. And as for the *Carthaginians*, they not only proposed to make the Republic a present of wheat and barley, and to equip a fleet at their own expence for her service, but offered, in ready money, the whole remainder of the tribute, which they were not obliged to pay but in the space of nine years. Of all the offers made to the *Romans* at this time, they accepted only five hundred *Numidian* horse and some elephants from *Masinissa*: They would not receive any corn either from him or *Carthage*, without paying for it. *Acilius* set out for *Greece* in the month of *May*, accompanied by *L. Quintilius*, (the brother of *Flaminius*) whom the Republic had appointed to be his Lieutenant; and by the famous *Cato*, who now served in no higher a station than that of legionary Tribune.

Liv. B. 36.
c. 14.
* Appian
says 20000.

The Consul landed his troops in *Greece*, to the number of ten thousand foot*, two thousand horse, and fifteen elephants. He immediately sent his infantry to *Larissa*; and with his cavalry marched to *Limnaea*, another city of *Thessaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was besieging. This place surrendered to the Consul at discretion. Thence he proceeded to *Pellinaum*, which *Bælius* had invested; and this town also submitted to him. Here was taken *Philip* the Pretender, whom the King of *Macedon* meeting, jestingly called him brother, and ordered him to be saluted King. *Acilius* sent him in chains to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* separated, to spread the terror of their arms in different parts. The King made himself master of all *Atbamania*; *Amynander* retiring thence with his wife and children into *Epirus*. And as for the Consul, he soon subdued all *Thessaly*.

WHEN *Antiochus the Great* considered, that, instead of all the mighty things which had been promised him, he had got nothing, in *Greece*, but an agreeable winter-lodging, and his landlord's daughter to wife, he began to accuse *Thoas* and the *Ætolians* of having deceived him; and to look upon *Hannibal* as a wise man and a prophet. He was now sensible of the rashness of his enterprize: However, that it's failure of success might not be imputed to any further negligence on his part, he sent to the *Ætolians* to collect their whole strength, and marched all his forces into their country in order to join them. The *Ætolian* chiefs had not been able to raise above four thousand men; and these were mostly their clients and vassals. Disappointed of his expected aids from his allies, *Antiochus* seized the streights of *Thermopylae*, to hinder the *Romans* from entering *Ætolia* by the way of *Eubœa*. At this pass, three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, under the command of *Leonidas*, had, for three whole days, stopped a million of men (in the time of *Xerxes*). It was not above sixty paces broad, and bounded on one side by the sea, and a morass of deep mud, and on the other by mount *Oeta*, the extremity

Chap. V. *War with Antiochus the Great.*

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mity of a chain of hills that divide *Greece* in two parts, almost in the same manner as the *Appennines* divide *Italy*. And as the King was not ignorant that, when *Xerxes* made his passage, it was by means of some troops that climbed the mountains and fell down from thence upon the enemy, he, to prevent the *Romans*, detached two thousand *Ætoli*ans to seize the summit of *Oeta*, ^{Callidromos}, which overlooked his camp. *Acilius* nevertheless forced the King in his entrenchments: for *Cato* being sent with a detachment up the mountain in the night, dislodged the *Ætoli*ans; and then pouring down upon the *Syrians*, while the Consul attacked them below, put a speedy end to the dispute: An exploit of which he was extravagantly vain, and the last military exploit of his life. He was sent to *Rome* with the news of the victory.

Antiochus, in the action of *Thermopyla*, and in his flight, lost his whole army, except five hundred horse, which escaped with him to *Elatia*, from whence they passed to *Chalcis*. The conqueror, to make the best use of his advantage, marched into *Bactia*. The inhabitants of several revolted cities came to meet him; and as he every where gave proofs of his clemency and moderation, the greatest part of this country submitted; and, presently after, all *Eubœa*: for *Antiochus*, upon the approach of the *Roman* army, left *Chalcis*, embarked for *Asia* with his new Queen, and retired to *Ephefus*. *Acilius* laid siege to *Heraclea*, at the foot of mount *Oeta*. The city being taken, after a stout resistance of the *Ætoli*an garrison, the soldiers retired into the citadel. It was commanded by that *Damocritus*, who, when *Flamininus* asked a copy of the decree whereby the *Ætoli*ans called *Antiochus* into *Greece*, had answered, he would give it him upon the banks of the *Tiber*. He surrendered at discretion.

Philip, in pursuance of an agreement between him and the *Roman* general, was at this time besieging *Lamia*, a strong town about seven miles from *Heraclea*. The place was on the point of surrendering, when the Consul, having reduced *Heraclea*, sent to the King to quit his enterprize; alledging, that it was but just, the *Roman* soldiers, who had conquered the *Ætoli*ans in battle, should have the rewards of the victory. *Philip* with reluctance complied, and marched away. The city, presently after, opened her gates to *Acilius*.

A few days before *Heraclea* was taken, the *Ætoli*ans, assembled in council at *Hydruntum*, had sent *Theas* into *Asia*, to press the *Syrian* to return with an army into *Europe*: But now they bent their thoughts wholly to a peace, and for that purpose dispatched deputies; who presented themselves in a suppliant manner before the Consul. *Phœneas*, their speaker, having in a long harangue endeavoured to move the compassion of the conqueror, at length concluded by saying, that “the *Ætoli*ans yielded themselves and their all to the ^b Faith of the people of *Rome*.” “Do you so?” said *Acilius*: “Then deliver up to us *Amynander* and the

^b *Polyb.* Legat. 13. says they were deceived by the words Εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν surrender at discretion. ἵνα πιστοί, *fidei se permittere*, not knowing

Y. R. 562.
Bef. Chr.
190.
261 Conf.

Y. R. 562. "chiefs of the *Atbamones*, *Dicaearchus* the *Ætolian*, and *Menetus* the
 B. f. Chr. " *Epirot*, who made the city of *Naupactus* revolt from us." The Consul
 190. had scarce finished, when *Phœneas* answered, "We did not give ourselves
 261 Conf. " up to servitude, but to your faith; and I am persuaded, it is because
 Polyb. L. 3. " you are unacquainted with the customs of the *Greeks*, that you enjoin
 23. " us things so contrary to them." *Acilius* haughtily replied, "You
 " little *Greeks*! Do you talk to me of your customs? of what is fit and
 " decent for me to do? You; who have surrendered yourselves at
 " discretion, and whom I may lay in irons, if I please? Here, lictors,
 " bring chains for the necks of these men:" *Phœneas* and his Col-
 leagues, quite astonished, represented to the Consul, that, though they
 were very willing to obey his orders, yet they could not execute them
 without the consent of the *Ætolian* diet. He was prevailed upon to grant
 them ten days truce, to bring him a positive answer from thence.
 The preliminaries on which the *Roman* General insisted, highly provoked
 the council. While they were in great perplexity and doubt, what mea-
 sures to take, one *Nicander*, an active man, who had gone from *Atolia* to
Ephesus and returned in twelve days, brought considerable sums of money
 from *Antiochus*; and also certain advice, that the King was making might-
 y preparations for war. This determined the assembly to lay aside
 the thoughts of peace. They drew all their forces to *Naupactus*, and re-
 solved to sustain a siege there to the last extremity. *Acilius*, considering
 that by the reduction of this place he should give the finishing stroke to
 the conquest of *Atolia*, and quell for ever the most restless of the *Greek*
 nations, marched thither and invested it.

In the mean time *Flaminius*, who had resided a good while at *Chri-
 cis*, which he had saved from being sacked, (when taken by *Antiochus*)
 and where he was honoured even to adoration, went thence to settle a
 peace between the *Acheans* and the city of *Messene*; and he subjected the
 latter to the states of *Achaia*. There was at this time a dispute between
 the *Romans* and *Acheans* about *Zacynthus*, an island in the *Ionian* sea.
 This island, *Philip* of *Macedon* had given to *Amynder*, who made
 one *Hierocles*, of *Agrigentum*, governor of it. *Hierocles*, after the de-
 feat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, seeing that *Amynder* was driven out
 of *Atbamania* by *Philip*, sold *Zacynthus* to the *Acheans*; but *Flamini-
 nus* remonstrated, in the diet of *Achaia*, that an island, which only the
 success of the *Roman* arms had made to change it's masters, belonged
 of right to the *Romans*. The assembly having referred the matter to his
 own honour, he thus answered: "If I thought that your possessing the
 " island in question could be of any benefit to you, I would counsel the
 " Senate and people of *Rome* to let you hold it. But as a tortoise when
 " collected within it's shell is safe from all harm, and when it thrusts out
 " any part of itself, exposes that part to be trod upon and wounded:
 " In like manner, you *Acheans*, who are encompassed with the sea, may
 " safely unite, and united preserve, all within the limits of *Peloponnesus*;
 " but

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"but if you transgress those bounds, and make acquisitions beyond them, these members of your state will be exposed to insults, by which the whole body must be affected." The issue was, that the *Acheans* relinquished their pretensions to the island.

While the *Romans* were besieging *Naupactus*, King *Philip* (who had obtained permission from the Consul to reduce the towns which had fallen off from their alliance with *Rome*) made himself master of *Deaetrias*, extended his conquests in *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and *Perrabia*, (territories of *Thessaly*, or bordering upon it) and was gradually recovering the many places which had been formerly taken from him by the *Romans*. *Flaminius*, not pleased with this progress of the *Macedonian*, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous enemy than the *Ætolians*, went to the camp before *Naupactus* to reprove *Acilius* for having consented to the enterprizes of *Philip*. As the besieged, who were now reduced to great extremity, had formerly experienced *Flaminius's* clemency, they, upon the news of his arrival, sent deputies to him, imploring his protection. He became their intercessor with the Consul, and obtained for them a suspension of arms, till they could dispatch ambassadors to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace there. The *Æpirots* at the same time sent deputies, to excuse some advances they had formerly made to *Antiochus*; and as it did not appear that they had committed any act of hostility against the Republic, she chose rather to admit their apology, than draw new enemies upon herself. But the ambassadors of *Philip* were yet more favourably received than those of *Æpiros*. He begged leave to hang up, in the capitol, a crown of gold of an hundred pounds weight, in memory of the first advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*. The Fathers readily accepted the King's present; and in return, restored to him his son *Demetrius*, then a hostage at *Rome*; promising at the same time, that, if he continued steady to the Republic in the prosecution of the war, she would remit the tribute he was engaged to pay her.

During these transactions, *Lucius* the *Roman* Admiral was pursuing the war against *Antiochus* at sea. The King, for some time after his return to *Ephejus*, had imagined himself secure from any further hostilities on the part of *Rome*. He never dreamt that the *Romans* would follow him into *Asia*; and was kept in this delusion by the ignorance or flattery of his courtiers. *Hannibal* roused him out of his lethargy. He felt, there was more cause to wonder, that the *Romans* were not already in *Asia*, than to doubt of their coming: That the King might be well assured, he would very soon have a war with them in *Asia* and *the Asia*, and that, as *Rome* aspired to universal empire, she would infallibly ruin him, if he did not ruin her. *Antiochus*, thus awakened, went in person, with what ships he had ready, to *Chersonesus*, to garrison the places in that country, and thereby make it difficult for the *Romans* to pass into *Asia* that way. At the same time he ordered *Polyxenus* to equip the rest of his fleet with all diligence. Upon the news of these naval preparations,

paration. *Livius* sailed to the coast of *Asia*, with a fleet of 105 decked ships, including the squadron of *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. *Polyxenidas* having got together a hundred, some say two hundred ships, came to an engagement with the enemy in the *Ionian* gulph. The *Romans* obtained the victory with the loss of only one vessel; the *Syrians* lost twenty three.

About the time of this success of the *Roman* arms in the *Levant*, the reduction of the *Boian Gauls* is said to have been completed by the Consul *Scipio Nasica*, and one half of their lands given to new colonies sent thither from *Rome*.

To *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the brother, and *C. Laelius*, the friend of the Great *Scipio*, were transferred the consular fasces for the new year. They began the exercise of their office with introducing to the Senate the ambassadors from *Naupactus*. The Fathers required of the *Ætolians*, that they should either submit implicitly to the will of the Senate; or pay the Republic a thousand *Talents*, and engage themselves to be enemies to all the enemies of *Rome*. The ambassadors, knowing that the *Ætolians* had not a thousand talents to give, and that they dreaded the severity of the *Romans* too much to yield to them at discretion, could consent to neither of these demands: Whereupon they were ordered to leave *Rome* that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight.

The Senate had not yet assigned to the Consuls their provinces. *L. Scipio*, who had a great interest in the assembly, and was perhaps the abler General, artfully proposed to his Colleague, that instead of drawing lots, they should leave the matter to the determination of the Conscript Fathers. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this offer; yet took time to consider of it; and consulted his brother. *Africanus*, without any hesitation, advised him to accept the proposal; and when the Senate came to deliberate upon the affair, he, to their great surprize, offered to serve under his brother in quality of his lieutenant. There needed no further argument to make the Fathers immediately assign *Greece* to *L. Scipio*.

The two brothers embarked at *Brundisium*, with thirteen thousand foot and five hundred horse, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*: from thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphissa*, the citadel of which *Ælius* was besieging, having already taken the town. Hither came some deputies from the *Athenians*, to intercede with the Consul for the *Ætolians*, now shut up in *Naupactus* by a blockade. *Lucius Scipio* was at first inexorable, notwithstanding that his brother joined his mediation to that of the *Athenians*; yet in the end consented to grant them a truce, that they might have an opportunity to try once more a negotiation with the Senate of *Rome*. *Ælius* having resigned the command of his army to the Consul, returned home.

C H A P. VI.

Philip conducts the two Scipios through Macedon and Thrace to the Hellespont.

Antiochus desires to treat with the Roman Admiral.

Hannibal shut up in Pamphylia by the Rhodians.

A sea fight between the Romans and Syrians.

Antiochus sends proposals of peace to Scipio.

The battle of Magnesia.

Scipio concludes a peace with Antiochus.

ALL Greece being now quiet, the two *Scipios* were at full liberty to pass into *Asia*. In order to this, they judged that the safest way was to conduct their forces by land to the *Hellespont*, and consequently through *Macedon* and *Thrace*. However, before they set out, they had the precaution to dispatch a young *Roman* to *Pella*, where *Philip* resided at this time, to learn his real dispositions, and whether the steps he had taken were like those of a friend, or of an enemy. The King had prepared every thing to facilitate the march of the *Romans* through his dominions. He came in person to meet the *Scipios* on his frontiers, was extremely obliging in all his behaviour, and accompanied them as far as the *Hellespont*.

V. R. 563.
Bel. Ch.
189.
262 Conf.

In the mean time, *Livius*, in conjunction with the *Pergamenian* fleet, took *Sestos*, and afterwards invested *Abydos*; but raised the siege upon the news that *Polyxenidas* had destroyed a *Rhodian* squadron. The *Roman* Admiral, soon after resigned his command to the *Prætor Æmilius*, sent from *Rome* to succeed him.

Antiochus was now full of business; and, turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deal of pains and assiduity brought almost nothing to pass. He and his son *Seleucus* entered the territories of *Pergamus* on different sides. *Seleucus* laid siege to the capital. This brought *Eumenes* to the defence of his own country; and he was quickly followed by *Æmilius*, and also by the *Rhodians*, who, since their last defeat, had equipt a new squadron. Upon the junction of these fleets, and the news of *Scipio's* approach, *Antiochus*, fearing to be hard pressed both by land and sea, dispatched an agent to *Æmilius* to propose a peace. The *Roman*, ambitious of the honour of finishing the war, readily hearkened to the motion; and the *Rhodians* were not averse to it: but *Eumenes*, who had different views, prevailed to have this answer sent to the King, That nothing could be concluded with regard to a peace, before the arrival of the Consul.

Polyb. L. 6.
gat. 21.

The *Syrian*, after laying waste the country of *Pergamus*, invaded *Troas*, took *Peræa*, and some other towns, and then retired to *Sardis*. His son *Seleucus*

Y. R. 563. *Seleucus* was soon forced to quit the dominions of *Eumenes*, chiefly by the able conduct of *Diophanes*, a *Megalopolitan*, whom the *Achæans* had sent with a thousand men, to the relief of *Pergamus*.

189.

262 Conf.

After this the confederate fleets separated: *Æmilius* stationed himself at *Senos*, to watch the fleet under *Polyxeridas*; and *Eumenes* sailed to the *Hellepont* to prepare every thing for *Scipio's* passage into *Asia*. *Eudamus* the *Rhodian* Admiral went to oppose *Hannibal*, who was bringing a reinforcement of ships from *Syria*. The two squadrons met off *Syda* in *Pamphylia*. In the engagement, the *Cartaginian* had the advantage on the left, where he in person commanded; but his right being vanquished and forced to sheer off, all the *Rhodian* ships jointly attacked him, put him to flight, and chased him into a port of *Pamphylia*. *Eudamus* left *Charulitus* with twenty ships to block him up there, and with two rest joined the *Roman* fleet.

Comp. Nep.

Life of

Hannibal.

Liv. B. 37.

c. 23.

Polyb. Le-

gth. 22.

Liv. B. 37.

c. 25.

On advice of this ill success, *Antiochus* employed his endeavours to engage the assistance of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*: He represented to him by letters, That the views of the *Romans* were to destroy all monarchies, being determined to suffer, throughout the whole world, no empire but their own. "First *Philip* was subdued; then *Nabis*; I am attacked the third: And, since *Eumenes* has yielded himself to voluntary servitude, the fury of *Roman* ambition, when it has over-
turned my kingdom, will fall next upon yours; nor will it ever cease its destructive progress, till it has borne down all kingly power."

To efface the impressions made by these letters, *Scipio Africanus* wrote to *Prusias*, assuring him, "that *Rome*, so far from being an enemy to Kings, had made it her constant practice, with regard to the monarchs in friendship with her, by every kind of honour to augment their majesty. The petty Kings in *Spain*, who had put themselves under her protection, she had made great Kings. *Masiniussa* she had not only placed in his father's throne, but had given him the kingdom of *Syphax*; so that he was now the most potent of all the *African* Kings; nay, equal in majesty and power to any Monarch in the world. *Philip* and *Nabis*, though conquered in war, had yet been left in possession of their dominions. *Rome* had restored to *Philip* his son (the pledge of his fidelity) remitted to him the tribute he owed the Republic; and suffered him to possess himself of some towns not belonging to *Macedon*. He added, that *Nabis* would have been held in the same consideration by the Senate; if his own madness first, and then the fraudulent artifice of the *Ætolians*, had not undone him." This latter gave a check to the King's inclination to assist *Antiochus*. But *Æmilius*, the *Roman* admiral and ambassador to him from the Republic, absolutely fixed him in a neutrality, by convincing him, not only that the *Romans* were more likely to be victorious than *Antiochus*, but that their friendship was more to be depended upon than his.

Antiochus

Antiochus, disappointed of his hopes of aid from *Prusias*, and having little confidence in his own land-forces, ordered *Polyxenidas* to bring to a battle, if possible, the *Roman* fleet then lying at *Samus*. For tho' the King had no encouragement from past trials to expect victory; yet, as the *Pergamenian* squadron and a part of the *Rhodian* were at this time separated from the *Roman*, he had now a better chance to succeed than before; and he considered, that could he get the mastery at sea, he should then be able to hinder the *Scipios* from invading his *Asiatic* dominions. *Polyxenidas* encountered the *Roman* fleet, consisting of eighty ships, off *Myonessus* in *Ionia*. He was totally vanquished. Of eighty nine ships, his whole strength, he lost forty two; the rest escaped to *Ephesus*. The King, when he heard of this misfortune, impatiently exclaimed, "that some God disconcerted his measures; every thing fell out contrary to his expectation; his enemies were masters of the sea; *Hannibal* was shut up in a port of *Pamphylia*: and *Philip* assisted the *Romans* to pass into *Asia*." In his fright, believing it impossible for him to defend places at a distance, he very unadvisedly withdrew the garrison from *Lyfimackia*, which might have held out a great while against the Consul's army and retarded his approach. He also evacuated *Abydos*, which commanded the *Hellepont*, gathered all his forces about him at *Sardis*, and sent into *Cappadocia* for assistance from his son-in-law King *Arierathes*.

The Consular army, attended by *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, passed the *Hellepont* without opposition. Upon the first advice of their landing in *Asia*, *Antiochus*, struck with terror, immediately sent proposals of peace to *Scipio*, offering to quit his pretensions in *Europe*, and likewise all the cities in *Asia*, that were then in alliance with *Rome*; and to bear half the expence which the *Romans* had been at, in the war. The Consul insisted on the King's paying the whole expence of the war, his confining himself within mount *Taurus*, (a chain of mountains which begins towards the West of *Lycia*, and separates *Cilicia* from Northern *Asia*) and his compensating *Eumenes* for the injuries he had suffered. The ambassador thinking these conditions intolerable, applied himself privately to *Scipio Africanus*, to whom he had particular instructions to make his court, offering him the restitution of his son (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the *Syrians*) and even a partnership with *Antiochus* in the empire, if he would be content without the title of King. *Africanus* gave this answer to the ambassador: "I am the less surprized, that you are unacquainted with the character of the *Romans*, and of me, to whom you are sent; since I find you are ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who sends you. If your master imagined, that an anxiety about the event of the war would engage us to make peace with him, he should by guarding *Lyfimackia* have kept us out of the *Chersenesus*; or he should have stop't us at the *Hellepont*. But now, after he has suffered us to pass into *Asia*, and thereby has received our yoke, he ought to submit to it patiently, and not pretend to treat

Y. R. 663.
Bef. Chr.
189.
262 Conf.

App. in
Syst. p. 10.

Polyn.
Legat. 23.

Liv. B. 37.
C. 36.

Y. R. 563. "with us upon a foot of equality. For my own part, I shall esteem the
 B. C. Chr. "King's restoring me my son, as the noblest present his munificence
 189. "can make me: his other offers my mind certainly will never need—
 262. Conf. "I pray the Gods, my fortune never may. If *Antiochus* will be con-
 "tented with my private acknowledgments for a personal favour, he
 "shall ever find me grateful: In my public capacity, I can neither give
 "him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. All I can at pre-
 "sent do for his advantage is, to send him this honest advice: Let him
 "desist from the war, and refuse no conditions of peace."

Antiochus, believing that should he be vanquished, nothing worse would be imposed, than what the Consul had required, turned his thoughts wholly to war. He assembled all his troops, and encamped them not far from *Tybatira* in *Lydia*. Soon after, hearing that *Scipio Africanus* was fallen sick near *Elea*, he generously sent him his son, without ransom. The joy of the *Roman*, on this occasion, was so great, that it gave a turn to his disposition, and helped to cure him. To the *Syrian* messenger, he spoke thus: "Tell the King, I thank him; I can at present make him no other return, except advising him not to hazard a battle till he hears that I am gone to the *Roman* camp." *Antiochus*, in pursuance of this advice, [the meaning of which it is hard to guess] declined fighting, and retired to *Magnesia*. But the Consul, ambitious perhaps of gaining a victory in the absence of his brother, followed the *Syrian* so close, and pressed him so hard, that he could not, without discouraging his troops, avoid an engagement. The King's army consisted of seventy thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse; the Consul's of not above thirty thousand men. They came to a battle near *Magnesia*; *Antiochus* lost five and fifty thousand men, including the prisoners; the *Romans* not more than three hundred foot and twenty-five horse. Though this victory was chiefly owing to the bravery and conduct of the King of *Pergamus* and his brother *Attalus*, yet *Lucius Scipio* had so entirely the honour of it, that he acquired the surname of *Asiaticus*.

And now the King of *Syria*, eager to procure a peace upon any terms, sent ambassadors to the *Roman* camp at *Sardis*, to make his submissions. It was by *P. Scipio* they made their application to the General. A council, at their request, being called to hear what they had to offer, the chief of them spoke to this effect. "Our commission is not to make proposals, but to know of you, *Romans*, by what means the King may expiate his fault, and obtain of his conquerors forgiveness and peace. It has always been your practice, with a peculiar greatness of mind, to pardon the Kings and nations you have vanquished; your present victory, which has made you Lords of the world, certainly demands a more illustrious display than ever of that magnanimity. Your only care now, having no longer any contention with mortals, should be to imitate the Gods, in tendering the preservation of human kind."

Chap. VII. *War with Antiochus the Great.*

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It had been previously determined by the Council, what answer should be given to these ambassadors, and that *Africanus* should give it. He is reported to have expressed himself in the following manner: "Of things in the power of the Gods to give, they have bestowed upon us what they think proper: our courage and steadiness, which depend upon our own minds, have been the same in all fortunes. *Hannibal* could tell you this, if you yourselves did not know it by your own experience. As soon as we crossed the *Hellefrent*, before we saw the King's camp, and when the event of the war was yet doubtful, we insisted upon the same conditions of peace, with which we shall now content ourselves, after victory has declared for us. *Antiochus* shall give up all his pretensions in *Europe*; and in *Asia*, confine himself within mount *Taurus*: he shall pay us fifteen thousand talents of *Eubæa* * for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the Senate and people of *Rome* shall have confirmed the treaty, and one thousand annually for twelve years; four hundred talents he shall pay to *Eumenes*, and also the corn that was due to his father. And as the *Romans* can have no peace where *Hannibal* is, we, above all, insist upon his being delivered up to us, together with *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnasitochus* the *Acarnanian*, *Philo* and *Eubulidas*, *Chalcidians*. For security of the peace we demand twenty hostages whom we shall name. If *Antiochus* hesitates to accept of these terms, let him reflect, that it is more difficult to reduce a King from the height of power to a middle fortune, than from this to cast him down to the lowest." The ambassadors had orders to refuse no conditions; all were accepted, and the affair concluded: but *Hannibal* could not be delivered up; for, hearing of the King's defeat at *Magnesia*, he had escaped out of the *Syrian* dominions.

Y. R. 563.
Ref. Chr. 189.
Of 262 Conf.

* Two million nine hundred six thousand two hundred and sixty pounds.

C. H. A. P. VII.

A new commotion in Ætolia.

Eumenes comes to Rome, to ask the reward of his services.

The Rhodians oppose his pretensions.

The Ætolians obtain a peace.

The Romans carry the war into Galatia.

The laws of Lycurgus abolished at Lacedæmon.

The affairs of Asia settled by commissioners from Rome.

WHILE the *Scipios* were thus settling peace in *Asia*, the *Ætolians* Polyb. Le-
dispossessed *Philip* of the greatest part of *Atbamania*, restored it
to its rightful king, *Amynder*, and made some other conquests on the
Macedonian.

Pol. B. 38.
c. 1. & seq.

Macedonian. Rome, upon an embassy from *Amynder*, confirmed him in the possession of his dominions.

Y. R. 564. After the election of *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Gn. Manlius Fulso*, to
B.C. Chr. the Consulship, ambassadors came from *Ætolia* to negotiate a peace;
188. but these, instead of addressing the Senate in the manner of suppliants,
263 Conf. enumerated their services to the Republic, and talked of their own
courage in such a strain as seemed to reproach the *Romans* with the want
of courage. The Senate hereupon directly asked them, whether they
would surrender at discretion; to which they not answering any thing,
the Fathers ordered them out of the temple, and passed a decree, that
they should leave the city that very day, and *Italy* in a fortnight; adding,
that if any ambassadors from *Ætolia* came to *Rome* for the future, without
the consent of the *Roman* commander in that country, they should be
treated as enemies.

Liv. B. 37. Presently after, *Aurelius Cotta*, a messenger, sent by *Scipio* with the
C. 52. & 69. news of his success, arrived at *Rome*; and with him came *Eumenes* King
Polyb. L. 6. of *Pergamus*, the ambassadors from *Antiochus*, and *Scyllax* from *Rhodes*.
Gal. 25. When *Cotta* had imparted the news to the Senate, and, by their order,
to the people assembled; and when, in consequence of it, supplications
and thanksgivings, as usual, had been decreed, the Fathers gave audience
to *Eumenes*. The King having in few words made his compliment of
thanks for the succour he had received from them against *Antiochus*,
and congratulated them on their complete victory over the *Syrian*, added,
with a seeming modesty (no uncommon mask of impudence) *As to my
services to the Republic, I had rather you should hear them from your own
Generals than from me.* Hereupon the Senate entreated him not to be
so over modest, but to prevail upon himself to say what he thought it
reasonable the people of *Rome* should do for him; assuring him, that
the Fathers were disposed to recompense his merit to the utmost of their
power. To this *Eumenes*: “Had the option of a reward been given
me from any other quarter, I should gladly have seized the present
“opportunity of consulting this most august assembly: that thereby I
“might avoid the danger of seeming to transgress the bounds of modesty
“and moderation in my desires. Certainly then, since it is you who
“are to bestow the reward, it becomes me to leave it wholly to your
“generosity.” Upon this a most extraordinary contest of civility arose;
the Senate still urging him to declare his wishes, and he as steadily per-
sisting in his silence on that head. At length, to put an end to the
dispute, he withdrew. The Fathers nevertheless directed, that he should
be called in again, saying, “that it was absurd to suppose the King
“ignorant of what he hoped, or what he came to ask, what he knew
“*Asia* much better than the Senate, and must know what countries lay
“convenient for his own kingdom.” *Eumenes* then said; “I should have
“still persisted in my silence, Conscript Fathers, if I did not know that
“the *Rhodian* ambassadors are to be presently called in, and that, after
“they

"they have been heard, I shall be under a necessity of speaking. My
 "present task is the more difficult; because what they intend to request
 "will seem not only to have no view to my prejudice, but to have none
 "to their own proper interest: for they will plead the cause of the Greek
 "cities, and the justice of setting them at liberty. But if they obtain this,
 "is it not evident, that they will alienate from us the affections, not only
 "of the cities which shall be freed, but even of those that are in our de-
 "pendence, and have long paid us tribute? The *Rhodians*, on the other
 "hand, having obliged the *Greeks* by so great a benefit, will, under the
 "name of allies, hold them in subjection. Such is the advantage they pro-
 "pose to themselves, and yet they will disclaim their having any views
 "of interest. They will alledge, that what they sue for is becoming your
 "dignity to grant; and agreeable to your constant practice. But you,
 "Fathers, are not to be imposed upon by all this. You will not only
 "avoid the injustice of depressing too much some of your allies, and
 "beyond measure exalting others, but of putting those who have borne
 "arms against you into a better condition than your friends and asso-
 "ciates." Then, after a pompous enumeration of all the services done
 "by him or any of his family to the *Roman* name, services which he set
 "forth as unequalled by any thing which any ally of the Republic had
 "ever performed, he thus proceeded: "But you ask me, what it is
 "that I request. Since in obedience to you, Conscript Fathers, I must
 "speak, I shall say: That if you have confined *Antiochus* within
 "*Mount Taurus*, in the intention to keep for yourselves all the country
 "between that and the sea, there is no nation whose neighbourhood I
 "should more covet, or think a greater security to my kingdom. But
 "should it be your resolution to withdraw your armies out of that
 "country, and relinquish it, I will venture to affirm, that none of your
 "allies is more worthy to possess it than myself. But it is a glorious
 "thing to free cities from slavery! I think so indeed, if they have
 "committed no hostilities against you: but if they took part with
 "*Antiochus*, how much more becoming your prudence and equity is it,
 "to consult the advantage of your well deserving allies, than of your
 "enemies?"

It was visible in the countenances of the Senators that they were much
 pleased with the King, and would reward him amply. When the *Rhodian*
 ambassadors came to be heard, the chief of them began by mentioning the
 long friendship of their state with the Republic, and the services it had
 done her in her wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*. He then expressed a
 concern, that he was obliged to oppose the pretensions and demands of
Eumenes, a Prince who not only was a friend of *Rhodes*, but had deserved
 so well of the *Romans* in the late war. "Our respect for the King
 "is indeed the only thing which embarrasses us; for, that consideration
 "apart, our cause is in no degree difficult for us to maintain, or for
 "you

Y. R. 564.
 Bet. Chr.
 188.
 207 Cent.

Y. R. 564.

Bef. Chr.

188.

263 Conf.

“ You to determine. Were the case such, that you must either subject
 “ the cities to the domination of *Eumenes*, or suffer him to go without
 “ a sufficient reward of his merit, the matter might perhaps admit of
 “ doubt and deliberation. But fortune has well provided that you
 “ should not be reduced to that necessity. Your victory, by the
 “ bounty of the Gods, is as rich, as it is glorious. Besides the *Greek*
 “ colonies, you are thereby become masters of *Lycaonia*, the two
 “ *Phrygias*, all *Pisidia*, the *Chersonesus*, and the bordering countries,
 “ any one of which is vastly larger than the whole of *Eumenes*’s
 “ kingdom. And should you give all these to him, you would
 “ make him equal to the greatest monarchs. It is easy to enrich
 “ your allies by the spoils of the war, without departing from your
 “ own institution. The cause you assigned for your wars with *Philip*
 “ and *Antiochus* was the liberty of the *Greeks*. Let *Barbarians*, let
 “ those to whom a master’s will has always been a law, have Kings;
 “ since they delight in Kings: but let the *Asiatic Greeks*, who have the
 “ same spirit as the *Romans*, experience that regard for universal li-
 “ berty, which made you the deliverers of *Greece*. It may indeed be
 “ said that these *Greek* cities declared for *Antiochus*: And did not
 “ many of the *Greek* nations in *Europe* enter into a league with *Philip*?
 “ Yet you restored to these their laws and liberties: This is all we
 “ ask for the *Asiatic Greeks*. Can you not refuse to *Eumenes*’s covetous
 “ ambition, what you denied to your own just revenge? In this and
 “ all the wars you have had in *Greece* and *Asia*, with what courage and
 “ fidelity we have assisted, we leave you to judge: In peace, we offer
 “ you an advice, which if you pursue, the whole world will think the
 “ use you make of your victory more glorious than the victory itself.”

This discourse seemed *Roman*, and did not fail to have its effect on the Senate. They determined to send ten Commissioners into the Levant to settle all matters there; but at the same time pronounced in general, that *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygias*, and the two *Myrias*, should for the future be subject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and the country lying towards *Pisidia* they adjudged to the *Rhodians*. In both these dispositions were excepted the *Greek* cities which had paid tribute to *Antiochus*, and taken part with the *Romans* in the war. These were to be free. As for the *Syrian* ambassadors, they had no business at *Rome*, but to get the peace approved; and this was done.

After dispatching these affairs, *Fulvius* and *Manlius* left the city. The first sailed for *Greece*, to reduce the *Ætolians*; the second to *Asia*; whence, *Scipio*, having delivered up the command of the army to him, returned to *Rome*, and was there honoured with a triumph.

L. C. B. 39.

C.

Fulvius landed at *Apollonia*, and began his campaign by laying siege to *Ambracia*, a considerable city on the borders of *Epirus*. It was in the hands

hands of the *Ætoli*ans, and vigorously defended by them; but they at length capitulated. And then the *Ætolian* nation, with *Fulvius's* leave, sent to *Rome* to solicit a peace. The Senate at first would hardly hear the entreaties of their ambassadors. Some *Albanian* deputies who appeared in their behalf were more favourably received. These had an eloquent man named *Damis* at their head. He confessed, that the *Romans* had reason to be angry with the *Ætoli*ans, who, for great benefits received, had not made a suitable return; but to charge this ingratitude upon the body of the nation, this, he said, was contrary to reason and truth. "In all states the multitude are like the sea. In its natural situation the sea is always smooth and calm, and perfectly safe to those who embark upon it; but when it comes to be ruffled and agitated by impetuous winds and storms, nothing is more raging and terrible. Thus the *Ætoli*ans, while in their natural state, and uninfluenced from abroad, were of all the *Greeks* the most tractable, and best inclined to the *Roman* people; but when a boisterous *Theas* and a *Dicæarchus*, from *Asia*, a *Meneſtas* and a *Demetrius*, in *Europe*, began to blow, then were the multitude put into a commotion; they were hurried on to speak and to act in a manner unlike themselves. To the authors then of these mischiefs and disturbances, be inexorable, Conscrip't Fathers; but spare the multitude, and receive them again into favour. Let them now owe their preservation to your clemency. This, added to all your former benefits, will fix them for ever in affection and fidelity to *Rome*." The Senate granted the *Ætoli*ans a peace, but upon terms that put them in a worse condition than any of the states of *Greece*, though they had been the first that brought the *Romans* into that country.

During these transactions, the Consul *Manlius* in *Asia* marched against the *Gallo-Greeks* (or *Galatians*) to take revenge for the assistance they had given *Antiochus* in the late war. They were originally *Gauls*, who, in the time of *Brennus*, after various adventures, passing through *Thrace* had entered *Asia*, and settled in an inland country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The Consul was assisted in his long march by *Selenus* the King of *Syria's* son, and by *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*; and he drew considerable contributions from the petty Kings through whose countries he passed, and who came to pay him homage. The *Galatians* upon his approach forsook their towns and cities, and retired to the tops of high mountains with their effects and provision. He vanquished the several nations of them (the *Tolistoboi*, *Tetlosigi* and *Trocmi*) successively, and reduced them to sue for peace. He would not treat with them upon the spot, but made them send their deputies to *Epheſus*, whither he retired with his army; and thither likewise repaired the ambassadors of all the Princes of *Asia* with presents and submissions.

IN *Italy* *M. Valerius Messala*, one of the Consuls chosen for the new year, was ordered to *Pisa* to watch the motions of the *Liguri*ans, who

V. R. 564.
Bel. Chi.
188.
263 Conf.

Liv. B. 38.
C. 12.

Liv. B. 33.
C. 19.

V. R. 565.
Bel. Chi.
187.

264 Conf.
Liv. B. 38.

Y. R. 565. had committed some recent hostilities against the Romans: and C. Livius
 Ref. Chr. 187. *Salvator*, the other Consul, had Gaul decreed him for his province.
 264 Conf. *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were continued in their respective commands as
 Pro-Consuls. Q. *Fabius Labeo*, the Roman Admiral, had at this time a
 triumph granted him for only recovering from the *Cretans* four thousand
Roman slaves; though he had fought no battle to rescue them, and
 they had been delivered up to him, as soon as he appeared off the island
 with his fleet, and demanded them. By a *Census* taken this year, the
 number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms, amounted to two hundred
 fifty eight thousand three hundred and eight.

To return to the affairs of *Greece*, *Fulvius* had in his Consulship
 taken possession of the island of *Cephalenia*, which the *Romans* had re-
 served to themselves in their treaty with *Ætolia*, and which was a very
 convenient acquisition, as opening a way, for their legions, into *Pelopon-
 nesus*; from which it was but about twenty four miles distant. Some
 differences now happening between the *Acheans* and *Lacedæmonians*, *Ful-
 vius*, judging the matter to be of great importance, thought proper to
 refer it to the Senate. The Conscrip't Fathers passed an ambiguous
 decree, which each party might interpret in its own favour; and this
 occasioned the two Republics to begin hostilities. *Philopæmen*, who
 commanded the *Acheans*, led his army to *Lacedæmon*, and by some acts
 of severity, so terrified the *Lacedæmonians*, that they became servilely
 submissive. At his command they demolished their walls, renounced
 the laws of *Lycurgus*, which they had observed seven hundred years,
 and subjected themselves to those of *Achaia*.

Polyb. Le- Then ten commissioners appointed by the Republic to settle the
 gar. 35. affairs of *Asia* landed at *Ephesus* with King *Eumenes*. From thence they
 Livy, B. 38. went to *Apamea*, where the Pro-Consul *Manlius* met them; and they all
 . 38. together put the last hand to the treaty with *Antiochus*. Besides the ar-
 ticles formerly mentioned, it contained, that the King should deliver
 up all his long ships; that for the future he should have no more than
 ten armed galleys; that he should not sail beyond the promontory of
Calycadnus, unless to carry to *Rome* ambassadors, hostages or tribute; that
 he should deliver up all his elephants, and never train any more of those
 animals. Among the hostages demanded, the King's son, *Antiochus*, was
 one. Then they settled the bounds of the dominions of *Eumenes* and the
Rhodians. *Lycia* and *Caria* to the river *Mæander*, except the town of
Telmisus, were given to the latter; *Lyfimarchia* with the *Chersonesus* in
Europe, the two *Phrygia's*, both the *Myſias*, *Lycaonia*, with *Ephesus*,
Telmisus, and other towns in *Asia* to the former: The *Romans* reserved
 no part of the conquered countries for themselves. They were satisfied,
 for the present, with having extended the glory of their name and the
 terror of their arms, and with the immense spoils in gold, silver and
 rich moveables which they carried from *Asia*.

When

When *Manlius* and his army had crossed the *Hellepont* in their way home, they were attacked by a body of ten thousand *Thracians* in a narrow pass, in a wood, where the *Romans* could not form themselves in order of battle. This danger escaped, yet with the loss of great part of the spoil; they continued their march through *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Apollonia*, where they were to embark; but the season being now far advanced, the Pro-Consul passed the winter there.

In the mean time *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* having succeeded to the Consulate, would fain have passed into *Greece* and *Asia*; but as these countries were now quiet [and had lately been pretty well plundered] the Senate insisted upon their going to those places where the Republic had yet enemies to subdue; and obliged them both to march against the *Ligurians*. The Consuls obeyed, and, by the success they met with, pacified all between *Etruria* and the *Alps*. Y. R. 466.
Bef. Chr.
186.
265 Conf.
Liv. B. 38.
C. 42.

At length *Manlius* arrived from *Apollonia*, and demanded a triumph of the Senate assembled in the temple of *Bellona*. His request met with opposition from some of the ten commissioners, who had been sent into *Asia*. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his expedition against the *Galatians* without the orders of the Republic, but had carried on the war more like a robber than a *Roman* Consul; and that his victories were too easy to merit any reward. They taxed him also with want of conduct, for suffering the *Thracians* to rob him in his return home. *Manlius* pleaded, that the *Gauls* in *Asia* having assisted *Antiochus*, were proper objects of the resentment of the *Romans*; mentioned the battles he had won; and excused as well as he could his disaster in *Thrace*. After a long debate the assembly decree him a triumph. C. 45.

C H A P VIII

Scipio Africanus arraigned before the Roman people.
Scipio Asiaticus arraigned and condemned.

THE present year was made very remarkable by the public prosecution of two men, whose eminent services to their country, it might naturally be thought, would have preserved them from any open attacks upon their fame or fortune. *Scipio Africanus* and his brother *Asiaticus* were successively accused before the people of taking bribes from *Antiochus*, and embezzling the public money.

^a *Livy* makes one of the accusations against *Manlius* to have been his having formed a design to lead his army over mount *Taurus*, the fatal boundary of the Roman empire, as it was then called, on account of some verses in the *Sybilline* oracles, threatening slaughter and destruction to those *Roman* armies which should pass that limit.

Y. R. 566.

Bel. Ch.

186.

265 Conf.

Aut. Gell.

B. 4 c. 12.

At the instigation of *Cato*, as some authors report, two Tribunes, both of the name of *Petilius*, moved in the Senate, that *M. Porcius Cato* might be obliged to give an account of all the money received from the King of Syria, and of the spoil taken in that war. *Scipio* rising up and drawing a book out of his bosom, *In this*, said he, *is contained an exact account of all you want to know; of all the money, and all the spoil.* "Read it aloud," then, said the Tribunes, and let it afterwards be deposited in the treasury. "No," replied *Scipio*, that I will not do. I shall not put such an affront upon myself: and instantly he tore the book to pieces before their eyes.

Liv. B. 38.

c. 50. &

109.

After this, a tribune named *M. Nævius* cited him to answer before the people to the accusations above mentioned. The prosecution of this great man was variously judged of. Some thought it an instance of the most shameful ingratitude, and more detestable than that of the Carthaginians in banishing *Hannibal*. Others said, that no citizen, how eminent soever, ought to be considered as above the laws, or too worthy to be accountable. "What man can safely be trusted with any thing," not to say with the public administration, if he is not to be answerable for his conduct? Force can be no injustice against him who will not endure a fair trial."

Nævius had no direct proof of his charge. He supported it only by surmises and presumptions. He took notice, that *Scipio's* son had been restored to him by *Antiochus* without ransom; adding, that the Syrian had paid court to him, as if peace or war with *Rome* depended upon him alone: that *Scipio* had acted more like a Dictator than a Lieutenant to his brother the Consul; and had gone into *Asia* with no other view, but to persuade the Greeks and all the eastern nations (as he had formerly done the Gauls, Spaniards, Sicilians, and Africans) that one man was the pillar and support of the Roman empire; that *Rome*, the mistress of the world, lay in shelter under the shadow of *Scipio*, and that his nods had succeeded to the decrees of the Senate and the commands of the people. The Tribune also revived the old accusations relating to his luxury at *Syracuse*, and the affair of *Pleminius*. *Scipio* disclaimed to answer. It happened to be the anniversary of the battle of *Zama*. After saying something in general of his merit and services, he thus continued: *On this day, Romans, I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Ill would it become us to spend it in wranglings and contention. Let us not be ungrateful to the Gods. Let us leave this rascal here, and go to the capitol; there to return thanks to the great Jupiter, for that victory and peace, which, beyond all expectation, I procured for the Republic.* Instantly the tribes began to move; and the whole assembly followed him, except the Tribune himself and the public crier.

Aut. Gell.

B. 4. c. 18.

says, that

all agree

that *Scipio*

spoke these

words.

Scipio, notwithstanding this memorable triumph over his accuser *Nævius*, was again cited by the two *Petiliuses*, to answer to the same accusations.

accusations. It is not improbable that the tearing his accounts furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him. He now gave way to the storm, and retired to *Liternum*, not far from *Naples*. *L. Scipio* appeared for him, and said, that he was sick; an excuse which did not satisfy his accusers: they were going on to get him condemned by default, when some of the Tribunes, at the entreaty of *L. Scipio*, interposed, and obtained to have a new day named for the trial. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes, who had been always an avowed enemy of the *Scipios*, but was a man of great probity, would not suffer his name to be added to those of his colleagues in the decree. He declared, that he not only thought *Scipio's* excuse sufficient, but, if he came to *Rome* and asked his assistance, would put an end to the process. He added, "*P. Scipio* by his exploits, the honours conferred on him by the Republic, the consent of Gods and men, is raised to such a height, that to make him stand as a criminal before the *Rostre*, and bear the reproaches and insults of young men, is a greater dishonour to the *Roman* people than to him. Will no merit, no dignities ever procure a sanctuary for great men, where their old age, if not revered, may at least be inviolate?" This unexpected declaration from an old enemy of the *Scipios* had a great effect on the multitude, and even on the accusers themselves; who said they would take time to consider what was fit for them to do. The Senate presently after assembled, and ordered thanks to be returned to *Tib. Gracchus* for having made his private resentment give way to the public good. The prosecution was dropt. *Africanus*, without any desire of returning to *Rome*, spent the remainder of his days at *Liternum*; and there, at his death, he ordered his body to be buried.

Scipio Asiaticus stood his trial, and was condemned, together with one of his Lieutenants and his Quæstor, as guilty all three of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money, received by them in *Asia* for the public account. The Lieutenant and the Quæstor gave security to pay what was judged to be due from them; *Scipio* refused to give bail, still insisting, that he had accounted for all he had received. They were going to lead him to prison, when *Tib. Gracchus* interposed. He said, he would not indeed hinder the proper officer from raising the money out of *Scipio's* effects, but would never suffer a *Roman* General

* It is not certainly known when he died, and *Livy*, who tells the story of the trial more amply than it is related above, says, that authors so differ about the circumstances of the prosecution, that he knows not what to believe. In these particulars however most of them agree; That *Scipio* was publicly prosecuted, that he tore his book of accounts, that he disdained to answer at his trial, that he carried away the

people to the capitol, that he was afterwards cited again, and that he then retired.

It is also uncertain which of the brothers was first prosecuted.

Livy thinks it amounted to four millions of the smaller sesterces, which, according to *Arbutnot*, make, of our money, 32,291 l. 13 s. 4 d. and says, that *Lal. Antias* must be mistaken when he makes it amount to fifty times that sum.

372

Y. R. 566. to be thrown into the same prison in which the Generals of the enemy
Bef. Chr. taken by him in battle, had been confined. His effects being seized
186. and appraised, were not found to be of value sufficient to pay the sum
265 Conf. in question; nor was there any thing amongst them which could be
Aul. Gell. deemed to have been brought from *Asia*. The friends and relations of
B. 7 c. 19. *Asiatius* would, by presents, have more than made up his loss, but
he refused to accept of any thing beyond bare necessities. In return
for the generous part *Gracchus* had acted, the *Scipios* gave him in mar-
riage *Cornelia* the daughter of *Africanus*.

Y. R. 567. The Consulship of *Sp. Postumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus*
Bef. Chr. was chiefly spent in suppressing and punishing a monstrous society of
185. debauchees, which had been formed at *Rome* under the name of *Baccha-*
266 Conf. *naliæ*. In the end of the year *Marcius* was defeated by the *Ligurians*
and lost four thousand of his men.
Liv. B. 39.
c. 8. & seq.

CHAPTER IX.

The Roman Senate send two commissions successively into Macedon to take cognizance of Philip's proceedings. The Commissioners treat him hardly. The Romans exercise a tyrannic power in Achaia. Lycortas, Prætor of the State, remonstrates against it in vain; and the Achæans through fear submit.

Y. R. 568. **I**N the beginning of the Consulship of *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and
Bef. Chr. *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, three Commissioners, the chief of whom was
184. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, were sent into *Greece* to terminate certain disputes of
267 Conf. the King of *Macedon* with the King of *Pergamus* and some states of *Greece*.
Liv. B. 39. *Philip*, since his peace with *Rome*, had neglected nothing to strengthen
c. 24. himself against a new war, whenever it should be unavoidable. He had
encreased his revenues by promoting trade, and by the profits of his mines,
in which he employed a great number of men. To recruit his people,
exhausted by the late wars, he not only encouraged marriages and the
bringing up of children, but transplanted into *Macedon* a great multitude
of *Thracians*. These being strangers to the *Romans*, and therefore not
intimidated by them, he settled them in some towns on the sea coast,
Polyb. de obliging the former inhabitants to remove into *Emathia* anciently called
Vit. & *Pæonia*. After the victory over *Antiochus* in *Greece*, the Consul *Acilius*
Vit. p. had permitted the *Macedonian* to make war upon *Anynder* and the *Alba-*
1436. *manes*, and to lay siege to those towns in *Thessaly* and *Perrhæbia* which be-
Liv. B. 40. longed to the *Ægians*. *Philip* easily expelled *Anynder* and took several
c. 3. towns in *Thessaly*, and *Perrhæbia*, and among the rest *Demetrias*. He
also seized upon some places in *Thrace*. The *Romans*, always jealous of his

his power, had constantly watched his motions and had given him several fortifications. By the treaty of peace concluded between him and T. *Flamininus*, it had been referred to the determination of the Senate, whether certain towns of *Macedon* which had revolted from the King, during the time of a truce with the *Romans*, should be restored to him; and the Fathers had given sentence against him. They had also continued *Amynder* in the possession of great part of his dominions which the *Ætolians* had recovered from the *Macedonian*. And now *Amynder* claimed the rest of his towns. The *Thessalians* and *Perrhæbians* likewise demanded back theirs; alledging, that though *Philip* had taken them from the *Ætolians*, yet these had only usurped them. Some of the complainants broke out into harsh invectives against the King; which he answered with heat and haughtiness. The *Roman* Commissioners finished the whole affair by a short decree, That *Philip* should withdraw his garri- sons from all the places in question, and confine himself, on that side, within the ancient bounds of the kingdom of *Macedon*.

Then they removed to *Thessalonica*, to hear the complaints of the embassadors from *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, who pretended that the cities of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, now possessed by *Philip*, of right belonged to their master; because by their nearness they seemed appendages of *Cerberus* and *Lyfimachia*, which he had received, by grant, from the Senate of *Rome*. The *Maronites* also complained, that their town had been seized by the *Macedonian*, and that his soldiers tyrannized in the place. *Philip* answered in a manner that was not expected. "It is not with the *Maronites* and *Eumenes* only that I have a controversy, but with you also, *Romans*, from whom I have long observed that I can obtain no justice. Some cities of *Macedon* had revolted from me during a truce; I thought it but just that these should be restored to me; not that they would have made any great addition to my kingdom (for they are but small towns, and situated on the extremities of it) but such an example might have had very ill consequences with regard to my other subjects. Yet this you denied me. In the *Ætolian* war I was desired by the Consul *Acilius* to besiege *Lamia*. After many fatigues and encounters, when I was upon the point of scaling the walls, and taking the town, *Acilius* forced me to withdraw my troops. As some compensation for this injury, I was permitted to recover a few castles (as they should be called, rather than towns) of *Thessaly*, *Perrhæbia*, and *Atbamania*. These you took from me a few days ago. *Eumenes's* embassadors just now mentioned it as a truth beyond all dispute, that it is more equitable to give what *Antiochus* formerly held, to their master, than to me. I am quite of another opinion. *Eumenes* could not have held his kingdom, not only if you had not been victorious, but if you had not made war upon *Antiochus*. *Eumenes* therefore is obliged to you, not you to him. But so little was any part of my kingdom in danger from the *Syrian*, that he voluntarily

Y. R. 566.
B. C. 184.
267 Conf.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 23.

c. 25. & seq.

V. R. 568.
Bel. Chr.
184.
157. Conf.

"I offered me, as the price of an alliance, three thousand talents, fifty ships of war, and all the *Greek* cities which I had formerly held. These offers I rejected; nor did I dissemble my being an enemy to him, even before *Acilius* led your army into *Greece*. After the Consul's arrival, I conducted whatever part of the war he committed to me; and when *Scipio* marched his forces by land to the *Hellepont*, I not only gave him a safe passage through my dominions, but made good roads for him, built bridges, and supplied him with provisions. Not contented with this, I took the same care of his passage through *Thrace*, where, besides other things, I had to guard against his being attacked by the *Barbarians*. For this my zeal, not to call it merit, ought you not rather to have added something to my kingdom, and amplified it by your munificence, than (as you now do) to take from me what I already possess, either in my own right, or by your favour? The cities of *Macedon*, which you own to have been justly mine, are not restored. *Eumenes* comes to spoil me, as he did *Antiochus*; and to cover a most impudent falsehood, cites the decree of the ten Commissioners, than which decree nothing can be a clearer confutation of his pretensions. It is there indeed plainly and expressly said, that the *Chersonesus* and *Lyfimacbia* are given to *Eumenes*. But where is there any mention made of *Ænos*, *Maronea* and the cities of *Thrace*? What he did not dare so much as to ask of the Commissioners, shall he obtain from you, as in consequence of a grant from them? Upon what footing am I to be for the future? If you propose to pursue me as an enemy, go on, as you have begun; but if you have any regard for me as a King in friendship and alliance with you, I beg you would not offer me so great an indignity."

The ambassadors are said to have been moved with the King's discourse; to which they made this perplexed answer. "If the cities in question have been given to *Eumenes* by the decree of the ten Commissioners, we will change nothing in that disposition. If *Philip* has taken them in war, he shall hold them as the reward of victory. If neither of these be true, the cognizance of the affair shall be referred to the Senate of *Rome*; and in the mean time *Philip* shall withdraw his garrisons, that things may be upon an equal footing between the two parties."

To this harsh treatment of *Philip* by the *Romans*, *Livy* imputes that war, which his son *Perses* afterwards made against them, and which he received as it were by legacy from his father.

The *Roman* Commissioners from *Macedon* went into *Acbaia*, from whence, much dissatisfied with the *Achaean*; they returned to *Rome* (where *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinus* had been chosen Consuls for the new year.) They gave an account of their negotiation to the Senate, and at the same time introduced the ambassadors of *Philip* and *Euryenes*, and also those from the *Thessalians*, *Lacedæmonians* and *Achaean*s.

V. R. 569.
Bel. Chr.
181.
168. Conf.

It was nothing but a repetition of the same complaints and same answers that had been made in Greece. The Senate appointed a new commission, at the head of which was *Appius Claudius*, to go into Macedonia and Greece, and examine whether the *Thessalians* and *Perrhæbians* were put into possession of those towns which *Philip* had promised to deliver up to them; and to order him to evacuate *Ænos*, *Maronea*, and all the places he held on the sea coast of *Thrace*. They were also directed to go into *Peloponnesus*, where the former Commissioners had not done any thing, because it had been refused to convene a council to give them audience. On this refusal *Q. Cecilius*, the head of that commission, complained heavily. The ambassadors from *Lacedæmon* also made complaints of the *Acheans*; of which more hereafter. As to *Cecilius's* charge, the *Achean* ministers excused themselves by citing a law which forbade summoning a Diet, unless on occasion of peace or war, or when ambassadors came from the Senate with letters or written orders. That they might never more make this excuse, the Senate gave them to understand, that as they, whenever they would, might have an audience of the Fathers at *Rome*, it was fitting that *Roman* ambassadors should meet with the like respect in *Achaia*.

When *Philip*, on the return of his ambassadors, had learnt from them, that he must absolutely evacuate *Ænos* and *Maronea*, he took council of his passions, and remembering that the *Maronites* had behaved themselves insolently, when they pleaded against him for their liberty, he gave orders to *Onomastus*, his Lieutenant for the guard of the sea coast, to take such measures as might make them repent of their desire of freedom. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the King's officers, who had long dwelt at *Maronea*, to let in a body of *Thracians* by night, that they might sack the town and exercise in it all cruelties of war. This was done, but so resented by the *Roman* ambassadors, who had better intelligence of these proceedings than could have been imagined, that they directly charged the King with the crime; which, they said, was no less an insult on the *Roman* people, who had undertaken the protection of the *Maronites*, than a cruelty to the innocent sufferers. *Philip* denied his having had any share in the bloody act, and laid it upon the *Maronites* themselves; affirming that they in the heat of their factions and quarrels (some being inclinable to him, others to *Eumenes*,) had cut one another's throats. Nay he made no scruple to propose to the ambassadors to examine the *Maronites* themselves; as well knowing, that they, terrified by the late execution of his vengeance, durst not accuse him; because he would still be in their neighbourhood, and the *Romans* not near enough to protect them. *Appius Claudius* answered, that it was needless to make enquiries about a thing already known; that he was well informed of what had been done, and by whom; and if the King would clear himself, he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to *Rome*, there to be examined.

Y. R. 569.
Bef. Chr.
183.
268 Conf.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 33.

Polybius
Legat. 41,
42.

Polybius
Legat. 44.
Liv. B. 39.
c. 34.

V. R. 369
Bef. Chr.
183.
268 Conf.

examined by the Senate. *Philip* at this changed colour, and was confounded; yet recovering himself, he said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but as to *Onomastus*, who had not been at *Marone*, nor near it at the time of the slaughter, he refused to give him up. His true reason was, that he feared lest a man, who had been much in his confidence, and whom he had employed in many such execrable commissions, might reveal other secrets to the Senate besides what regarded the *Maronites*: And that *Cassander* might tell no tales, he took care to have him poisoned in his way to *Italy*. The *Roman* ambassadors at their departure let the King plainly see that they were dissatisfied with his conduct: He began to fear that he should have a war to sustain before he was sufficiently prepared for it. To gain time, he resolved to employ his younger son *Demetrius* as his ambassador to the Senate; with whom the young Prince had acquired much favour when he was a hostage in *Rome*.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 36.

The same ambassadors who had been with *Philip*, made their progress through the rest of *Greece*, and took cognizance of the complaints of some banished *Lacedæmonians* against the *Acheans*, for having beat down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, slaughtered many of the citizens, and abolished the laws of *Lycurgus*. To these accusations *Lycortas* (the father of *Polybius* the historian) Prætor of *Achaia*, answered, That the complainants were notoriously the very men who had committed the murders they complained of: that as to throwing down the walls of *Lacedæmon*, it was perfectly agreeable to *Lycurgus's* institution, who had forbid his citizens all kinds of fortification: that the tyrants of *Lacedæmon*, who built those walls, had in effect abolished the ordinances of *Lycurgus*, governing the city by their own lawless will; and that the *Acheans*, not knowing any better laws than their own, had communicated them to the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found in reality without laws or any tolerable policy, and had associated to the other states of *Peloponnesus*.

* See p.
344.

He concluded with words to this effect: "The *Acheans*, being friends and faithful allies of *Rome*, think it strange to see themselves thus compelled to give an account of their actions, as vassals and slaves to the *Roman* people. If the voice of *Flaminius's* * herald was not an empty sound, why might not we as well enquire about your proceedings at *Capua*, as you take cognizance of what we have done at *Lacedæmon*. You will say, perhaps, that, by the league between us, we are only in appearance free; in reality, subject to *Rome*. I am sensible of it, *Appius*; and, if I must not, I will not be angry. But I beseech you, whatever distance there be between the *Romans* and *Acheans*, let not us your allies be upon the same, not to say a worse foot with you than enemies; your enemies and ours. That the *Lacedæmonians* might be upon an equality with us, we gave them our own laws, and

"made

"made them a part of the *Achaean* body. The vanquished, not content with the laws and privileges which satisfy the victors, would have us violate compacts that have been confirmed by the most solemn oaths. No, *Romans*, we honour you, and, if you will, we fear you too; but we reverence more, we dread more; the immortal Gods." *Appian* had little to reply, and was therefore very brief. Thinking it no time for gentle management, he only advised the Diet, "by a ready compliance to merit favour, while they might, and not to wait till they were compelled to obedience." The assembly heard this imperious language with inward rage; yet, fear prevailing, they only desired that the *Romans* would themselves make what change they pleased with regard to the *Lacedaemonians*, and not force the *Achaean*s, by any act of their own, sacrilegiously to break their oaths.

Y. R. 563.
Ref. Ch.
183.
268 Cent.

C H A P. X.

*Cato chosen Censor against the inclination of the nobles.
His conduct in that Office.*

THERE happened, this year, a remarkable struggle, amongst the great men of *Rome*, for the office of Censor. *Cato* being one of the candidates, the nobles, who not only envied him as a *new man*, but dreaded his severity, set up against him seven powerful competitors. *Valerius Flaccus*, who had introduced him into public life, and had been his colleague in the consulship, was a ninth candidate; and these two united their interests. On this occasion *Cato*, far from employing soft words to the people, or giving hopes of gentleness and complaisance in the execution of the office, loudly declared from the rostra, with a threatening look and voice: "That the times required firm and vigorous magistrates to put a stop to that growing luxury which menaced the Republic with ruin; Censors, who would cut up the evil by the roots, and restore the rigour of ancient discipline." It is to the honour of the people of *Rome*, that, notwithstanding these terrible intimations, they preferred him to all his competitors, who courted them by promises of a mild and easy administration: The *Comitia* also appointed his friend *Valerius* to be his colleague, without whom, he had declared, that he could not hope to compass the reformations he had in view.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 40. &
seq.
Plot. life
of Cato.

Cato's merit upon the whole was superior to that of any of the great men who stood against him. He was temperate, brave and indefatigable, frugal of the public money, and not to be corrupted. There is scarce any talent requisite for public or private life which he had not received from nature, or by industry acquired. He was a great soldier, an

V. R. 569.
 Ref. Chr.
 183.
 268 Conf.

able statesman, an eloquent orator, a learned historian, and very knowing in rural affairs. Yet with all these accomplishments he had great faults. His ambition being poisoned with envy, disturbed both his own peace and that of the whole city as long as he lived. Though he would not take bribes, he was unmerciful and unconscionable in amassing wealth, by all such methods as the law did not punish. It was one of his sayings, according to *Plutarch*, that "this man the most to be admired, the most glorious, the most divine, was he, at whose death he appeared by his accounts, that he had added more to his patrimony than the whole value of it."

The first act of *Cato* in his new office, was naming his colleague to be Prince of the Senate; after which the Censors struck out of the list of the Senators the names of seven persons; among whom was *Lucius*, the brother of *T. Flamininus*. *Lucius*, when Consul and commanding in *Gaul*, had with his own hand murdered a *Boian* of distinction, a deserter to the *Romans*; and he had committed this murder purely to gratify the curiosity of his pathic, a young *Carthaginian*, who, longing to see somebody die a violent death, had reproached the general for bringing him away from *Rome* just when there was going to be a fight of gladiators.

Titus Flamininus, full of indignation at the dishonour done to his brother, brought the affair before the people; and insisted upon *Cato's* giving the reason of his proceeding. The Censor related the story; and, when *Lucius* denied the fact, put him to his oath: The accused refusing to swear, was deemed guilty, and *Cato's* censure approved. Yet he greatly hurt his own character when, at the review of the knights, he took away the horse of *Scipio Asiaticus*; this act being by every body ascribed to a malicious desire of insulting the memory of *Africanus*.

But no part of the Censor's conduct seemed so cruel to the nobles and their wives, as the taxes he laid upon luxury in all its branches; dress, household furniture, womens toilets, chariots, slaves and equipage. The people however in general were pleased with his regulations, inso-much that they ordered a statue to be erected to his honour in the temple of *Health*, with an inscription that mentioned nothing of his victories or triumph, but imported only, that by his wise ordinances in his censorship he had reformed the manners of the republic.

* These articles were all taxed at three per cent. of the real value.

b *Plutarch* relates, that before this, upon some of *Cato's* friends expressing to him their surprise, that while many persons with-

out merit or reputation had statues, he had none; he answered, "I had much rather it should be asked, why the people have not erected a statue to *Cato*, than why they have."

C H A P. XI.

Complaints brought to Rome from Greece and Asia against Philip of Macedon.

The Senate make a decree in relation to a dispute between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians.

The death of Philopoemen.

The death of Hannibal.

WHEN it was universally known that the Conscrip-
t Fathers would receive accusations against the King of Macedon, from whatever quarter they should come; the city, in a short time, swarmed with em-
bassadors from the numerous states of Greece. King Eumenes, who never wanted matter of inveſtive against Philip, sent ministers to Rome without delay. And even some private men went thither with complaints of personal injuries. After the several complainants had delivered themselves in the Senate, it lay upon Demetrius, now ambassador from his father, to answer all. The Senators, considering his youth, and how unequal he was to the task of disputing with so many artful wranglers; and observing also how much he was embarrassed (as indeed were they themselves) by the abundance and variety of the matters objected, asked him, Whether his father had not furnished him with some notes to help his memory? and, he owning that he had a little book for that purpose, they desired him to read aloud what it contained in relation to the points in question. The truth was, they had no desire to hear the son declaim, but to find out with certainty what the father thought and intended: And thus much the memorial discovered; That the King was excessively piqued: For up and down in it were scattered such expressions as these: *Although Cæcilius and the other ambassadors did not deal fairly by me in this business—Although this was unjustly given against me—Notwithstanding the ill treatment and the insults I have undeservedly met with on all hands—*

Demetrius excused, as well as he could, whatever facts had given offence, and were not to be denied; promising an exact conformity for the future, to the good pleasure of the Senate. The fathers answered: "That Philip could not have done any thing more prudent, or more agreeable to them, than sending his son Demetrius to make his apology: That they could overlook, forget, bear with many past provocations; and believed they might confide in Demetrius's promises: That though he was returning into Macedon, his heart, they knew, would remain with them as a hostage; and that, as far as was consistent with filial piety, he would always be a friend to the Roman people: That out of regard

Q. FABIVS
LABEO and
M. CLAV-
DIUS
MARCEL-
LUS, Con-
suls,
Y. R. 570.
B. C. 187.
269. Cons.
Polyb. Le-
git. 46.
Liv. B. 39.
c. 46.

Y. R. 570. "to him they would send ambassadors into *Macedon* to set to right in
B. Chr. 182. "an easy and amicable manner, whatever had been done amiss; and for
259 Conf. "their so doing, they would have *Philip* sensible, that he was indebted to
his son *Demetrius*."

The dispute between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Achæans* was the next affair that came under the deliberation of the Senate; and they pronounced a decree to the following effect: That those of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had been sentenced to death by the *Achæans*, had been unjustly condemned; and that the banished should be restored; but that *Lacedæmon* should remain a member of the *Achæan* body.

Polyb. L. e-
gat. 47. &
Excerpt. ap.
Valut.

Q. Marcius, appointed ambassador to the court of *Macedon*, had orders to go also into *Peloponnesus*, not only to put in execution what was now decreed, but to take cognizance of some new commotions there, occasioned by the *Messenians* breaking off from the *Achæan* association, and setting up for an independent state. One *Dinocrates* was come to *Rome* to solicit their cause. This man having learnt that *T. Flaminius*, named ambassador to *Bitynia*, would in his way thither pass through *Greece*, applied himself to him; who being an inveterate enemy of *Philopamen*, was easily engaged in the interest of the *Messenians*. *Dinocrates* imagined he had now gained his point, and he accompanied the *Roman* to *Naupactus*: whence as soon as they landed, *Flaminius* wrote to the Prætor *Philopamen* and other principal magistrates of *Acbaia*, to convoke a Diet. The magistrates, knowing that *Flaminius* had no commission from the Senate in relation to the affairs of *Greece*, returned answer, "That they would do as he desired, if by letter, he would signify what the business was which he had to lay before the assembly; an intimation of it to the people, previous to their meeting, being by the laws absolutely necessary." The *Roman* not thinking it advisable to put his business in writing, all the high expectations of *Dinocrates* and the *Messenians* fell to the ground.

Liv. B. 39.
c. 47.

Soon after, *Philopamen*, having levied such forces as in haste he could, marched against the *Messenians*, who, under the conduct of *Dinocrates*, had begun hostilities. In a skirmish which ensued, and while the *Achæan* General gallantly exposed his person, to secure the retreat of his men, overpowered by numbers, he was, by the falling of his horse, thrown to the ground, and taken prisoner. The enemy carried him bound to *Messene*, and there shortly after put him to death.

This

Liv. B. 39.
c. 49. 50.
Publ. life
of Philo-
pamen.

"When *Philopamen* was brought prisoner to *Messene*, the multitude, pitying the misfortune of so great a man, and remembering with gratitude some good offices he had formerly done their city, and also thinking that by his means an end might be put to the present war, universally inclined to

spare him. But *Dinocrates* and his party, the authors of the revolt, and who had the government in their hands, hurried him out of sight of the people, under pretence of asking him some questions relating to the present state of things. And not daring to trust him in the custody of any one
war,

This year is said by some authors to have been remarkable for the death of three most illustrious Generals, *Scipio*, *Philopæmen* and *Hannibal*. But *Livy* contends that *Scipio* must have been dead at the time when *Cato* entered on his censorship; because this Censor named his colleague *Valerius* to be President of the Senate, a dignity which *Scipio Africanus* had held for the three preceding *lustra*, and of which he would not have been deprived during his life, without being expelled the Senate; and of such expulsion there is not the least hint in any author.

Y. R. 570.
Bef. Chr.
182.
269 Conf.

As to *Hannibal*, it has been before observed, that *Antiochus* covenanted with the *Romans* to deliver him up, but was prevented by his flight into *Crete*; whence he afterwards went into *Bithynia*, to King *Prusias*, and did him eminent service in his wars. It has been also mentioned, that the Senate employed *Flaminius* on an embassy to *Prusias*. The pretence for it was, to make him desist from hostilities against the King of *Pergamus*; but it seems probable, that the chief business of *Flaminius* was to terrify the *Bithynian* into a base betraying of his *Carthaginian* guest. *Prusias*, if we may believe *Plutarch*, earnestly entreated the *Roman* ambassador not to press him to so dishonourable an action: But *Livy* tells us, that the cowardly King complied upon the first demand. *Hannibal*, well acquainted with *Prusias*'s character, had in the castle of *Libyssa*, where he resided, formed certain subterraneous passages, whereby to make his escape in case of danger. Word being brought him, that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, he had recourse to his passages. When he found that the issues of these were also beset, he did not hesitate a moment in preferring death to captivity. Taking into his hand a^d poison which he had long

Justin. B.
37. c. 4.
Plut. life of
Flamini.

man, even for a night, they put him down, fast bound, into a kind of vault or cavern, where they used to keep their treasure in time of war, and the mouth of which they covered with a great stone moved by an engine. *Philopæmen*, now 70 years of age, just recovered from a long illness, and grievously wounded in the head by his fall when taken prisoner, lay in this place, without light and without air, while his enemies were debating what to do with him. The fear they had of his resentment, should he be set at liberty, made them determine to put him to death without delay; for which purpose they let down the executioner into the vault. *Philopæmen* was lying stretched upon his cloak, when seeing a man standing by him with a lamp in one hand, and a cup of poison in the other, he with difficulty raised himself, and taking the cup,

asked him, *Whether he knew any thing of Lycortas and the Megalopolitan horsemen*. The executioner answering, that they had almost all escaped; *It is well*, replied *Philopæmen*, *We are not every way necessitous*; then without the least mark of discoloration, he drank off the poison, and laying himself down upon his cloak, soon after expired.

Divine honours were afterwards paid to him by his countrymen; and he was stiled; as *Plutarch* tells us, *The last of the Greeks*.

^b *Cicero* [*de Senect.*] makes *Cato* say the same thing.

^c *Valerius Antias* (ap. *Livy*. B. 30. c. 56.) says expressly, that *Flaminius*, *L. ouiso dylacicus*, and *P. Scipio Nasica*, were sent ambassadors to *Prusias* to procure the death of *Hannibal*.

^d According to *Juvenal*, *Hannibal* kept this poison in a ring. *Juven. Sat. 10.*

kept

Y. R. 570.

Bef. Chr.

182.

269 Conf.

Liv. B. 39.

c. 51.

kept ready against such an exigence, he said: *Let us deliver Rome from her perpetual fears and inquiet, since she has not patience to wait for the death of an old man.* Flaminius's victory over an enemy unarmed and betrayed will not do him much honour with posterity. Then having invoked the Gods to take vengeance upon *Prusias* for his violation of hospitality, he swallowed the poison and died.

He was about 65.

Rollin.

H. R. Rom.

Tom. 7. 1.

24. §. 5.

A late pious and learned author of a *Roman History*, after relating the death of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, draws the characters of those two celebrated Captains; compares them; and then leaves it to his reader to give the preference as he shall see cause. He enumerates the talents and qualities that make a complete General. 1. Extensive genius to form and execute great designs. 2. Profound secrecy. 3. A thorough acquaintance with the characters of the Generals with whom he is to fight. 4. Attention to keep his troops under strict discipline. 5. A plain, sober, frugal, laborious manner of living. 6. Skill in an equal degree to employ force and stratagem. 7. Prudence to avoid hazarding his person without necessity. 8. Art and ability for conducting a battle. 9. The talents of speaking well, and dexterously managing the minds of men.

Our author gives a summary of what the Historians have said to the praise of both Commanders, in these respects; and, from the whole is inclined to think that *Hannibal* has the advantage. "There are, however, two difficulties which hinder him from deciding on one drawn from the characters of the Generals whom *Hannibal* vanquished; the other, from the errors he committed. May it not be said, (continues our author) that those victories which have made *Hannibal* so famous, were as much owing to the imprudence and temerity of the *Roman* Generals, as to his bravery and skill? When a *Fabius* and afterwards a *Scipio* was sent against him, the first stopt his progress at once, the other conquered him."

I do not see why these difficulties should check our author's inclination to declare in favour of the *Cartaginian*. That *Fabius* was not beaten by *Hannibal*, we cannot much wonder, when we remember how steadily the old man kept his resolution ne-

ver to fight with him. But from *Fabius*'s taking this method to put a stop to the victories of the enemy, may we not conclude that he knew no other, and thought *Hannibal* an over-match for him? And why does our author forget *Publius Scipio*, (*Africanus*'s father) a prudent and able General, whom *Hannibal* vanquished at the *Ticin*. *Livy* relates some victories of *Hannibal* over the celebrated *Marcellus*; but neither *Marcellus*, nor any other General, ever vanquished *Hannibal* before the battle of *Zama*, if we may believe *Polybius*, (B. 15. c. 16.) *Tiberius Varro* indeed is represented as a headstrong rash man; but the battle of *Cannæ* was not lost by his imprudence. The order in which he drew up his army is no where condemned; and *Chevalier Folard* thinks it excellent. And as to the conduct of the battle, *Æmilius Paulus*, a renowned Captain, a disciple of *Fabius*, had a greater share in it than his colleague. The imprudence with which *Varro* is taxed, was his venturing, against his Colleague's advice, with above 90,000 men, to encounter, in a plain field, an enemy who had only 50,000, but was superior in horse. And does not the very advice of *Æmilius*, and the charge of temerity on *Varro* for not following it, imply a confession of *Hannibal*'s superiority, in military skill, over *Æmilius*, as well as *Varro*? It ought likewise to be observed, that *Hannibal*'s infantry had gained the victory over the *Roman* infantry, before this latter suffered any thing from the *Cartaginian* cavalry. It was otherwise when *Scipio* gained the victory at *Zama*. His infantry would probably have been vanquished but for his cavalry. *Hannibal* with only his third line of foot (his *Italian* army) maintained a long fight against *Scipio*'s three lines of foot, and seems to have had the advantage over them, when *Masinius* and *Lælius*, with the horse, came to their assistance. *Polybius* indeed says, that *Hannibal*'s *Italian* forces,

forces were equal in number to all *Scipio's* infamy. This is contradicted by *Livy*, and is not very treacherous. The authority of *Polybius*, who was an intimate friend of *Scipio Emilianus*, is, I imagine, of but little weight, in matters where the glory of the *Scipios* is particularly concerned. His partiality and flattery to them are in many instances but too visible.

The errors of which *Hannibal* is accused are, his not marching to Rome immediately after his victory at Cannæ, and his suffering his troops to ruin themselves by debauchery at Capua.

Our author himself seems to believe, that the first was not really an error. [See what has been said upon this head, p. 170. n. g.]

As to the second charge, it is a manifest slander. The behaviour of *Hannibal* and of his troops, after they came out of their winter quarters at Capua, is a sufficient proof that they had lost nothing of their martial spirit. If *Hannibal's* soldiers were so unmanned as *Livy* would have us believe, why did not the Romans drive them out of Italy? How came the Carthaginian to be conqueror in every action, great and small, as, *Polybius* says, he was?

After speaking of the errors imputed to the Carthaginian, our author adds, "As for *Scipio*, I do not know that any thing like these was ever objected to him." He forgets that neglect of discipline was frequently objected to *Scipio* by *Fabius* and *Cato*; unjustly perhaps, but not more unjustly than it is objected to *Hannibal* by *Livy*.

Our author having considered both Generals with respect to their military qualities, adds to his discourse a section with the title of MORAL AND CIVIL VIRTUES. And, "Here it is (says he) that *Scipio* triumphs.—The reader will not be much at a loss in whose favour to declare; especially if he looks upon the shocking portrait which *Livy* has left us of *Hannibal*." But our author himself, after looking upon this portrait, judges that it does not resemble the original; there being no mention, in *Polybius* or *Plutarch*, of that cruelty, perfidiousness, and irreligion,

with which *Livy* charges the Carthaginian. The reader may therefore be at a loss in whose favour to decide, notwithstanding any thing that *Livy* has said, or any thing that our author has said, or is going to say; for he declines making a parallel of these two Generals with regard to moral and civil virtues [the virtues of a good citizen.] "He will content himself, (he says) with mentioning some of those which in *Scipio* shined the most." Whether these brightneses are such as give our author cause to say, *C'est ici le triomphe de Scipion*, we shall presently see.

He ranges the virtues in the following order.

I. Generosity, Liberality.

He tells us, that *Scipio* freely parted with his money, and mentions his wonderful generosity in restoring the Spanish hostages without ransom.

Now we find that *Hannibal* had the very same virtues, or to speak more properly, made use of the same policy. He parted with his money to purchase the friendship of the Gauls; and when, by his victories in Italy, he had taken great numbers of Italian prisoners; he set free, without ransom, all that were not Romans.

II. Gentleness, Benignity.

We are told that *Scipio* treated his officers politely, that he praised and rewarded those who had performed well.

From the words which *Livy* puts into *Hannibal's* mouth, just before the battle of the Ticin, there is reason to conclude that he acted in the like manner. Whether *Hannibal* would have been so gentle to mutineers, as *Scipio* was at the *Suero* (and for which our author extols him) it is not easy to say: his temper having never been tried by a mutiny among his soldiers. Nor do I well conceive how *Scipio*, consistently with common prudence, could, in his situation, have been more severe. He put to death all the ringleaders of the sedition, thirty five in number.

But certainly our author is very unlucky in the instance he chuses to give of *Scipio's* gentleness in reproof. "His reprehensions were softened by such an air of affectionate kindness as made them amiable. The reproof he was obliged to give

^a See p. 260 and 286. n. g.

^b B. 15. c. 22. and 16.

^c See p. 134.

^d *Magnific*

"*Masniſſa*, who, blinded by his paſſion, had married *Sophoniſſa*, a declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect pattern for imitation in the like delicate circumstances." Now the reader may remember, that this gentle amiable reproof, was accompanied with a broad hint, that *Masniſſa* muſt give up the woman he had married, and was paſſionately in love with, to be a ſlave to the Romans, and led in triumph before *Scipio's* chariot^d.

III. Juſtice.

"It was by this virtue (ſays our author) that *Scipio* rendered the Roman domination ſo gentle and agreeable to the allies and the conquered nations, and made himſelf ſo tenderly beloved by them, that they conſidered him as their protector and father."

One would think that a writer ſo well acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe times, meant this remark as railery inſtead of panegyric. For could he really believe that either the Spaniards or the Africans found any pleaſure in wearing the Roman yoke? Or that the Spaniards had a high opinion of the juſtice of *Scipio*, who came among them under pretence of delivering them from ſubjection to Carthage, and then reduced them under the domination of Rome? The truth is, notwithstanding all that is ſaid by the Hiſtorians of his juſtice, clemency, and benignity, he carried on the war in Spain not only with great injuſtice, but with great cruelty. The facts contradict the panegyric^e.

As to *Scipio's* diſplaying juſtice in reſtoring the Carthaginian ambaffadors, who in their return to Rome accidentally fell into his hands, it is not worth taking notice of. But (not to mention the affair of *Pleminius*) there is a glaring inſtance of his injuſtice recorded by *Livy*, (B. 44. c. 62.) and which the reader may find in p. 341 of this volume.

IV. Greatneſs of Soul.

In what did *Scipio* diſplay this virtue? Why truly in reſuſing the title of King, which the Spaniards offered him; a reſuſal which made them wonder. But the Spaniards did not know that every ſenator of Rome thought himſelf much above any of the petty Kings in Spain. Beſides, can it

be reckoned a proof of ſingular magnanimity, that a man honoured in an extraordinary manner by his country, ſhould not, for any temptation, turn a rebel to it?

The other inſtance of *Scipio's* greatneſs of ſoul, many will perhaps think to be the greateſt diſplay in his character; his diſdaining to give an account of his conduct when legally ſummoned to do it.

I cannot but think, that *Hannibal*, when he freed Carthage from the tyranny of the perpetual judges; and when, by obliging the nobles to account for the public money they had embezzled, he prevented an unneceſſary and oppreſſive tax from being impoſed on the people, made a better figure as a citizen and a commonwealths-man than *Scipio*, when he tore his book of accounts; or when he triumphed over the Tribune *Nævius*, by carrying away the multitude to the capitol, that they might beg of *Jupiter* (as *Livy* ſays) to grant them always leaders like *Scipio*. And when *Hannibal* goes into baniſhment^f, lamenting the miſfortunes of his country more than his own; he certainly ſhews greater magnanimity than the Roman, when flying from Rome to avoid a trial; or when ordering, at his death, that his body ſhould not be buried in his ungrateful country^g: [ſo ungrateful as to aſk him what he had done with the public money.]

V. Chaſtity.

In proof of *Scipio's* excellency in this virtue, we have the^h ſermon he preached to *Masniſſa*, and the ſtory of the *Celtiberian* beautyⁱ. As to the latter, I would not wiſh the reader to believe *Valerius Antias*^k, who reports that *Scipio* acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by *Livy* and *Polybius*. But if *Scipio* was chaſte, this gives him no right to triumph over *Hannibal*; for *Juſtin* tells us, that the Carthaginian was ſo continent, with regard to women, that nobody would have believed him to be an African^l.

VI. Religion.

Our author himſelf has had the charity to take *Hannibal's* part, and to answer *Livy's* indictment againſt him for irreligion. He cites *Hannibal's* pilgrimage to *Gades*; a viſion which he verily believed came to him from the Gods, to foretel to him

^d See p. 283.

^e See p. 283.

^f See p. 256.

^g See p. 245.

^h Liv. B. 33. c. 48.

ⁱ Ap. A. Gell. L. 6. c. 8.

^j Liv. B. 38. c. 53.

^k B. 32. c. 4.

the godly expressions in the treaty between him and King Philip; his not robbing the temple of Juno Lacinia; and lastly, his invoking the Gods at the time of his death, to take vengeance on *Prusias* for his breach of hospitality. All these together sufficiently prove that *Hannibal* had religion.

As for *Scipio*, our author says, "he does not know, whether this Roman had read the *Cyropædia*, but that it is evident, he imitated *Cyrus* in every thing, and above all in religious worship. From the time that he put on the manly gown, that is from the age of seventeen, he never began any business, public or private, till he had first been at the capitol to implore the help of *Jupiter*." Our author goes on, "What the religion was, either of *Cyrus* or *Scipio*, is not here the question. We know very well that their religion could not but be false. But the example given to all Commanders and all men, to begin and finish all their actions with prayer and thanksgiving, is for that reason the stronger. For what would they not have said and done, if they, like us, had been illuminated with the light of the true religion, and had been so happy as to know the true God?"

Were I to answer this question of our pious and learned author, I should say that *Cyrus*, *Hannibal*, and *Scipio*, had they known the true God and the true religion,

would probably have said and done as the Christian conquerors and destroyers of mankind have since said and done. They would have uttered some prayers from time to time; and on certain occasions have walked in processions: they would have had chaplains, and offices of devotion, and religious ceremonies, and fasting days, and thanksgiving days, and, with all these, would have gone on plundering and slaughtering the innocent and weak, and gloriously laying waste the world. If they had not done these mighty mischiefs, it is more than probable we should have heard little of their virtues.

I FLATTER myself that the reader will be greatly edified by the zeal expressed, in the foregoing observations, for the support of *Hannibal's* moral character. But should it be otherwise, I shall still be content, if I may only be excused for not attempting to draw at large, the characters of those shining heroes we meet with in the Roman story. The truth is, I am unequal to the task of character-drawing; and were I not, I should still decline it, that I might not be charged with the affectation of a new kind of colouring. For I cannot, from the actions of the *Scipios*, *Marcellus*, *Flaminius*, *Amilius Paullus*, *Mummius Achaicus*, and such like worthies, form those high ideas of their virtue, which their Panegyrist, both ancient and modern, would have us entertain.

C H A P. XII.

The Roman Senate temporize with regard to the Achæans.

Philip lays a scheme to bring the Bactarnæ into Dardania. His cruelty to his subjects.

The malice of Perſes to his brother Demetrius; and the consequences of it.

Y. R. 571.

Ref. Ch.

181.

270 Conf.

Polybius

Legat. 51.

Legat. 53.

Q. MARCIUS, the Roman ambassador, who had been sent into Macedon and Greece, returned to Rome in the consulship of L. *Amilius Paullus* and Cn. *Bæbius Tamphilus*. With regard to the Achæans he reported, that he found them bent to keep the direction of affairs wholly in their own hands, and to refer nothing to the arbitration of the Senate; but added, that if their ambassadors, then at Rome, met with a cold reception, and if the least intimation were given them, that their proceedings displeased the Conscript Fathers, the *Lacedæmonians* would certainly follow the example of the *Messenians*; in which case the Achæans would soon grow submissive, and most earnestly implore the protection of Rome. When therefore the Achæan ministers, in virtue of the treaty between Rome and Achæia, demanded “assistance against the *Messenians*, or, if that could not be granted, that at least the sending arms or provisions from Italy to the enemy might be prohibited,” it was answered, *That should the Lacedæmonians, or the Corinthians, or the Argives disjoin themselves from the Achæan confederacy, the Achæans would have no reason to wonder if Rome looked upon it as a matter that no way concerned her.* But, notwithstanding this declaration, when the Fathers learnt soon after, that *Lycortas*, the successor of *Philopomen*, had revenged his death, and reduced the *Messenians* to surrender at discretion, they graciously assured the same ambassadors, “that they had taken care, no arms nor provisions should be carried from Italy to *Messene*.”

This change of language to the Achæans upon the news of the unexpected success of their arms, was perhaps owing to the near prospect the Romans had of a war with the Macedonian; for *Marcus* reported to the Senate, that, though *Philip* had done all they had enjoined him; yet it was evident, from his manner of complying, that his obedience would last no longer than necessity forced him to it. Nor indeed was the ambassador in this mistaken: for as *Philip* could not but see that the intention of the Romans was to possess themselves of his kingdom, by means seemingly consistent with their honour, if they could, to contrive it, if not, by any means whatever; he turned all his thoughts to put himself in a condition to assert his independence. This was not easy

to be effected. In the former war he had lost much both of strength and reputation. His subjects could not bear to hear of a new war with *Rome*: And there was neither King nor State in his neighbourhood that would venture to espouse his cause against the *Romans*. He formed a scheme therefore to allure the *Bastarnæ* (a robust and hardy people dwelling beyond the *Danube*) to leave their country and settle in *Dardania*; promising them, together with great rewards, his assistance to extirpate the natives; who (lying on the borders of *Macedon*) had taken every opportunity to give him disturbance. And he was to purchase of some *Thracian* Princes a passage through their country for these *Barbarian* strangers. It is said, that besides the strengthening of *Macedon*, he had a further view in calling the *Bastarnæ* to his assistance. He thought they might be usefully employed even to invade *Italy*, marching through *Illyricum* and the countries upon the *Adriatic*. Some years passed before this project took any effect. In the mean time he applied himself very diligently to train his people to war, exercising them in some small expeditions against the wild nations on the confines of his dominions.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his kingdom and in his own house. The multitude of people, which he had transplanted, much against their wills, into *Emathia**, being extremely discontented with the change, uttered bitter execrations against him: And he became the detestation of all his subjects in general, when, the more effectually to secure himself against domestic enemies, he barbarously caused to be massacred the children of all those whom he had at any time tyrannically put to death. *Polybius* ascribes what afterwards happened to *Philip*, in his own family, to an especial vengeance of Heaven poured on him for these cruelties.

It is hard^m to say what the *Romans* intended by the extraordinary favour they shewed to *Demetrius* the King's younger son. But certain it is, that their favour to him, and his mutual respect for them, made the father extremely jealous of him: A jealousy that was increased by the partial regard the people in general had for *Demetrius*, to whom they thought themselves indebted for the continuance of the peace with *Rome*,

^m The most probable conjecture seems to be, that the Conscript Fathers, well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and knowing him to be a fool, thought him the fitter to be King of a country, which they intended to make their own. For, that he was a very weak youth seems evident from hence, that, while the King, suspecting him of a warmer heart to the *Romans* than to him, put an ill construction upon many of his

actions, which perhaps were innocent (and particularly that assiduous court he paid to every ambassador from the Senate) the Prince took no pains to destroy this impression in his father's mind; but on the contrary was always admiring and commending whatever was *Roman*; carrying this folly so far as to lose all patience, if any body happened to say, that *Rome* (the worst built city in the world) was ill contrived.

Y. R. 571. and who, they hoped and believed would, by means of the *Romans*,
 Bef. Chr. 181. succeed *Philip* in the throne; and this their purpose, to the younger
 270 Conf. son was yet more strongly resented by the elder than by the father.
^b *Perfes* not only conceived an implacable hatred to his brother, but formed
 a steady resolution to compass his destruction. In this view he accused
Demetrius of an attempt to assassinate him; and even pretended to know,
 that he had undertaken this murder in the confidence that he should
 be supported by the *Romans*. We are told, there was no solid proof of
 the charge. The King, however, having called some of his council to

be his assessors, sat in judgment to try the cause. *Livy* has given us at
 large the pleadings of the two Princes, or rather what they might have
 said, if they had possessed his talents. When *Philip* had heard both his
 sons, he told them, "That he would not judge between them upon
 "an hour's hearing of their altercations, but upon a future observation
 "of their life and manners, their words and actions."

The King naturally inclined to his elder son, and was confirmed in
 that inclination by his hatred to the *Romans*; yet he had not so high an
 opinion of *Perfes*'s veracity, as not to doubt concerning what he had al-
 leged against his brother. His doubts made him wretched; and he
 dreaded to have them removed; because he could reap nothing but sor-
 row from a discovery of the truth. Nevertheless such discovery was
 expedient, in order to the regulation of his conduct in disposing of his
 kingdom. Full of anxiety, he [in the Consulship of *P. Cornelius Cethegus*
 and *M. Bælius Tampilus*] sent *Philocles* and *Apelles* to *Rome*, with the

^b *Perfes* is said by some writers to have been *Philip*'s son by a concubine; in which respect *Demetrius* had the advantage of him, being indisputably legitimate. But perhaps this is only a *Roman* tale.

The occasion of it was this. There had been, the day before, a general muster and review of the army. It was customary for the troops, after they had been reviewed, to divide themselves into two bodies, and come to a mock fight, in which the combatants made use of poles, instead of the usual weapons. In the last fight between the two divisions of the army, each being heated by more than ordinary eagerness for victory, as if they had been contending for the kingdom, some hurt was done. *Perfes*'s side at length recoiled. This vexed him, but his friends thought that a good use might be made of it. It might afford matter of complaint against *Demetrius*, as if the heat of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of the sport. Each of the brothers was that day to give an entertainment to his own companions, and

each of them had spies in the other's house to observe what passed. One of *Perfes*'s intelligencers behaved himself so uncautiously that he was discovered, and well beaten by four of *Demetrius*'s guests. *Demetrius* knew nothing of this. When grown warm and merry with wine, *Why should not we go to my brother's, said he, and join company with him? and if he is angry, with us for what happened to-day, we will put him into good humour again.* All approved the motion, except the four who had so roughly treated *Perfes*'s spy. Yet *Demetrius* would not suffer them to stay behind. These, to secure themselves from being insulted, carried swords hid under their clothes: a precaution however not so secretly taken, but that *Perfes* had notice of it; who thereupon caused his doors to be shut; and, when *Demetrius* with his drunken companions arrived, spoke to them, from a window, in reproachful words, accusing them of murderous intentions. *Liv. B. 40. c. 6. & 7.*

character

character of ambassadors to the Senate; but whose chief business was to learn, if possible, what had passed in private between *Demetrius* and any of the great men there, especially *T. Flamininus*; who not long before had, in a letter to the King, commended his prudence in sending his younger son on the late embassy to *Rome*; and had counselled him to send him thither again with a greater and more honourable retinue of *Macedonian* nobles. These two ambassadors, whom *Philip* thought unbiassed to either of the brothers, but who were indeed wholly devoted to *Perses*, returned, and brought to the King a letter, pretended to be written to him by *Flamininus*, whose seal they had counterfeited. In this letter, the writer, in behalf of *Demetrius*, whom he owned to be faulty, deprecated the King's anger; and pressed him to believe, that whatever unwarrantable enterprises the young Prince, through ambition of a throne, might have formed, yet certainly he had projected nothing against the life of any one of his own blood. He added, that as for himself, he was not a man, that could be thought the adviser of any impious undertaking whatsoever.

Y. R. 572.
Bef. Chr.
180.
271 Conf.

L. B. 40.
C. 23.

Philip had some months before discovered, by means of one *Didas*, Governor of *Pæonia*, who had worked himself into *Demetrius's* confidence, that the young Prince intended to escape to *Rome*, imagining, he could no where else be in shelter from the suspicions of his father and the malice of his brother. The pretended letter from *Flamininus*, added to this discovery, determined the King to put his son to death. Yet lest to do it avowedly and openly should give the alarm to the *Romans*, and raise a suspicion of his having hostile intentions against the Republic, he judged it best to have the criminal taken off silently, and by fraud. To *Didas* was committed the execution. A cup of poison, which he insidiously gave the Prince, in the expectation that it would dispatch him speedily and quietly, not taking the desired effect, but causing him such torment, as revealed the treachery, and made him loudly complain both of his father and *Didas*, this traitor sent into his chamber a couple of ruffians, who, by smothering him, finished the tragedy.

C H A P. XIII.

Transactions of the Romans from the year 572 to 578.

FROM the year 564, when the Consul *Manlius* vanquished and plundered the *Galatians* *, to the year 582, in which began the second *Macedonian* war, little was performed by the *Romans* in the way of arms, except the conquest of *Istria*. Indeed the wars against the *Ligurians* and *Spaniards* continued almost without any interruption; but in these there happened nothing very memorable.

At

* See p. 367.

Y. R. 572. At Rome, in the present year^b 572, one *Orchius*, a Tribune of the people, got a sumptuary law passed, limiting the number of guests which any man should be allowed to have at his table.

Macrob. Saturnal. l. 2. c. 13. The next year, *A. Posthumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piso* being Y. R. 573. Consuls, was enacted the famous Villian law, regulating the ages requisite for bearing the several magistracies. What these ages were is not agreed among the learned. Yet from *Cicero* (*Phil.* 5.) it would seem that the age for Quæstor was 31, Curule Ædile 37, Prætor 40, Consul 43.

Y. R. 574. The year following was remarkable for having two brothers at the same time in the consulship, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus*, the latter so called, because adopted into the *Manlian* family.

Y. R. 575. *A. Manlius Vulso* (who had for his colleague *M. Junius Brutus*) led an army into *Istria*; the conquest of which country was completed by the

Y. R. 576. Consul *C. Claudius Pulcher*, whose colleague *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* suppressed a rebellion in *Sardinia*.

Y. R. 577. To these succeeded *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus* and *Q. Petillius Spurius*.

Liv. B. 41. c. 15. While the Senate were in debate concerning the troops to be raised for the service of the year, *Cornelius*, who had been suddenly called out of

* A seijeant the assembly by a * *viator*, returned, after some time, with a countenance full of trouble and consternation. The ConscripT Fathers suspending their deliberations, became all anxiety and attention. *Cornelius* then informed them, " That the liver of an ox (six years old) which he had sacrificed was all melted away in the boiler; that when the thing " was first told him he could not believe it; that he caused the water " to be poured out of the pot, and then saw the rest of the entrails entire; " but, for the liver, it was all vanished, no mortal could tell how."

The fathers, terrified by this prodigy, were yet more terrified when the other Consul let them know, that of four oxen which he had successively sacrificed to *Jupiter*, not one had proved such as could please him. Both the Consuls received strict orders to continue sacrificing oxen, till the omens were good. It is reported (says *Livy*) that all the Deities were propitiated except the Goddess * *Health* or *Safety*; but that *Petillius* had no luck in sacrificing to her: What followed? *Cornelius* coming down the hill of *Alba*, was seized with an apoplectic fit, lost the use of some of his limbs, and soon after died at *Cumæ*, whither he had been conveyed for the benefit of the waters. *Petillius* conducted the war in *Liguria*:

* Death. The enemy being lodged upon a mountain called * *Letum*, the Consul,

^b In this year the books which King *Numa* had ordered to be buried with him, and of which mention has been made in Vol. I. p. 62. were accidentally found, and ordered to be burnt, by the senate, as containing doctrines pernicious to religion.

in an harangue to his soldiers, told them, *se eo die Letum captum esse*, that he should that day take *Letum* (the enemy's post;) not attending, says *Livy*, to the ambiguity of the words, which also import, *that he should that day catch his death*: And accordingly he was that day killed in a conflict with the enemy. The *Latin* historian adds, that upon so remarkable a fulfilling of the melancholy omen, the keeper of the sacred chickens was heard to say, that something had gone wrong even with them, at the taking the auspices before the battle, and that the Consul knew it well enough.

Y. R. 577.
B. f. Chr.
175.
276 Conf.

In the place of *Cornelius*, *C. Valerius Lavinus* had been chosen, *Petilius* holding the comitia; but the ablest divines and lawyers were of opinion, that since the ordinary Consuls of that year had both perished, one by sickness, the other by the sword, the extraordinary, or substituted Consul, could not hold the comitia for a new election of magistrates.

C H A P. XIV.

Perfes, after the death of his father *Philip*, succeeds him in the throne. He renews the treaty with Rome, and endeavours to gain the good-will of the Greeks.

The Romans are jealous of his growing power.

IN the Consulship of *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, certain ambassadors, who had been sent by the Conscript Fathers into *Macedon* [to seek a pretence for invading and conquering that country] returned to *Rome*. Their report, which was very short, will be mentioned when the reader has first had an account of some changes in the state of *Macedon* since it was last spoken of.

Y. R. 578.
B. f. Chr.
174.
277 Conf.

King *Philip* was dead. He had lived but two years after the murder of his son *Demetrius*, and had passed those years in the extremest melancholy and wretchedness of mind. For *Perfes*, having got rid of his rival brother, paid no longer any respect to his father, but let himself be courted and worshipped by the people, as if he were already on the throne. The old King was in a manner left desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousness of such expectation. Thus neglected and deserted, his thoughts ran frequently back to his son *Demetrius*; of whom he began now to regret the loss, not without some suspicion of foul play on the part of *Perfes* in relation to his brother. One man there was of his court, and but one, his cousin-german *Antigonus* (the son of his uncle *Echecrates*) that continued faithful to him. *Antigonus*, by his fidelity to *Philip*, had drawn upon himself the hatred of *Perfes*; and well foresaw, how dangerous that hatred would

Liv. B. 49.
c. 54. & seq.

Y. R. 578.
B. C. C.
174.
277 Conf.

would be to him, if ever the Prince should ascend the throne. He no sooner therefore observed the softening of the King's mind at the remembrance of *Demetrius*, and how apt he was to the belief, that unfair practices had been used to compass that Prince's destruction, but he applied himself diligently to listen to what people said upon that subject, and industriously to bring the matter into discourse, often joining with those who complained of the rashness of the King's act. He found that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, the ambassadors who had brought the pretended letter from *Flamininus*, lay under the suspicion of fraud; and that it was commonly whispered in the palace, that *Xybus*, their secretary, had counterfeited the hand-writing and the seal of the *Roman*. *Antigonus* accidentally meeting this *Xybus*, laid hold of him, and brought him into the palace. There leaving him in custody with some officers, he went to the King, and acquainted him, that he had found the man who could best satisfy him whether his son *Demetrius* had died justly or by treachery. *Xybus* being examined in *Philip's* presence, and threatened with torture, after some little hesitation confessed the whole matter. *Philocles* was instantly seized. Some say, that being confronted with *Xybus* he owned the fact; others, that he bore the torture without confessing any thing. *Apelles*, then absent from court upon some commission, having notice of *Xybus's* being arrested, made his escape and fled into *Italy*^b. As for *Perfes*, he was grown too powerful to be under any necessity of flying his country; he only took care to keep at a distance from his father; who despairing of ever being able to bring him to corporal punishment, bent his thoughts to hinder his succession to the throne, and secure it to *Antigonus*. And this had he lived

^b May not this circumstance, joined with some others in the story, justify a doubt, whether this pretended discovery of truth was not itself a fraud, contrived by *Antigonus*, who hoped by the success of it to gain the kingdom? Was *Italy* a country where *Apelles*, if guilty of forging a letter from *Flamininus* to the destruction of *Demetrius*, (a Prince so much in favour with the senate) could hope to find an asylum? Yet though *Philip* demanded him, the *Romans* did not deliver him up, as appears from *Livy*, (B. 42. c. 5.) who also tells us, that *Philocles*, by some Historians, is said to have denied the crime to the last, though confronted with *Xybus*, and put to the torture. Why may not the letter in question have been genuine? *Livy*, who makes it a point to justify *Demetrius*, and load *Perfes*, (doubtless because a victim destined by the *Romans* destruction) allows, not

only that *Demetrius* was vain and insolent; on account of the extraordinary regard the senate expressed for him, but that several months before *Apelles* and *Philocles* brought the letter from *Italy*, he had formed the design of withdrawing from his father's obedience, and escaping to his friends at *Rome*. Might not *Flamininus*, knowing this and perhaps some other unjustifiable practices of *Demetrius*, which had brought him under his father's displeasure, write a letter to the King, to deprecate his anger, and dissuade him from any measures too severe against the Prince: in which deprecation he might hope to succeed the more easily, by assuring *Philip*, that whatever wicked schemes of ambition the young man had formed, they could not take place, since they would have no countenance from *Rome*?

a little longer than he did, he would doubtless have effected. But in making a progress through his kingdom, for this very purpose, he fell sick at *Amphipolis*, and died; [year of Rome 574.] His physician *Caligènes* concealed his death till *Perfes* arrived; to whom he had given notice of the King's condition, upon the first indication of the distemper's being mortal. *Antigonus* was not at *Amphipolis*: He had been sent, much against his will, as ambassador from *Philip* to quicken the march of the *Bastarnæ*, and was coming with *Cotto*, one of their leaders, to let the King know, that they had passed the *Danube* and were advancing; a prodigious multitude, with their wives and children. Not far from *Amphipolis* he heard a rumour of *Philip's* death, and was soon after arrested and slain by the order of *Perfes*, who had taken possession of the kingdom.

The more firmly to establish himself, *Perfes* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to get his title to the crown recognized by the Senate, and to renew the league that had been made between his father and the Republic; both which requests he obtained. Nor did he neglect any thing which he thought might help to conciliate to him the good will of the *Greeks*, and his other neighbours. To ingratiate himself with his subjects, he recalled by edicts (published in the island of *Delos*, at *Delpbi*, and in the temple of *Ionia Minerva*) all the *Macedonians* who had fled their country for debt, or had been banished thence by the judges; promising them, not only impunity, but restitution of their estates, with the profits of them during their absence. He remitted also all debts due to his exchequer, and released all persons that were in custody either for treason, or the suspicion of it. By such actions of generosity and clemency he made the *Greeks* universally conceive the highest hopes of him. Add to this, that in his person and in all his deportment there was a royal dignity; and having carefully shunned the vices of incontinence and intemperance, to which his father had been addicted, he had a strength of body, that would enable him to sustain the hardships of war, as well as the fatigues of civil government. Such, says *Polybius*, was *Perfes* in the beginning of his reign.

The *Bastarnæ* (as mentioned above) were upon their march to the country of *Dardania*, when *Philip*, who had invited them thither, died. This event embarrassed them: For the *Thracians*, with whom *Philip* had settled the price of their passage, now disputed it. A battle ensued, in which the *Thracians* had the worst. Nevertheless we find that the whole multitude of the *Bastarnæ*, except 30,000, returned home, because (if we may believe *Livy* and *P. Orofius*) it was miraculously bad weather. The 30,000 came on and entered *Dardania*; where we find them three years after. For the *Dardans* then sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to ask help against those invaders; adding, that they were yet less afraid of the *Bastarnæ* than of *Perfes*, who was in league with them. This furnished the *Romans*.

Y. R. 578.
Bef. Chr.
174.
277 Conf.

Polyb. Ex-
cerpt. ex
Lib. 20.
ap. Valef.

Polyb. Lc-
gat. 62.

Y. R. 578. *mans* with a pretext to visit the King with ambassadors, who should pry into his conduct and designs.

174.
277 Conf.

Livy, B. 41.
c. 19.

When these ministers returned, the whole of their report amounted only to this; *that there was war in Dardania*. *Perfes*, apprehending some design against him, had appointed ambassadors to accompany the *Romans* in their journey home, and to assure the Conscript Fathers, that he had not sent for the *Bastarnæ*, and that they did not act by his advice. The Senate answered, "That they neither accused the King nor acquitted him of that fault; that they only admonished him to be very careful, religiously to observe the treaty between the Republic and him."

Y. R. 579.
Bef. Chr.
173.
278 Conf.

Liv. B. 41.
c. 22.

The following year, when the consular fasces had been transferred to *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scaevola*, some *Roman* ambassadors who had passed into *Africa* (it does not appear under what pretence of business) reported, at their return home, "That having gone first to *Masiniſſa*, they had received much better accounts from him of what had been doing at *Carthage*, than they afterwards got from the *Carthaginians* themselves; that unquestionably ambassadors had been there from *Perfes*, and admitted to audience by night in the temple of *Æsculapius*; and that *Masiniſſa* affirmed, what the *Carthaginians* themselves could not confidently deny, that they had sent ambassadors into *Macedon*." Hereupon the Fathers resolved, that they too would send ambassadors into *Macedon*; and accordingly three were ordered thither.

About this time the *Dolopians*, subjects of *Perfes*, refusing (for what reason is unknown) to submit to his authority, and appealing from their King to the *Romans*, he marched with an army, and by force speedily reduced them to obedience. The *Romans* (as we shall see hereafter) would needs make this an act of presumption in the King, and resent it as if he had invaded some country of their *Italian* allies.

Perfes, after this expedition, made another, under the pretence of religion. He crossed mount *Oeta*, and visited the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. His army being with him, the *Greeks* were at first much terrified at his sudden appearance among them: but he staid only three days at *Delphi*, and then, through *Phibiotis* and *Thessaly*, returned into his own country, not having done the least act of hostility in any place through which he had passed. With the cities in his way he had amicably treated in person; and to those at a distance he had sent ambassadors or letters, desiring that the memory of all misunderstandings between his father and them might be buried with his father, since his own inclination was to live in amity with all his neighbours. The *Romans* would have been better pleased if the *Macedonian* had done some violences in his progress. Nor did they fail, for want of such cause of quarrel, to make it a crime that he had acted the contrary part, and, by a friendly behaviour, courted the good-will of the *Greek* states.

The

The King was more especially solicitous to recover the friendship of the *Achaëans*, which his father had so far lost, that by a solemn decree they had forbid any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. Whatever reasons of policy the *Achaëans* might have for the continuance of this decree during the war of *Philip* with the *Romans*, it seemed inhuman afterwards, and a nourishing of deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. It was besides very prejudicial to them; their slaves daily running away, and taking refuge in *Macedon*, whence they knew they should not be reclaimed; for though there was no decree forbidding the *Achaëans* to enter that kingdom, yet the masters of the slaves could not possibly think it safe for them to go thither. *Perfes* took advantage of this circumstance: He apprehended all the run-aways, and, by a letter to the *Achaean* Diet, made a friendly offer to restore the fugitives; exhorting, at the same time, the magistrates to think of some effectual means to prevent the like escape for the future. *Xenarchus*, the Prætor, read to the Diet this letter; which the greater part heard with much pleasure, and especially those who were going, contrary to all expectation, to recover their slaves. But *Callicrates*, a partizan of the *Romans*, and who, to raise himself by their favour, had cast off all regard for his country, advised the assembly to be well aware of what they did; affirming, that the manifest aim of the King's civility was to make them break friendship with *Rome*, a friendship on which their all depended. "For I suppose," said he, you have no doubt but there will be a war between the *Romans* and *Perfes*. You know that *Philip* was making preparations for a rupture. He slew his son for no other reason but his affection to *Rome*. And what was the first thing that *Perfes* did after his coming to the throne? He brought the *Bastarnæ* into *Dardania*. It is true, they are gone away again. Had they staid, they would have been worse neighbours to the *Greeks* than the *Gauls* are to the *Asiatics*. But did their departure make *Perfes* give over all thoughts of the war? No, If the truth may be spoken, he has already begun it; witness his expedition against the *Dolopians*. And as for that extraordinary journey to *Delpbi*, and his wonderfully kind behaviour to the *Thessalians*, whom he hates; What do you think of all this? Was it any thing more than an artifice to draw men over to his party? Every body understands the meaning of his compliment to us. My advice is, that we let things continue as they are, till we see whether the peace between *Rome* and *Macedon* will remain inviolate."

To this, *Archo*, the Prætor's brother: "*Callicrates*, I see, has a mind to make it difficult for those who disagree with him in opinion, to answer him. Why else does he bring the *Romans* into the question? I observe, that he is surprisngly well instructed in the councils of foreign courts. He knows every thing. He gives us an account of the most secret transactions: He even divines what would have happened if

Y. R. 579.
Bef. Chr.
173.
278 Conf.

Polyb. L. 2.
Liv. B. 41.
c. 23.
L. 28.
Excep. ex
Liv. B. 41.
c. 23.

Y. R. 579 " *Philip* had lived: He knows how it comes to pass that *Perfes* inherits
 B. 3. c. 5. " the kingdom; what the *Macedonians* are meditating; and what the
 & B. 4. " *Romans* think: And upon all this knowledge he forms his opinion.
 c. 5. " But now, as for us, who neither know why nor how *Demetrius* died,
 " nor what *Philip* if he had lived would have done; we ought, I think,
 " to govern ourselves only by what we do know. And this we know:
 " that *Perfes* upon his accession to the throne was acknowledged King
 " by the *Romans*; that they renewed their league with him; and that
 " they afterwards sent to him ambassadors who were kindly received.
 " To me these things seem tokens of peace, and not of war: nor do
 " I see how the *Romans* can be offended, if, as we followed their steps
 " in making war, we follow them likewise in making peace. Why the
 " *Achæans* alone are to carry on an *inexpiable* war against the *Macedo-*
 " *nians*, I do not comprehend. Our neighbours are in commerce with
 " *Perfes*; and nothing more is proposed for the *Achæans*: No league,
 " no alliance, nothing but such a correspondence as common humanity
 " requires; nothing therefore that can justly offend the *Romans*. Why
 " then all this stir? Why do we distinguish ourselves from our neigh-
 " bours? Is it to make them suspected and hated, by our flattering the
 " *Romans* more than they? Should there be a war, *Perfes* himself does
 " not doubt but we shall side with *Rome*. In a time of peace, enmity,
 " if not wholly laid aside, should at least be suspended." Those who
 " had been pleased with the King's letter, greatly applauded this discourse:
 " Yet the *Roman* faction found a pretence to get the debate adjourned.
 " They alledged, that *Perfes*, having sent only a letter, and not an em-
 " bassador, had failed in the ceremonial. It surely was not natural, con-
 " sidering upon what terms the two states had been for some time, that he
 " should send a minister, before it could be known that a minister would
 " be received; yet since this was made an objection, *Perfes*, to remove it,
 " dispatched an ambassador to them in form. But now, the dread of *Rome*
 " prevailing in the council, he was refused audience; and for this the
 " *Achæans* were soon after highly commended by the *Romans*; who there-
 " by discovered their hatred to *Perfes*, though hitherto he had given them
 " no provocation."

Liv. B. 42.
c. 46.

Val. Max. * This year a son of *Scipio Africanus*
 B. 3. c. 5. stood candidate for the Pratorship, and
 & B. 4. would have lost his election, if the competi-
 c. 5. tor *Cicereius*, who had been his father's
 secretary, had not, out of respect for the
 family, desisted from his pretension, and
 even used his interest for *Scipio*. After he
 was chosen, and that it fell to his lot to be
 Prator *Peregrinus*, his relations persuaded
 him to renounce the exercise of that office,
 as utterly unfit for it: nor did he sit to pro-
 nounce one decree. They also prevailed

with him to lay aside a ring he wore,
 whereon was the head of his father, whom
 he disgraced by his incapacity; and the
 Censors this year struck his name out of the
 list of the Senators. Nevertheless, *Cicero*
 speaks of this *Scipio* as of a man of parts,
 though of an infirm habit of body. *Cic. de*
Sentent. c. 11. & Brut. c. 19.

The streets of *Rome*, by order of the
 Censors, were this year paved for the first
 time. *Liv. B. 41. c. 27.*

C H A P. XV.

- The report of some Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Perſes.
- The Senate order a new embassy to him.
- The cruelty of the Conſul Popilius towards a petty nation of Liguria.
- Eumenes comes to Rome to accuſe Perſes of deſigns againſt the Republic.
- The ambassadors from Perſes are ill received by the Senate.
- He employs aſſaſſins to murder Eumenes; and is accuſed of deſigning other murders by poiſon.
- The Carthaginians ſend to Rome complaints of Maſiniſſa's uſurpations.
- Some Roman ambassadors report the ill reception they had met with from Perſes.

THE three ambassadors, ſent into *Macedon*, returned to *Rome* (in Y. R. 580. the beginning of the Conſulſhip of *L. Poſthumius Albinus* and *M. Popilius Lænas*) complaining, "that they had not been able to obtain ^{Bef. Chr. 272.} an audience of the King; it having been ſometimes pretended, that ^{279 Conſ.} he was abſent, ſometimes that he was ſick, and both falſely." ^{Liv. B. 42. c. 2.} They added, "that he was undoubtedly preparing for war, and would ſoon take the field." The Senate, not long after this report, reſolved to trouble *Perſes* with five more ambassadors; at the head of whom was ^{c. 6.} *C. Valerius*: and theſe were from *Macedon* to go to *Alexandria* to renew a league of friendſhip with *Ptolemy*.

POPILLIUS the Conſul, without orders from the Senate, and ^{c. 7.} without any provocation, led an army againſt the *Statelliates*, a people of *Liguria*, and came to a battle with them before the gates of their town called *Caryſtum*. He ſlew 10,000 of the enemy, and took 700 priſoners, with the loſs of 3000 of his men. The vanquiſhed, having collected their ſcattered troops, found, that the number of the citizens loſt was greater than of thoſe which remained. They ſurrendered therefore, without making any conditions; never imagining that the Conſul would treat them worſe than former generals had treated their priſoners. Yet *Popilius* not only plundered the town, but deſtroyed it, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Of this proceeding he ſent an account to the Conſcript Fathers; who, being highly offended with it, decreed, that, returning the money to the purchasers, he ſhould reſtore to the captives their liberty and effects; and then

then quit the province. *Popillius* would not obey; but, having put his army into winter quarters at *Pisa*, came home in as great wrath, says *Livy*, with the Fathers, as he had expressed against the *Ligurians*.

Y. R. 581.
Bef. Chr.
171.
280 Conf. When the faeces had been transferred to *P. Aelius Ligus* and *C. Popilius Lenas* (both Plebeians), *Aelius*, at the instigation of the Senate, would have revived the affair of the injury done to the *Ligurians*; but was turned aside from his purpose by his colleague, the delinquent's brother, who threatened to oppose him and to render null whatever he should do in that process^b. The Senate hereupon became so angry with both, that, though the war against *Macedon* was just on the point of being declared, they absolutely refused them the conduct of it, nor would even grant them a decree to levy soldiers for the war in *Liguria*.

Liv. B. 42.
C. 5.
Polybius
Legat. 74. About this time *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* came to *Rome*. Besides his hereditary quarrel with the *Macedonian*, he had a particular hatred to him, on account of the great progress he made in the esteem and affection of the *Greeks*; while his own reputation among them was every day decreasing: In proof of which, the *Achaëans* had lately abrogated, as extravagant and illegal, certain honours that had been decreed him in their country. *Eumenes* had doubtless learnt the intentions of the *Romans* with regard to *Perses*, and would therefore not be backward in making his court to the Senate upon such an occasion; hoping perhaps to be rewarded with some part of the *Macedonian* kingdom, as he had, for his service against *Antiochus*, obtained a good share of that Prince's dominions. The Senate received the King with great honours: and though he had little to say which they knew not before, yet they listened to him with the utmost attention, pondering all his words, as if the weight of them were to turn the balance that before was equal. He introduced his discourse with saying, "That the cause of his journey to *Rome* was (besides the desire of visiting those Gods and men, by whose favour he enjoyed that fortune which had left him nothing to wish for) that he might in person warn the Senate to prevent the designs of the *Macedonian*." He then spoke of the murder of *Demetrius*, a Prince always averse from a *Roman* war; *Philip's* invitation of the *Bastarnæ*, by whose help he was to have invaded *Italy*: The expedition of *Perses* against the *Dolopians*: The esteem which the *Greek* and *Asiatic* cities had for him: "I do not see, said *Eumenes*, for what merit, what munificence of his, so much respect is paid him; nor can I certainly tell, whether this be owing to the good fortune of *Perses*, or (which I am loth to say) to a hatred of the *Romans*. He is in great authority even with the *Asiatic* Kings. *Seleucus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus the Great*, has given him his daughter

^b We find that justice was afterwards the artifice of the Prætor who was to try done to the *Statellites*, but that *Popillius*, him. Liv. B. 42. c. 22. though prosecuted, escaped punishment, by

" *Laodice* in marriage: Yet *Perfes* did not ask her; *Seleucus* offered
 " her. *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* has by earnest entreaties obtained,
 " for a wife, the sister of *Perfes*; and these marriages have been fo-
 " lemnized with congratulations and presents from numberless em-
 " bassadors. The *Bwothians*, who never could be brought to make a
 " league with *Philip*, have made one with his son. The *Achean* coun-
 " cil, if a few friends of *Rome* had not opposed it, would have let him
 " into *Achaia*. At the same time, they were putting affronts upon me,
 " to whom they are more obliged than can be well expressed. And who
 " does not know, that the *Ætolians*, in their domestic feuds and seditions,
 " had recourse for assistance, not to the *Romans*, but to *Perfes*? And
 " without the support of these associations and friendships abroad, he
 " has strength enough at home for the war; 30,000 foot, 5000 horse,
 " corn for ten years, that he may not be driven to live by spoil, or take
 " from his own subjects; money enough (not to speak of his mines) to
 " pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years; arms sufficient for three such
 " armies as he has now on foot^c; the *Thracians* near at hand to supply
 " him with as many recruits as he shall require."

The King added, " I have not taken up these things, Conscrip^t Fa-
 " thers, upon uncertain report, nor given an easy credit to them, as
 " wishing them to be true of an enemy: But I bring you accounts of
 " what, by a thorough enquiry, I have discovered as certainly, as if
 " you had employed me to be your spy, and I had seen them with my
 " own eyes."

Eumenes proceeded to accuse *Perfes* of some facts which might either
 be denied or justified; as that he had procured the death of certain
 persons, friends to the *Romans*; dethroned *Abrupolis*, a petty King of
Thyricum, who had invaded *Macedon*; given assistance to the *Byzantines*,
 contrary to the treaty with *Rome*; made war upon the *Dolopians*; and
 led an army through *Thessaly* and *Doris*.

He concluded thus: " Since you, Conscrip^t Fathers, have quietly
 " and patiently born these things, and the *Macedonian* fees, that you have
 " abandoned *Greece* to him, he is very sure, that he shall meet with no
 " army to oppose him, before he passes into *Italy*. How safe or how
 " honourable for you this may be, you are the best judges. As for me,
 " I should have been ashamed, if *Perfes* had got the start of me, and had
 " brought the war hither, before I had come to give you notice of the
 " danger."

^c This army and these stores were left to
Perfes by his father.

^d Though *Livy* (*B.* 42. c. 5.) says very
 fine things of *Eumenes* (in comparing him
 with *Perfes*) and tells us, that the cities,
 under his domination, were so happy that

they would not change condition with any
 free cities; yet one cannot help thinking
 that, by this speech, which he has put in-
 to the King's mouth, he intended to shew
 him in a ridiculous light.

Y. R. 581.
 Bef. Chr.
 171.
 280 Conf.
 S. W. R.

Liv. B. 42.
 c. 14.

It would be very foolish to imagine, that the Senate stood in fear of *Perfes's* invading *Italy*. Nevertheless, as they always sought plausible pretences for their wars; and as they could find none at present, they took advantage of this visit from *Eumenes* to make it believed, that he had given them some intelligence of the greatest importance to their preservation; and such as would justify their attacking *Macedon*. To induce this belief, it was necessary to make a profound secret of all that the king had said; because it amounted to no more than what every body knew from the report of the *Roman* ambassadors. And had the Fathers, upon such report, or tales invented by flatterers and spies, commenced a war against *Perfes*, the injustice and oppression would have been manifest to all the world. But when the danger threatening them was so terrible, that such a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his own kingdom, as far as from *Asia*, to bid them look to themselves; who could blame them, if they took the speediest measures for their own security? This imminent danger their affected secrecy would help to magnify in the imagination of the public. Not a word therefore of what the King had said transpired. It was only known, for the present, that he had been in the senate house. The rest, says *Livy*, did not come out till the war was over.

After a few days, the Senate gave audience to *Perfes's* ambassadors; but, being predetermined, would neither admit their defence, nor have regard to their deprecation. Whereupon *Harpalus*, chief of the embassy, said, "The King earnestly wishes, that you would believe him, when he declares, That neither by words nor actions has he given you any cause to look upon him as your enemy: but if he finds, that you are seeking a pretence of quarrel with him, he will not want courage to defend himself. The chance of war is equal, and the event uncertain."

The cities of *Greece* and *Asia*, anxious to know what *Eumenes's* journey to *Rome* and the *Macedonian* embassy would produce, had sent deputies thither under various pretexts. The *Rhodians*, in particular, did not doubt but the King of *Pergamus* would give them a share in whatever crimes he should think proper to charge upon *Perfes*. *Satyrus*, chief of the embassy from *Rhodes*, used therefore all his interest with the Senators of his acquaintance to get an opportunity of being heard against *Eumenes*: which when he had obtained, he, with great acrimony, accused him not only of having stirred up the *Lycians*, their subjects, to a revolt, but of being more oppressive to *Asia* than ever *Antiochus* had been. Such discourse, though agreeable to the *Asiatic* cities, (for they also favoured *Perfes*) was displeasing to the Senate, and of no benefit to the *Rhodians*. The Fathers favoured *Eumenes* the more for the combination formed against him: they loaded him with honours and presents.

Harpalus,

Harpalus, returning into *Macedon* with all possible diligence, told his master, that he had left the *Romans*, not indeed making preparations for war, but so ill disposed, that unquestionably they would not defer it long. The King, fully convinced that he should soon be attacked, laid a plot to begin the war, with spilling the blood of *Eumenes*, the man whom of all men he most hated. It was known that the *Pergamenian*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, intending a sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perses*, for the assassination, employed a certain *Cretan* named *Evander*, (General of his auxiliaries) and three *Macedonians* (men of experience in such enterprises) who placing themselves behind a ruined wall, that hung over a hollow way, so narrow, that only one could pass at a time, there waited the coming of the King and his retinue. *Pantaleon*, an *Ætolian* chief, walked foremost; *Eumenes* followed: just as he came under the wall, the rustians rolled down two stones of a huge size, one of which lighting on his head, the other on his shoulder, he was struck to the ground; where a shower of smaller stones came pouring upon him and overwhelmed him. The assassins, imagining their business effected, made all haste to get away; and one of them not being able to keep pace with the rest, his companions slew him, to prevent a discovery.

Y. R. 581.
Bef. Chr.
171.
280. Conf.

Upon seeing the King fall, his attendants, except *Pantaleon*, had all fled away in a fright. Running now together again, they took him up senseless; still warm, however, and breathing. After a short time he came to himself; and the next day they put him on board his ship, which conveyed him first to *Corinth*, and thence to the island of *Ægina*. Here he was cured, but, during his recovery, was kept so secretly, that fame, throughout all *Asia*, confidently reported him dead. *Attalus* believed it sooner than became the brotherly affection that had always remarkably subsisted between them; for (as *Livy* adds) thinking himself now the undoubted inheritor of the kingdom, he discoursed with his brother's wife and the Governor of the Citadel of *Pergamus*. Of this *Eumenes* had private information, yet, when he returned safe home, all the reproof which *Attalus* received from him, at their meeting, was a whisper, to forbear marrying the Queen till he were well assured of the King's death.

Plut. in
Apophth.
Liv. B. 42.
c. 17.

While the rumour of the *Pergamenian's* being assassinated was yet fresh at *Rome*, *Valerius*, head of the last embassy into *Macedon* and *Greece*, returned home, and brought with him *Praxo*, a woman of great distinction at *Delphi*, to whom *Perses* had, by letter, recommended the assassins, to be by her entertained. He produced also one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brundisium*, at whose house all the generals and *Roman* ambassadors, as well as the King's ministers, used to lodge, in their journeys to and from *Italy*. This man declared, that being lately at the *Macedonian* court, he had been there tampered with to poison such of his guests as the King should occasionally name to him.

Y. R. 521.
B. i. C. 17.
171.
220 Conf.

These stories, true or false, obtained easy belief at *Rome*. They served to swell the account of *Perjes*'s crimes, and make appear more fully the justice and necessity of a *Macedonian* war. The Senate being dissatisfied, for the reasons formerly mentioned, with the present Consuls, commissioned *Sicinnius*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, to pass with an army into *Epirus*, and there continued till a successor should arrive.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 23.

* See p.
140.
Livy, B.
40. c. 17.

ABOUT this time came ambassadors from the *Carthaginians* with a new complaint against *Masfiniffa*. He had been encroaching upon them ever since their defeat at *Zama*. How he took from them the country of *Emporia* has been already mentioned*. This usurpation was followed by another. *Gala*, the father of *Masfiniffa*, had conquered some lands from the *Carthaginians*, which afterwards *Syphax* conquered from *Gala*, and restored to the first owners, out of love to his wife *Sophonissa*, the daughter of *Asdrubal*. Upon these lands the *Numidian* seized; and, by *Roman* arbitration, was permitted quietly to possess them: an injury which the *Carthaginians* had scarcely digested, when *Masfiniffa* came upon them again, and took from them above 70 towns and castles without any colour of right. It was of this that the present ambassadors complained. They represented the grievous oppression which *Carthage* laboured under by reason of those articles in her treaty with the *Romans*, which restrained her from making war, out of her own territory, or against any confederate of *Rome*. "Now (said they) although the towns and castles lately seized by *Masfiniffa* are unquestionably within our territory, and therefore the driving him thence would be only a defensive war; yet, as he is a confederate of *Rome*, we fear even to defend ourselves against him, without your permission. We beg therefore, that *Carthage* may either have justice by arbitration, or be suffered to defend herself by force of arms; or at least (if favour must prevail over truth) that you would be pleased to determine, once for all, what part of her dominions she shall give up to *Masfiniffa*. If none of these requests can be obtained, we then desire, that you will let us know in what we have offended, since the time that *Scipio* granted us peace, and vouchsafe to punish us yourselves in such manner as you shall think proper. It would be better for the *Carthaginians*, and more agreeable to them, to live slaves to the *Romans* in safety, than to be free, but continually exposed to the oppressions of *Masfiniffa*: We had rather perish at once than draw our breath at the mercy of that *Numidian* hangman." This said, the ambassadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground.

Gulussa, the son of *Masfiniffa* being present, the Senate asked him what answer he could make to these complaints. He said, "That his father had given him no instructions relating thereto; that neither could he well have given any, the *Carthaginians* not having imparted to him the subject of their embassy, nor even their intention

of

"of sending an embassy to *Rome*. It was indeed known, that they
 "had of late held secret councils by night, in the temple of *Æscula-*
 "pius, and dispatched ambassadors to the Senate; for which reason his
 "father had sent him to entreat them not to give credit to the accu-
 "sations of their common enemy, who hated *Masiniſſa* for no other
 "reason but his constant fidelity to the *Roman* people." The Senate
 replied, "That they had done, and would do, whatever they could
 "to honour *Masiniſſa*, but that justice must not give place to favour;
 "and that it was not consistent with their equity to countenance him
 "in taking from the *Carthaginians* any lands, which by their treaty they
 "were quietly to enjoy." With this mild reproof they dismissed *Gul-*
luffa, making him the usual presents (as they did also to the *Carthagini-*
ans) and bidding him tell his father that they expected he should send
 ambassadors more fully instructed in this affair.

About the same time, three ambassadors, of which *Cn. Servilius*
Cepio was chief, returned from *Macedon* to *Rome*. They had been sent
 to demand satisfaction for the wrongs which *Perſes* had done, (mean-
 ing those pretended injustices about which *Eumenes* had harangued in
 the Senate) and, in case of refusal, to renounce friendship with him in the
 name of the Republic. Their report was, "That they had seen
 "mighty preparations for war in all the towns of *Macedon*; that they
 "had long waited in vain for an audience of the King; and at length
 "in despair of obtaining it, had set out to return home: That then
 "they were called back, and introduced to him. That they put him in
 "mind of the league made with his father, and renewed with himself;
 "by which he was expressly restrained from making war out of his own
 "Dominions; or against any state in alliance with *Rome*. That they

c In the form of the treaty between *Phi-*
lip and the *Romans*, as it is given by *Poly-*
bios, we find no condition forbidding the
 King to make war abroad, without leave of
 the Republic. But *Livy* inserts a clause to
 that effect.

It is likely (says Sir *W. R.**) that all the
Roman confederates were included in this
 peace, whereby every one of the neighbours
 round about *Macedon*, entering shortly into
 league with *Rome*, did so bind the King's
 hands, that he could no more make war
 abroad, than, if he had been restrained by
 plain covenant. And thus might that seem
 an article of the peace, which never was
 agreed upon, but only was inferred by con-
 sequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge
 this point further, and say, that the *Ma-*
cedonian, might not bear defensive arms

without their permission; then had *Perſes*
 very just reason to find himself aggrieved.
 For since they had allowed his father, with-
 out control, to make war in *Thrace* (whilst
 they themselves were unacquainted with the
Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though
 he asked not their licence; why should
 they now interpret the bargain after ano-
 ther fashion? Was it now become unlaw-
 ful for him to chastise his own rebels; or
 to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*?
 By such allegations *Perſes* maintained the
 right of his cause in very mild sort when
 it was too late. At the present, by dis-
 claiming the league as unjust [if after all,
 it be true that he did so] he ministered
 occasion to the ambassadors to give him de-
 fiance.

* Hist. of the World, B. 5. c. 6. §. 3.

Y. R. 581. " had rehearsed to him all the facts spoken of by the King of Perga-
 Bef. Chr. " mus (they themselves having found them to be true;) that they had
 171. " besides, mentioned some private conferences he had held, for several
 280 Conf. " days, in the island of *Samothrace*, with ambassadors from the cities
 " of *Asia*. And lastly, that in the name of the Senate they had de-
 " manded satisfaction for these injuries.
 " Hereupon, said they, the King broke out into a passion, fre-
 " quently calling the *Romans* avaricious and proud, who thought it
 " fitting that he should regulate all his words and actions at the nod of
 " their daily ambassadors, with whom they pestered him, and who were
 " no better than mere spies. After he had talked loudly and long in
 " this strain, he ordered us to come again the day following, when he
 " would give us, he said, an answer in writing. He did so; and it
 " was to this effect. *That he had nothing to do with the treaty made with*
 " *his father: That he had renewed it, not because he approved of it, but*
 " *because, upon his first accession to the kingdom, he was obliged to bear with*
 " *every thing. That if the Romans would make a new treaty with him,*
 " *it must be upon equal terms; and he would then consider what his interest*
 " *required; as they, he doubted not, would take care of theirs.* As soon
 " as he had delivered us this writing, he flung away, and while they
 " were making us withdraw, we declared, *That we renounced his friend-*
 " *ship and alliance.* The King, in wrath, turned back, and raising his
 " voice, ordered us to leave his kingdom in three days. We came
 " away; having neither at our arrival, nor while we continued at his
 " court, received any mark of hospitality or civility."

C H A P XVI.

The second *Macedonian* War.

FIRST YEAR of the War.

The disposition of the Greek and Asiatic States at this time.

The levies at Rome for the war. The speech of a Centurian on this occasion.

Perseus sues in vain to the Senate for peace.

A conference between him and Marcius a Roman ambassador in Thessaly.

The King makes another fruitless attempt to obtain peace.

Y. R. 582. **W**HEN the people of *Rome*, upon a motion by the Consuls, *P. Li-*
 Bef. Chr. *cinus Crassus* and *G. Cassius Longinus*, decreed war against *Perseus*,
 170. the Republic had few open enemies, and no real friends.
 281 Conf.

After.

After the victory over *Antiochus*, although *Macedon*, *Pergamus*, the commonwealth of the *Acheans*, and all the other States of *Greece* were governed by the same laws and magistrates as before the *Romans* came among them, and made alliances with them; yet the people which *Rome* had subdued to her laws and magistrates, were not more really her vassals, than the Kings and nations which she called her allies. For, by her embassadors abroad, or the decrees of her Senate at home, she exercised such an empire over those allies, that no laws made by them could take place, if she interposed her will to the contrary. Nor was their election of magistrates so free as not to be influenced by the good pleasure of the overbearing Republic. Add to this, that she had assumed to herself the right of deciding all quarrels between her allies; and had made it a part of her policy not to suffer, without reproof, and sometimes menaces, any of her friends to take arms, even in their own defence, before they had consulted the oracle at *Rome*.

This method of proceeding, whatever interpretation was put upon it by such as were actuated by private interest or fear, could not but be very grating to all generous and free spirits. The *Greek* States began now universally to apprehend the evil which *Philopamen* had foretold; the miserable subjection to which *Greece* would be reduced by the *Roman* patronage. It was so evident both to these States and to the bordering Kings, or became soon so evident, that the view of *Rome* was to reduce *Macedon* to the condition of a *Roman* province, which would make her their near and most dangerous neighbour, that if we may believe *Polybius*, *Perses*, for a very moderate sum of money well applied, might have brought all those States, and all or most of those Kings, to have espoused his cause. Of this the Historian is so positive, that he says no wise man will dispute it with him. And some events which happened in the course of the war, will shew this opinion not to have been ill founded. We shall find that even *Eumenes* had not always that anxiety for the welfare of *Rome* which he expressed in his late speech to the Senate. At present however, not only he, but the Kings of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Cappadocia*, offered their assistance to the *Romans*. The last of the three sent his son to be educated at *Rome*. *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, though married to a sister of *Perses*, observed an exact neutrality: the *Greeks* durst not refuse their aid: *Carthage* was in slavery to *Rome*. *Masinissa* lent his assistance: for he judged, says *Livy*, that should the *Romans* prove conquerors, his affairs would remain in their present situation; should they be vanquished, he doubted not to become master of all *Africa*. On the other hand, *Perses* had no associate but *Cotys* King of the *Odrysiens* in *Thrace*. *Gentius*, a King of *Illyricum*, was indeed suspected at *Rome* of being in the *Macedonian* interest, but he had not yet openly declared for either side.

Polybius seems to speak of the time two years together, his affairs had a prospect when *Perses*'s arms having prospered for missing aspect.

Y. R. 532.
Bef. Chr.

170.
231 Conf.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 35.

c. 31. & seq.

After the people of *Rome* had voted the war, the Conscrip Fathers regulated the levies for the year. They appointed *Sulpicius Galba*, the Prætor *Urbanus*, to raise four *Roman* legions, 15,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies; the legions to be commanded by four Tribunes, chosen from among the Senators. This army was to be in readiness to march whither the Fathers should direct. One of the Consuls was to have, for the defence of *Italy*, two legions of 5000 foot and 200 horse each: and of the allies 12,000 foot and 600 horse. To the Consul, who should go into *Macedon*, the Senate assigned two legions, of 6000 foot and 300 horse each; and 16000 foot and 800 horse of the *Italian* confederates. They granted him also the privilege of chusing whom he pleased of the *Veteran* soldiers and Centurions, that were under fifty years old, though the law obliged no man above forty-five to serve in the army. The people on this occasion waved their right of naming a certain number of the legionary Tribunes, and left the choice of them to the Consuls and Prætors.

Macedon fell by lot to *Licinius*, and *Italy* to *Cassius*. They carried on the levies with extraordinary rigour; yet many presented themselves voluntarily to *Licinius*, knowing that the soldiers, who had served in the first *Macedonian* war, and in the war against *Antiochus*, had returned home rich. But when his legionary Tribunes were appointing the Centurions, twenty three of those who were called upon to serve, and who had been *Primipiles*, or first Centurions of the *Triarii*, refused to enlist themselves, and appealed to the Tribunes of the Commons. Two of the college would have referred the matter to the Consuls, but the other eight were for taking cognizance of it themselves, and righting the appellants if aggrieved. At the desire of *Licinius* the affair was brought before the people. *M. Popillius*, who had been Consul two years before, appeared as advocate for the Centurions. He said, that the *Veterans* had served the legal time, and were worn out with age and the fatigues of war; that nevertheless they did not refuse to give the remainder of their strength to the Republic; they only desired that they might not be placed in a lower rank than what they had last held in the army. *Licinius* ordered the decree of the Senate to be read: it imported, that war should be commenced against *Perfes*, and that as many as possible of the *Veteran* Centurions should be enrolled for that war, exempting none under fifty years old. He then entreated the people that, in the present case of a war so near *Italy*, and against so powerful a King, they would not obstruct the levies, nor hinder the Consul from so placing every man as was most for the benefit of the Republic; or at least that they would refer the matter to the Senate. *Licinius* having ended, one of the twenty-three appellants asked permission of the Consul and the Tribunes to speak a few words to the people. This being granted, he said, "My name, *Romans*, is *Sp. Ligustinus*; I am of the *Crustrumian* tribe, and of *Sabine* extraction. My father left me an acre of ground,

"ground, and a little cottage; in which I was born and bred, and in
 "which I now dwell. As soon as I was of an age to marry, my father
 "gave me to wife his brother's daughter. I had no fortune with her,
 "but she was free born, chaste, and an excellent breeder; a richer man
 "would not desire a better. We have six sons and two daughters:
 "the girls are married; four of my sons are men grown. I was lifted a
 "soldier for the first time in the Consulship of *P. Sulpicius* and *C. Au-*
 "*relius*: I served two years, a private man, in the army that went into
 "Macedon against King *Philip*. The third year *T. Quinctius Flaminius*,
 "in reward of my courage, made me a Centurion of the tenth Order
 "of the *Hastati*^b. *Philip* being vanquished, we returned to *Rome*, and
 "were disbanded. Presently after I went a volunteer with the Consul
 "*M. Porcius* into *Spain*. Those who have served under him and other
 "Generals well know, that there is not a more nice observer, or more
 "critical judge of military virtue than he. This General thought me
 "worthy of the post of first Centurion of the *Hastati*. After this I
 "entered a volunteer in that army which was sent against the *Æto-*
 "*lians* and King *Antiochus*. I was then by *M. Acilius* made first Cen-
 "turiion of the *Principes*. *Antiochus* being driven out of *Greece*,
 "and the *Ætolians* subdued, we were brought back into *Italy*; and

Y. R. 582.
 Bct. Chr.
 170.
 281 Conf.

^b We cannot have a tolerable notion of the CENTURIONS, without remembering, that every one of the thirty *Manipuli* in a legion was divided into two *Ordines* or ranks; and consequently the three bodies of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarii* into twenty Orders a-piece, as into ten *Manipuli*. Now every *Manipulus* was allowed two Centurions, or captains, one to each *Ordr* or *Century*: And to determine the point of priority between them, they were created at two different elections. The *Thirty* who were made first always took the precedency of their Fellows; and therefore commanded the right hand orders, as the others did the left.

The *Triarii* or *Pilani* [so called from their weapon, the *Pilum*] being esteemed the most honourable, had their CENTURIONS elected first; next to them the *Principes*, and afterwards the *Hastati*; whence they were called *Primus* & *Secundus Pilus*, *Primus* & *Secundus Princeps*, *Primus* & *Secundus Hastatus*; and so on.

Here it may be observed, That *Primi Ordines* is used sometimes in historians, for the CENTURIONS of those orders; and the same CENTURIONS are sometimes tiled *Principes Ordinum*, and *Principes Centurionum*.

We may take notice too, what a large field there lay for promotion; first through all the orders of the *Hastati*, then quite through the *Principes*, and afterwards from the last order of the *Triarii* to the *Primpilus*, the most honourable of the Centurions, and who deserves to be particularly described. This officer, besides his name of *Primpilus*, went under the several titles of *Dux Legionis*, *Præfatus Legionis*, *Primus Centurionum*, and *Primus Centurio*; and was the first Centurion of the *Triarii* in every legion. He presided over all the other Centurions, and generally gave the word of command by order of the *Tribunes*. Besides this, he had the care of the eagle, or chief standard of the legion: Hence *Aquila præfatus* is to bear the dignity of *Primpilus*; and hence *Aquila* is taken by *Pliny* for the said office. Nor was this station only honourable, but very profitable too; for he had a special stipend allowed him, probably as much as a knight's estate; and when he left that charge, was reputed equal to the members of the *Equestris* order, bearing the title of *Primpilarius*, in the same manner as those, who had discharged the greatest civil offices, were stiled ever after *Consulares, Centorii*, &c. Kennet. *Ant. B.* 4. c. 7.

" here.

Y. R. 582. " here I served in two campaigns, such as the Legions then made every
 Ref. Chr. " year. Afterwards I served twice in *Spain*; the first time under *Q.*
 170. " *Fulvius Flaccus*; the second under the Prætor *Tib. Sempronius Grac-*
 231 Conf. " *chus*. I was amongst those whom, for their bravery, *Flaccus* distin-
 " guished by bringing them home to assist at his triumph; and I returned
 " into the same province at the desire of *Tiberius Gracchus*. In the space
 " of a few years I was four times first Centurion of the *Triarii*. I have
 " received 34 military rewards from my Generals; and among these
 " six Civic crowns. I have made two and twenty campaigns, and
 " am past fifty years old. But had I not served my full time, and
 " if my age did not exempt me, yet, *P. Licinius*, as I can furnish you
 " four soldiers, instead of one, it is but reasonable I should be excused
 " from serving any more. But I say all this only to shew the justice of
 " my cause. So long as I am judged fit to bear arms, I shall never seek
 " to decline it. Let the Legionary Tribunes place me in the post for
 " which they think me proper. It shall be my care that no soldier in
 " the army surpass me in bravery: That this has always been my
 " care, the Generals under whom I have made my campaigns can testify.
 " And you, fellow soldiers, though you have appealed, and your ap-
 " peal be well founded, yet, as in your younger days you never did any
 " thing against the authority of the Magistrates and Senate; you will
 " now, I am persuaded, think it right to let yourselves be disposed of as
 " they judge convenient; and esteem every post honourable in which you
 " can contribute to the defence and preservation of the Republic."

The Consul, after highly praising *Ligustinus's* virtue, took him to the Senate-house, where he received the thanks of the Conscrip Fathers. And the Tribunes of the soldiers, as a reward of his merit, declared him first Centurion of the first legion. The other appellants, following his example, desisted from their appeal; so that the levies went on without farther opposition.

Besides the forces abovementioned, as destined for *Macedon*, were granted, at the request of *Licinius*, 2000 *Ligurians* and a certain number of *Cretan* archers. The Senate also asked of *Masinissa* a body of *Numidian* horse and some elephants.

Liv. B. 42. " About this time embassadors came from *Perses*. They were not al-
 " 36. lowed to enter the city, because war had been already declared against
 " their master. Being admitted to audience in the temple of *Bellona*, they
 " said, " That the King wondered why the *Romans* had transported an
 " army into his neighbourhood; that if the Senate could be prevailed
 " upon to recal it, he was ready, at their determination, to make sa-
 " tisfaction for any injuries, they should think, he had done to their
 " allies " The army the embassadors spoke of was that under the Prætor
 " *C. Sicinnius*, who with 5000 foot and 300 horse lay encamped near
 " *Apollonia*. *Sicinnius* had sent *Sp. Carvilius* to *Rome* to confront the *Ma-*
 " cedonian ministers in the Senate. When *Carvilius* had accused *Perses* of
 " some

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some usurpations upon the neighbouring states, and of several other facts which he pretended the King had done or was preparing to do; the ambassadors were asked what they had to say in their master's justification. They answered, that they had no further commission than what they had delivered; whereupon they were bid to tell the King, that if he had a mind to give satisfaction, he might treat with the Consul *P. Licinius*, who would shortly be in *Macedon* with an army; but that it was to no purpose to think of sending more ambassadors to the Senate, for they would not be suffered to pass through *Italy*. With this answer the Fathers dismissed the *Macedonians*, and ordered them to leave *Italy* in eleven days. Shortly after, the Senate dispatched five of their body, *L. Decimius*, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, *A. Atilius*, and two of the *Cornelian* family, to visit *Greece* and the neighbouring countries. Attended by a thousand soldiers they landed at *Corcyra*; whither letters came to them from *Perseus*, asking, for what reason the Romans had sent forces into *Greece*, and were taking possession of the towns? They would return him no answer in writing, but told the messenger who brought the letters, that what the Romans did was for the defence of the Greek cities.

And now the ambassadors separating, *L. Decimius* repaired to *Gentius* of *Illyricum*; to persuade him, if possible, to take part with the Republic in the war. He had no success; and even fell under a suspicion at his return to *Rome*, of having received bribes from the *Illyrian* King.

The *Cornelii* made a progress through *Peloponnesus*, exhorting the several states of that country to assist *Rome* against *Perseus*, with the same alacrity and faithfulness as in the wars against *Philip* and *Antiochus*. Though the *Romans* employed gentle words and the soft stile of persuasion, the *Greeks* were now so well acquainted with *Roman* courtesy, that without hesitation they promised their ready aid^m; for though not

^m Sir *W. Ralsigh* thinks that this ready compliance of the *Greeks* to the will of the *Romans* may justly be imputed to the timorous conduct, of *Perseus*, who, as we have seen, no sooner learnt that a small body of *Roman* soldiers were landed in *Epirus*, than he sued to the Senate for peace. "Since therefore it was known that a very small thing would serve to terrify him, and consequently that it would at all times be in the power of the *Romans*, by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leisure upon those who had assisted him; little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him." May not the conduct of the *Macedonian*, which Sir *Walter Riles* timorous, have been the effect of just policy? For as the King saw plainly that the *Romans* were determined to attack him;

could he do any thing wiser, even in the view of defending himself in the best manner, than, by offers of satisfaction for injuries complained of, to make it evident to all the world, that the war was unnecessary, and therefore unjust, on the part of the *Romans*? We shall find that he took great pains to convince all the neighbouring states of this truth, that he might thereby induce them to side with him. It is to be observed, that no one part of *Perseus's* conduct does in any degree suit with that violent and brutal behaviour which, by the report of *Servilius Cæpio* and his colleagues^{*}, he used towards them: There may be room therefore to doubt the truth of that report, at least we may well suspect that they gave him sufficient provocation by their insolent manner of treating him.

Y. R. 582.
Bef. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.

Liv. B. 42.
C. 37.

Y. R. 582.
Bef. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.

only the bulk of the people, but also the wisest and best men, who had nothing in view but the good of their country, wished success to *Perfes*; yet doubtless fear got the better of their inclinations.

Q. *Marcus* and *A. Atilius* went into *Epirus*, *Ætolia* and *Thessaly*, to fix the people of those countries in the interest of *Rome*. While the two *Romans* were at *Larissa*, *Perfes* sent to ask an interview with *Marcus*. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, prefaced the request with mentioning, that *Marcus's* father had formerly been the guest and friend of king *Philip*. *Marcus* answered, *that he had often heard his father speak of that friendship, and was far from having forgot it when he undertook his present commission; and that as soon as possible, he and his colleague would meet the King at the river Peneus, near Dium.*

Perfes was much pleased with *Marcus's* insinuation, that he had come into *Greece* with a view to serve him, and began to entertain hope of an accommodation. Soon after, a day being appointed for the conference, they both came to the banks of the *Peneus*. The question now was, which of them should pass the river. *Perfes* claimed the compliment, on account of his royal dignity; *Marcus* thought it due to the majesty of the *Roman* name: besides, the King had asked the conference. The ambassador put an end to the dispute by a dull jest, which his bearing the surname of *Philip* furnished him with; *Let the younger, said he, come to the elder; the son to the father.* The King easily suffered himself to be persuaded; but then he was for crossing with all his retinue: To this *Marcus* objected, insisting, that he should come with only three attendants, or else give hostages: Not that the *Roman* suspected any treachery, says *Livy*, but that the deputies from the several cities (of whom there was a great concourse at the interview) might see the superiority of the Republic to the King of *Macedon*. *Perfes* gave hostages, and, with all his train of attendants, passed over to *Marcus*. They saluted each other, not as enemies meeting to parly, but like familiar friends. When both were seated, *Marcus*, after a short pause, broke silence.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 40.

" I believe you expect that I should answer the letter you sent to us at
" *Coryra*, in which you ask, why we, who are ambassadors, come at-
" tended with soldiers, and put garrisons into several towns. Not to an-
" swer your question would perhaps look like pride; and the proper an-
" swer, I fear, you may think too harsh. But since he who breaks a league
" should be made sensible of his error, either by words or by arms; I,
" who had rather the commission to make war against you, should be
" given to any body than to me, shall take upon me the disagreeable task
" of reproving my friend. The Senate think, that, since your accession to
" the throne, you have done but one thing which you ought to have done;
" the sending ambassadors to renew the league. And yet they judge that it
" would have been better not to renew it, than to renew it, and after-
" wards break it. *Abrupolis*, a friend and ally of the *Roman* people,
" you have driven from his kingdom: The murderers of *Arselaras*

" (of

"(of all the *Illyrian* Kings the most faithful to *Rome*) you received
 "into your protection; thereby shewing (to say nothing worse) that
 "you rejoiced at the murder. You went with an army through *Thessaly*
 "and *Malea* to *Delphi*, contrary to our treaty: In violation of the same
 "treaty you sent succours to the *Byzantines*. You secretly made a
 "league with the *Boeotians*, our allies, which you ought not to have
 "done. *Eversus* and *Callicritus*, the *Theban* ambassadors, who were
 "coming from us—I would rather ask, who killed them, than accuse
 "any body of the crime. The intestine war in *Aetolia*, and the
 "slaughter of the chief men there—By whom but your agents can
 "these be supposed to have been effected? In person you invaded the
 "*Dolopians*, oppressing them with the ravages of war. *Eumenes*, re-
 "turning from *Rome* into his kingdom, was almost slain as a victim be-
 "fore the altars at *Delphi*—I am loth to mention the person whom
 "he accuses. I know you have had an account, by letters from *Rome*,
 "and by your ambassadors, of the discovery, which *Rammius* of
 "*Brundisium* made to us, of certain secret machinations. The only
 "way to have avoided hearing these things from me, was, not to have
 "asked why the *Romans* send an army into *Macedon*, or why they
 "garrison the cities of their allies. My remembrance of the friendship
 "between our fathers inclines me to lend a partial ear to what you can
 "say in your justification; and I wish you may furnish me with argu-
 "ments to plead your cause in the Senate."

To this the King. "I have a cause unquestionably good if I had
 "impartial judges; but I am to plead it before those who are both my
 "judges and accusers. Of the things objected to me, some I have per-
 "haps reason to glory in; some I need not be ashamed to own; and
 "others, as they are only asserted, not proved, they will be sufficiently
 "confuted by a bare denial. If I were this day to be tryed by your
 "laws, what could the informer *Rammius* or *Eumenes* alledge against
 "me, that would not be deemed rather slander than truth? Had *Eu-
 "menes*, who so heavily oppresses many private persons, as well as states,
 "no enemy but me? And could I find no fitter instrument than *Ram-
 "mius*, whom I had never seen before, and whom I was never to see
 "again? You are pleased to call me to account for the murder of the
 "two *Thebans* and *Artetarus*. The *Thebans*, every body knows, perished
 "by shipwreck: As to the latter, What does the accusation amount to?
 "Why truly, that his murderers, when banished, fled into my king-
 "dom. Will you then grant yourselves to be chargeable with all the
 "crimes of those exiles who take refuge in *Italy*? And how can a man
 "be condemned to banishment, if there be no place to which he may be
 "banished? Yet, as to those assassins, as soon as I understood from you
 "that they were in *Macedon*, I ordered them to be sought out, expelled,
 "and forbid to return into my dominions. These things are objected to
 "me, as to a man arraigned before a court of justice; the rest, as to a

V. R. 582.
 B. C. Chr.
 170.
 281. Conf.

Y. R. 582.

Bel. Ch.

170.

231. Conf.

“ King, and relates to the treaty between you and me. Was it any
 “ breach of that treaty to defend myself against the invasion of *Abri-*
 “ *polis*, your ally? What could I do, when he laid waste my territories
 “ as far as *Amplipolis*, and carried off many of my subjects, with their
 “ cattle and effects? Would you have had me sit still, and suffer him to
 “ enter *Pella*? Come armed even into my palace? But, it seems, I ought
 “ not to have vanquished him, nor to have treated him as a vanquished
 “ enemy. How can he, an invader, complain of suffering what I,
 “ whom he attacked, was exposed to suffer? As to my reducing the *Do-*
 “ *lepians* by force; Had not I a right to do it? Are they not my subjects?
 “ Their country, is it not a part of my kingdom, assigned to my father by
 “ your decree? Can any man think that I dealt severely with rebels,
 “ who took away the life of my lieutenant, *Euphranor*, their Governor,
 “ by such tortures, that death was the least part of his sufferings.
 “ After visiting *Larissa*, *Antrona* and *Pieleum*, in the neighbourhood
 “ of which places I had many vows to pay, I went up to sacrifice
 “ at *Delphi*. This is made a crime; and, to aggravate this crime,
 “ it is added, that I took my army with me; as if my view had been
 “ to seize upon towns, and garrison castles, as you now do. Call a
 “ council of all the *Greek* cities, by which I passed; and, if any one
 “ can prove he has sustained damage by my soldiers, I am willing it
 “ should be thought, that under the pretence of a sacrifice I concealed
 “ other designs. I sent assistance to the *Aetolians* and *Byzantines*, and
 “ made a league with the *Beotians*. These actions, of whatever
 “ nature they be, my ambassadors have not only mentioned, but
 “ often justified in your Senate, where I met with some arbitrators not
 “ so favourable to me as you, *Q. Marcius*, my paternal friend and
 “ guest. Yet *Eumenes* had not then been at *Rome* with his accusations;
 “ nor by calumnies and misconstructions made me suspected and hated.
 “ He had not yet endeavoured to persuade you, that, while the kingdom
 “ of *Macedon* was safe, *Greece* could not be free, nor enjoy the advantages
 “ you procured her. A complaint of this kind (and better founded)
 “ you will soon hear; you will be told, that you have done nothing
 “ by confining *Antiochus* within mount *Taurus*; that *Eumenes* is more
 “ oppressive to *Asia* than the *Syrian* ever was; and that your allies will
 “ never be in quiet while there is a palace in *Pergamus*.
 “ All that you have objected, *Q. Marcius*, and all that I have an-
 “ swered, will, I know, be construed by the hearers according to their
 “ dispositions; nor is it of so much consequence what I have done, or
 “ with what views, as in what light you will see my actions. I am
 “ conscious to myself that I have not offended knowingly; and, if through
 “ ignorance I have transgressed, your reprobation will be sufficient to
 “ make me correct what is amiss. Assuredly I have done nothing
 “ which cannot be remedied; nor for which you can think I deserve to
 “ be prosecuted by war. With little reason is your moderation and
 “ clemency

Chap XVI. *Second Macedonian War.*

413

"clemency famous among the nations, if, for causes scarce worth complaining of, you take arms against a King, who is your friend and your ally."

Y. R. 582.
Bel. Chr.
170.
281 C. n^o.

Marcus affected to appear much satisfied with the King's discourse, and advised him to send new ambassadors to *Rome*; that nothing might be omitted which could give the least hope of an accommodation. To this end a truce seemed necessary, and though *Marcus's* sole view in granting the King a conference, was to draw him to ask a truce; yet, when he did ask it, the *Roman* raised mighty difficulties, complying at length, (as he pretended) merely out of personal regard to the son of *Philip*. *Marcus* meant nothing by all this but to make *Perfes* lose time, who being ready for action, might have done something considerable, before the Consul *Licinius* with his army could arrive in *Greece*.

L. v. B. 42.
c. 43.

After this interview the *Roman* ambassadors went into *Boeotia*, the people of which country had, not long before, made a league with the *Macedonian*. Great diffentions had since arisen among them; some declaring for the King, others for the *Romans*. The *Thebans*, and, after their example, all the other petty states of *Boeotia*, offered now to enter into an alliance with *Rome*. *Marcus* would not treat with them jointly, but obliged each city to send its respective minister to *Rome* to treat separately for itself. By thus dividing them into many independent states, he weakened them all. They were never after united.

c. 43. and
Polyb. l. 2.
cap. 61.

From *Boeotia* *Marcus* repaired to the Diet of the *Aebeans* convened at *Argos*. He demanded of them a thousand men to garrison *Chalcis* till the *Roman* army should come into *Greece*; which demand was instantly complied with.

About the same time *Rome* sent deputies into the most considerable islands of *Asia*, to ask assistance in the war against *Perfes*. The *Rhodians* distinguished themselves on this occasion. They thought it necessary to efface the impressions, which their differences with *Eumenes*, and their complaisance for *Perfes* in several instances, particularly in conveying his wife to him from *Asia*, had made in the minds of the *Romans*. The deputies therefore no sooner arrived, but they were shewed a fleet of galleys equipt for the service of *Rome*, and ready to put to sea: This mark of zeal had the desired effect.

P. 1yb. L. 6.
cap. 64.

Perfes, in consequence of what had passed between him and *Marcus*, dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to negotiate the treaty of peace, which he imagined to be already begun by that conference. At the same time, he, by circular letters to the neighbouring states, gave an account of his conversation with the *Roman*: and this he did, not only to set forth the justice of his cause, but to learn how they stood affected. To the *Rhodians* he sent ambassadors, exhorting them to stand neuter, and in case the *Romans* should refuse him a peace, to take upon them the office of mediators, an office which, he said, more properly belonged to them than

Polyb. l. 2.
cap. 65.

Y. R. 582. than any others, as being the most powerful of the *Greek* states, and
 B. C. 411. not only zealous for their own liberty, but guardians of the liberty of
 170. all *Greece*. These ambassadors met with a friendly reception, but were
 231. Conf. answered, "that the *Rhodians* desired the King, not to ask them to do
 "any thing which might be disapproved by the *Romans*."

Liv. B. 42. The same ambassadors going thence into *Baotia* succeeded little better
 c. 46. & in that country. Only *Coronea* and *Ialartus* came over to the King's
 seq. interest, and sent to him for garrisons to secure them against the *Thebans*,
 who still adhered to the opposite interest. *Perfes* answered, that he could
 not send them garrisons, because of his truce with *Rome*.

When *Marcus* and his colleague, at their return home, gave an account to the Senate of their negotiations, they boasted much of having deceived *Perfes* into a truce, which hindered him from beginning the war with the advantages he was master of, and gained time to the *Romans* to finish their preparations. Nor did these able ministers forget to mention their dexterity in so dissolving the *Baotian* league, that the states of that country would never more be in a condition jointly to make an alliance with the *Macedonian*. *Livy* tells us, that some of the older Senators were far from being pleased with the craft and dissimulation of the ambassadors. Be that as it will, the majority of the Fathers approving of what had been done, *Marcus* was again sent into *Greece*, with a commission to act there as he should think most for the interest of the Republic.

The Senate, though determined to pursue the war against *Perfes*, yet, that it might not be too plain how much he had been deluded, granted audience to his ambassadors. But neither their excuses nor their entreaties availed any thing: They were ordered to leave the city immediately, and *Italy* in thirty days. It is probable that the Fathers thought, they sufficiently covered the deceit of *Marcus*, by admitting these ambassadors within the walls of the city, and allowing them so long a time for their departure out of *Italy*; whereas the former ambassadors from the King had been received without the walls, and had been allowed but eleven days for their departure.

C H A P. XVII.

FIRST and SECOND Years of the War.

- *The Consul Licinius arrives with his army in Thessaly.*
- Perfes having obtained some advantage over the Romans, makes new proposals for peace, which are rejected.*
- The Consul declines a general battle.*
- M. Lucretius robs King Gentius of his fleet.*
- Hostilius, the successor of Licinius, in vain attempts to penetrate into Macedon.*
- The management of some Roman ambassadors in Greece.*
- The Romans receive kindly a gross piece of flattery from a city of Asia.*

P E R S E S was so effectually cheated by the arts of *Marcus*, that the Consul *Licinius* arrived with his army at *Apollonia*, almost as soon as the *Macedonian* ambassadors got back to their Master at *Pella*. In a council held by the King, a few days before, some had advised him to purchase a peace of the *Romans*, though it should cost him not only a yearly tribute, but even a part of his dominions. The majority, however, being more magnanimous, and declaring for war: WAR then let us have, said *Perfes*, and the Gods grant us success. And now he ordered all his forces to be drawn together, and appointed their rendezvous at *Citium*, a town in *Macedon*; and thither with his courtiers and his guards he himself repaired. His forces consisted of 39,000 foot and 4000 horse: a more numerous army (says *Livy*) than any King of *Macedon* had ever brought into the field, except *Alexander the Great*. *Perfes*, in a speech to his troops, recalled to their minds the glory of their ancestors; expatiated on the injustice, treachery and insolence of the *Romans*; and represented the goodness of his cause, and the ample provision he had made for the war. His harangue was frequently interrupted by the applauses of the soldiers, and loud expressions of indignation and anger against the *Romans*. The assembly dismissed, he gave audience to the deputies from the several towns of *Macedon*, which had sent offers of money and provisions, each according to its ability: Having first thanked them, he answered, that he desired nothing of them but carriages for his engines of war.

The *Macedonian* marched out of his own kingdom into *Thessaly*, knowing that the *Romans* were to come that way to meet him. Some towns yielded to him without resistance; others he took by force. *Elatia* and *Gonnus*,

Y. R. 582. *Gomni*, places of great importance, because standing in the entrance of the Strait of *Tempe*, opened their gates upon the first summons. Bof. Chr. 170. Having well fortified this pass, he advanced to *Sycurium* situated at the 281 Conf. foot of mount *Ossa*, where pitching his camp, he resolved to wait the coming of the enemy.

Liv. B. 42. From *Apollonia* *Licinius* marched his army through *Atbanania* to 55. *Gomphi* in *Thessaly*: For it was only through *Thessaly*, that they could penetrate into *Macedon*; unless they would run the hazard of being harried in the mountains of *Dessaretia*. At *Gomphi* the Consul staid some days to refresh his troops, much fatigued by the rough and difficult roads^b through which they had passed. On advice that the *Macedonians* were ravaging the eastern part of *Thessaly*, he advanced towards *Lerissa*, and encamped by the river *Peneus*.

About this time *Eumenes* arrived at *Chalcis* with his brothers *Attalus* and *Athenus*. The last stayed in this place with 2000 foot to strengthen the garrison: *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, with 4000 foot and 1000 horse joined the Consul; as did also some other auxiliaries, but in small numbers.

To draw the *Romans* to a good distance from their camp, and fight them with advantage, *Perseus* sent out some detachments to ravage the territory of *Pberæ*, a city in alliance with *Rome*. The Consul however did not stir; which encouraged the *Macedonian* to think of insulting him in his entrenchments. At ten o'clock in the morning the King, with his whole army, appeared within a mile of the enemy. Here he made his infantry halt, and went forward with his cavalry and light-armed troops. Perceiving soon after a small party of *Romans* coming towards him, he detached about an equal number to skirmish with them. The action proved of little importance, and it was hard to say which side had the victory. *Perseus* returned to *Sycurium*. Next day he led his army again within sight of the enemy's lines; and there being no convenient watering in the march, which was of twelve miles length, in a dusty road, he brought water with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. The *Romans* kept close within their trenches, so that no action followed. *Perseus* repeated this movement for several days together, in hopes that

^b *Livy* says, that the *Romans* were exceedingly rejoiced when they arrived at *Gomphi*, as thinking that they had escaped a very great danger; for had *Perseus*, with his army ranged in good order for battle, advanced and met them, while they were yet weary and struggling with the difficulties of the way, they would probably have suffered a great overthrow. And Sir *W. Raleigh* blames *Perseus* for not having brought his army to defend the pass of *Aous*, where

his father *Philip* formerly stopt the *Roman* legions for a considerable time. But may it not be questioned, whether *Perseus* could easily have done either of these things? For at this time, the *Thessalians* (through whose country he must have marched, to pass himself at the pass of *Aous*, or to attack the *Romans* in *Atbanania*) were his enemies; whereas in the former war, *Philip* was master of *Thessaly*.

the *Roman* cavalry would be detached to fall upon his rear-guard, and that then, suddenly facing about, he might attack them at a considerable distance from their camp; in which case, as he was superior in horse and light-armed foot, he doubted not of victory. Disappointed of this hope, he came and posted himself seven miles nearer the enemy; and the next day, having, at sun-rising, drawn up his infantry in the same place as before, he led all his cavalry and light-armed troops within less than half a mile of the *Roman* entrenchments. His coming at such an unusual hour filled the camp with tumult; and though, the troops he brought with him being unfit to assail trenches, the Consul had no apprehension of such an attempt, yet, to check the King's pride, he sent out to battle all his horse, light-armed infantry, and auxiliaries; he himself remaining in the camp with his legions in readiness for action. The honour of this morning was entirely the King's. With the loss of only 20 horse and 40 foot, he slew about 2000 of the *Roman* infantry and 200 of their horse; and took the like number of horse prisoners. Upon the first news of his victory the captains of his phalanx led it to him, though unsent for, that he might attack the enemy's camp. But success in such an enterprize was an object too great for the hopes of *Perfes*. *Evander*, the *Cretan*, who, probably, from the King's irresolution, inferred the byas of his thoughts, advised him not rashly to hazard all, in an unnecessary enterprize; adding, that the advantage he had already gained would either procure him honourable conditions of peace, or at least many associates in the war. There needed no more to make *Perfes* lead back his army to the camp.

Y. R. 582.
Bel. Chr.
170.
281. Conf.

Plut. life
of P. Æ-
mil. and
Liv. B. 42.
c. 59.

In the mean time the *Romans* were fearing what the *Macedonian* durst not hope. *Eumenes* advised the Consul to dislodge by night, and remove to the other side of the river *Peneus*: And *Licinius*, though ashamed to avow his fear, yet followed the advice, since reason so required.

Next day *Perfes* advanced with his army, to provoke the enemy once more to battle. When he perceived them safely entrenched on the other side of the river, he became sensible (says *Livy*) of the error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing his victory; and of the greater error he had been guilty of, by his inaction in the night; because his light-armed troops alone would have been sufficient to destroy a great part of the enemy in their passage of the river.

On the other hand the *Romans*, though now no longer uneasy with the apprehension of being suddenly attacked, were grievously mortified by the loss they had sustained, especially of their reputation. In a council of war every one threw the blame from himself upon the *Altolians*. Five of the chief men among these had been observed to be the first who turned their backs: The *Thessalians*, who had made a good retreat, were praised, and rewarded with military honours and presents.

Y. R. 582.
Bef. Chr.

170.
281 Conf.

Perfes, having lost the opportunity of gaining another victory, endeavoured to draw some new advantage from that which he had gained, by extolling it in a pompous harangue to his soldiers, and by persuading them, that it was a sure prognostic of a happy issue of the war. They all heard him with delight. Those who had been in the action grew braver from the praise; and the *Phalangites*, from the hope of meriting the like glory. Next day the King made a march, and pitched his camp upon a rising ground near *Mopsium*, between *Tempe* and *Larissa*. This motion probably obliged the *Romans* to dislodge. They removed to a stronger post, still keeping on the banks of the *Pencus*. *Mither Misagenes*, the son of *Masinissa*, brought them a reinforcement of 1000 horse, as many foot, and 22 elephants.

Polyb. L.
Nat. 69.

Although *Perfes* had seemed, as if he meant to press hard upon the *Romans*, he was yet easily persuaded to lay hold of the favourable opportunity, which some of his courtiers thought he now had, by his late victory, of obtaining peace. He sent to the Consul an offer of submitting to the same conditions which had been imposed on his father *Philip*. The constancy of the *Romans* shewed itself remarkably on this occasion. They unanimously agreed, in council, to return the harshest answer possible: *That Perfes must surrender himself and his kingdom to the Romans at discretion, or expect no peace.* Some of the King's counsellors, provoked by the *Roman* pride, advised him, never more to think of an accommodation. *Perfes* could not relish this advice. He thought that the *Romans* would not have acted in so haughty a manner, but from a well grounded confidence in their superiority of strength. Once more therefore he sent to *Licinius*; and now offered a larger tribute than had been paid by *Philip*. Finding that peace could not be purchased with money, he retired to *Sycurium*; for what reason is not said.

Liv. B. 42.
c. 48.

During these transactions, *C. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admiral, was besieging *Haliartus* in *Boeotia*. He had sailed from *Italy* with only 45 quinqueremes; but this fleet was now much augmented by the dexterous management of his brother *Marcus*, whom he had sent before him, with orders to get what ships he could from the *Italian* allies, sail with them to *Cephalonia*, and there wait his arrival. *Marcus* in his way had stopt at *Dyrrachium*, where finding in the haven 76 vessels, of which 54 belonged to King *Gentius*, the rest to the *Dyrrachians* and *Issians*, he took them all away with him, pretending to believe that they had been fitted out for the service of the *Romans*, though, in truth, *Gentius* had not yet declared himself for either party.

c. 63.

Haliartus, after a vigorous defence, was taken by assault, sacked and razed. From thence the *Prætor* marched his forces to *Thebes*, which

" " Over great (says Sir W. R.) was the
" folly of the King in hoping then for
" peace; and, in suing for it, even when
" he had the victory, what else did he
" than proclaim to all who were inclined

" to take part with him, that neither good
" nor bad fortune would keep him from
" yielding to the Romans, whenever they
" would be pleased to accept of him?

opened

Chap. XVII. *Second Macedonian War.*

419.

opened her gates to him upon the first summons. He put the government of the town into the hands of the Partizans of Rome; and all who had favoured the King of *Macedon* he sold for slaves. After these exploits in *Bootia* he returned to his ships.

Y. R. 582.
B. f. Chr.
170.
281 Conf.

Perfes, at *Sycurium*, heard that the *Romans*, having hastily gathered in the corn from the fields around them, were cutting off the ears with sickles before the doors of their tents, so that the camp was full of heaps of straw. This suggested to him the hope of being able to burn their camp; and his men having provided themselves with torches, and all things proper for the purpose, he set out in the middle of the night, that he might fall upon the enemy at day break. But the alarm being taken in good time, he failed in this enterprize. Once more he offered the enemy battle; which they declining, he again brought his army to *Mopsium*, because *Securium* was at too great a distance from the *Romans*, and because of the difficulty, before-mentioned, of getting water in the way. From *Mopsium* he advanced with 2000 foot and 1000 horse, fell upon some parties of the enemy while they were busy in reaping, and took 600 prisoners, and 1000 carts, most of them loaded. Not content with this success, he attacked a body of 800 *Romans*, that had been stationed to guard the reapers. The Consul, upon notice of the danger his men were in, hastened with the best part of his army to their relief. *Perfes* faced the *Roman* Legions, and sent orders to his Phalanx to advance; very unadvisedly (says *Livy*) because, the great number of carts he had sent off being in the way, the Phalanx could not possibly come time enough to his assistance. He was now overpowered by numbers, and forced to retire, with the loss of 300 foot and 24 of his horse-guards. A few days after this misfortune, the winter approaching, he retired into *Macedon*^b.

On the King's departure, *Licinius* went strait to *Gomni*, hoping to have taken it, and thereby to have got an entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the enterprize too difficult, he turned off into *Perrhabia*, where he reduced several towns. Thence he went to *Larissa* in *Thessaly*, which he also made himself master of; the *Macedonian* garrison having deserted it. How this place or *Demetrias* (which it is said the Consul had thoughts of besieging) fell into the hands of the *Macedonians* is ~~not~~ where related; nor is it easy to guess; unless perhaps *Perfes*, after his victory, did greater acts than we find recorded; and conquered some part of *Thessaly*. The accounts of what happened in *Greece* about this time are very imperfect.

Licinius, having dismissed all his allies except the *Achæans*, quartered his army for the winter in *Thessaly* and *Bootia*, into which latter Country

^b *Plutarch* reports, that *Perfes* surprised burthen, and sunk many others loaded with the *Roman* fleet this year at *Oreum*; took corn. *Life of Æmil.*
four quinqueremes, and twenty ships of

Y. R. 582. he himself went, at the request of the *Thebans*, who were distressed by
 B. Chr. their neighbours, the people of *Coronæa*.

170.
 281 Conf. The Consul had, in the summer, sent one of his Lieutenants, with a
 body of troops, into *Illyricum*. This man reduced two opulent towns
 Livy, B. 43. to surrender, and granted the inhabitants their effects; hoping by an
 C. 1. appearance of clemency, to engage another town of great strength, in
 the neighbourhood, to submit to him. But finding that this town would
 neither yield to his virtue, nor to his arms, he returned and pillaged the
 two which he had before spared.

Cassius, the other Consul, whose lot confined him to *Gaul*, where
 there was little to do, had, from a spirit of emulation, attempted to
 make his way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*. The Senate in all haste
 recalled him, being much displeased that he should dare, without orders,
 to undertake so dangerous a march through many strange Countries,
 and thereby shew the people of those Countries a way into *Italy*.

Perfes was not idle during the winter. He had lately dismissed, with
 large presents, his ally, *Cotys*, King of the *Odrysians* in *Thrace*, to go to
 the defence of his own country, invaded by some of his *Thracian* neigh-
 bours, in conjunction with a body of *Pergamenians*. The *Macedonian*
 now marched to his assistance, and defeated the invaders.

Polyb. Ex- About the same time *Epirus*, or a great part of it, revolted to *Perfes*
 cep. L. 27. from the *Romans*; a révolution brought about by one *Cephalus*, on oc-
 Liv. B. 43. casion of an intestine discord.
 C. 18.

Y. R. 583. AT *Rome*, the Comitia raised to the Consulship *A. Hostilius Mancinus*
 B. Chr. and *A. Atilius Serranus*; and gave *Hortensius* the command of the fleet.
 169. To *Hostilius* fell the province of *Macedon*. Little progress was made in
 282 Conf. the war during his year. He twice unsuccessfully attempted to penetrate
 Plut. into *Macedon*; once by the way of *Elimæa*, where *Perfes* defeated him
 in battle; and then by the *Cambunian* mountains. After this the King
 marched against the *Dardanians*, cut in pieces their army, consisting of
 10,000 men, ravaged their country, and carried off a great booty.

In the mean time *Appius Claudius*, whom the Consul had detached
 Liv. B. 43. with an army of 4000 men, and who by levies among the confederates
 C. 10. had doubled this army, entered *Illyricum*. Thinking to have taken
Uscana (a town on the confines of that country and *Macedon*) by the pro-
 mised treachery of the *Cretan* garrison that defended it, he fell into a
 snare: for advancing, in careless order, to the gates of the town; both
 the garrison and the inhabitants sallied out upon him on a sudden, and
 attacked him so vigorously, that not above a fourth part of his whole
 army escaped the slaughter. Yet this town shortly after became *Roman*,
 C. 18. by what means is no where said. But we are told, that *Perfes* recovered
 it in the winter, he having then leisure to lead his forces into *Illyricum*,
 the only side on which his kingdom was exposed: For *Cotys* secured it
 on the side of *Thrace*; *Cephalus* on that of *Epirus*; *Perfes* himself had
 lately

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lately quelled the *Dardanians*; and the snows made the mountains of *Thessaly* impassable to the *Romans*. After reducing *Uscana* and the neighbouring towns, where he took many prisoners, and among the rest 4000 *Romans*, he made a painful expedition into *Ætolia*. He had been promised admission into *Stratus*, the strongest city in that country. Of this hope though he were disappointed, by the prevalence of the *Roman* faction in the place; yet in his return home he got possession of *Aperantia*, and soon after received the agreeable news that *Cleops*, one of his Lieutenants, had gained a new and entire victory over *Appius Claudius*.

Y. R. 583.
Bef. Chr.
169.
183. C. 17.

As for *Hortensius*, the *Roman* Admiral, he performed nothing but against the allies of the Republic, whom he cruelly oppressed, as his predecessor *Lucretius* had also done. The heavy complaints brought to *Rome* against these two Admirals, and some other *Roman* commanders, put the Senate under a necessity of passing a decree, That no man should be obliged to pay obedience to a *Roman* magistrate imposing any burthen for the present war, unless he could produce an order from the Senate for such imposition.

The *Greeks* were at this time indirectly menaced by certain ambassadors from *Rome* (*C. Popilius Lenas* and *Cn. Octavius*) who travelled through all the cities of *Peloponnesus*, and, while they cried up the great clemency and indulgence of the Senate, so conspicuous in the decree before-mentioned, gave to understand, that they very well knew how every one was inclined; who among them were zealous for the *Roman* cause, and who were lukewarm. These ambassadors would have accused by name, in the diet of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* and his son *Polybius* as men ill affected to *Rome*, and waiting only for an opportunity to raise disturbances. But because no colour of truth could be found to countenance such a charge, or perhaps because the *Roman* affairs had not greatly prospered of late in *Greece*, it was thought better for the present to forbear the prosecution, and give gentle words, as if all were well. They acted much the same part in *Ætolia* and *Acarnania*; using soft words even to those whom they suspected of being in the *Macedonian* interest; and desisting from some demands, because they found them disagreeable to the people.

"Among the great number of embassies that came to *Rome* about this time, either to seek redress of injuries, or to offer their services, it is note worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a town of the *Lesser Asia*, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flattery. These *Alabanders* brought 300 horsemens targets, and a crown of gold to bestow upon *Jupiter* in the capitol. But having a desire to gratify the *Romans* with some exquisite token of

^c *Lucretius* was afterwards accused of this, and condemned in a great fine, by the unanimous suffrages of all the tribes.

Y. R. 583. " their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and be-
 Hist. Chr. " ing not able to reach unto any great performance, they built a temple
 169. " unto the town *Rome*, and appointed anniversary games to be ce-
 283 Conf. " lebrated among them in honour of that Goddess. Now who can
 " wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander, Antigonus, Ptolemy*, and
 " the like vain men, that would be thought Gods; or at the shameful
 " flattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most virtuous of
 " men, divine honours; when he sees a town of houses, wherein power-
 " ful men dwell, worshipped as a Goddess; and receiving (without
 " scorn of the givers, or shame of the present) the title of Deity, at
 " the gift of such a rascal city as *Alabanda*?"

C H A P. XVIII.

THIRD YEAR of the War.

The Roman army under the command of the Consul Q. Marcius Philippus penetrates into Macedon.

The extravagant conduct of Perfes.

The imprudence of Marcius.

Polybius, sent ambassador from the Achæans to Marcius, conducts himself with great discretion.

AFTER the war against *Perfes* had lasted two years, he was in a better condition to sustain it than at the beginning. He had not only hindered the *Romans* hitherto from entering his country, but had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* side. And his continual success had much increased the reputation of his arms. On the other hand, the Consuls *Licinius* and *Hostilius* had successively wasted their time in fruitless attempts to force a passage into *Macedon*, defacing the glorious enterprize of conquest by many losses received. Nor was it only by the casualties of war, that the army became greatly diminished; but by the facility of the military Tribunes, or perhaps of *Hostilius* himself (for they laid the blame each upon the other) in licencing the foldiers to go home. The Admirals of the Republic had so demeaned themselves as to make many of the towns, which had declared for *Rome*, weary of the alliance. And all these things together occasioned, for a time, a general discouragement among the *Romans*.

^a In the Consulship of *Cato* the elder, *Smyrna* paid the same compliment to *Rome*. *Facit. An.* 4. c. 37.

^a *Livy* reports; that on advice of the bad success of the war in *Macedon*, the *Prætor*, by order of the Senate, published

an edict, commanding all the *Senators* in *Italy* (who were not absent on affairs of the Republic) to repair to *Rome*; and forbidding those who were in the city to go above a mile from it. *B.* 43. c. 11.

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TO *Hofilius* succeeded *Q. Marcius Philippus*, who with *Cn. Servilius Capio* had been elected to the Consulship for the new year. *Marcus*, with a large reinforcement, which he had brought from *Italy*, joined the army at *Pharsalus*. Purposing to prosecute the war with vigour, he presently after his arrival consulted the guides concerning the best way to penetrate into *Macedon*. Some advised him to go by the way of *Pythium*; some by the *Cambunian* mountains, where *Hofilius* had attempted a passage the last year; and others by the side of the lake *Ascuris*. The Consul would determine nothing, till he should come to the place where the road, he was now in, branched out into three roads, which led to those passes. In the mean time *Perfes* heard of the enemy's approach, and being uncertain what way they would take, distributed his own forces to the defence of all places, which might give entrance, or permit ascent. When *Marcus* was come to the three roads before-mentioned, and had heard the opinion of his council, he determined to proceed by that road which led by the lake *Ascuris*; and accordingly sent before him 4000 foot to seize the most convenient posts in the way. Two days was this detachment embarrassed in overcoming the difficulty of only fifteen miles. After marching seven miles further they possessed themselves of a safe piece of ground, from whence they had sight of a body of 12,000 *Macedonians*, which, under the command of *Hippias*, the King had appointed to defend that pass. *Marcus*, having received notice of the situation of his detachment, hastened to join it. *Hippias*, not in the least dismayed at his appearance, met him and fought with him, two or three days successively, each returning to his own camp at night, with little loss on either side. These conflicts being on the narrow ridge of a mountain, where but a small number could march in front, few men were employed; all the rest were spectators. It was impossible for *Marcus* to get forwards, yet both shameful and dangerous to return. He therefore took the only course remaining. Part of his men he left with *Popillius*, to amuse the enemy, whilst he himself with the rest fetched a compass, seeking a passage by ways that had never been trodden, and being compelled to make paths, where nature seemed to have intended that none should be. So steep he found the descent of the mountain, that his men, for the most part, rolled themselves down, not daring to trust their feet. And when they had gone or tumbled four miles of this troublesome journey; they desired nothing more earnestly than that they might be allowed to creep back again, if possible, by the way they had come. To add to the other difficulties, the elephants, through fear, recoiled from the precipices, cast their Governors, and made such terrible

^b Geographers are not agreed where to place the lake of *Ascuris*; but the situation of it may be conjectured from hence, that when *Marcus* was got to the top of the

hill which overlooked it, he could see *Phila*, *Dium*, and all the sea coast. This hill was twelve miles from *Dium*.

noises,

Y. R. 584.
B. C. CIII.

283. Conf.

noises, as affrighted the horses: So that they caused among the troops a confusion almost as great, as if an enemy had broke in upon them by surprize. Shift however was made to let down the huge beasts by a kind of bridge, of which the one end was joined to the edge of the cliff, the other sustained by two posts fastned in the ground below. These bridges were covered with turf, that the beasts might not fear to go upon them. When an elephant had got some way upon one of these bridges, the posts upholding it were cut; which made him slide down to the next bridge, that began where the first ended. In like manner he was conveyed to the third, and so onward to the bottom of the descent.

After seven miles, the army came to a plain, and there rested a whole day, waiting for *Popilius*, who probably stole away in the night; for had the enemy followed him, and set upon him from the higher ground, (which doubtless they would have done, had they known of his motion) he must infallibly have been cut off.

The third and fourth days marches were like the first; only that custom, and the nearness to their journey's end, without meeting an enemy, animated the soldiers, more chearfully to endure the fatigue. The fourth day they encamped in the fields near *Heracleum*, about midway between *Tempe* and *Dium*, where the King had posted himself with the main of his army.

Perfes seems now to have been struck with fear beyond comprehension, and to have entirely lost his reason: for, could he have seen his own advantages, nothing had been more easy for him than to make the Roman General repent of his adventurous march. *Marcus* had indeed avoided the Streight of *Tempe*, and got beyond it; but he was inclosed between that Streight and *Dium*; neither of which could he have forced, had the *Macedonians* defended them: So that he and his army must have perished for want of provisions, unless he could have gone back the way he came; a thing impracticable, considering that the enemy, being now aware of the path he had made, would have fallen upon him from the tops of the hills, of which they were masters. There was no fourth way. Yet the cowardice of *Perfes* gave a colour of prudence to the rashness of the Consul: for the King no sooner heard that the enemy were come over the moun-

^c *Tempe* was a valley five miles in length, and very narrow; bounded on one side by mount *Olympus*, and on the other by mount *Offu*; between which, and through the middle of the valley, ran the river *Peneus*. The road lay on the side of a frightful precipice, along the river, and was so narrow, says *Livy*, that a loaded mule had scarce room to pass. To defend this streight, *Perfes* had posted a detachment at *Conni*, in the entrance of the valley;

another farther on at *Condylon*, an impregnable fortress; a third at a place called *Characa*; and a fourth in the road itself, and where the valley was narrowest.

^d *Dium* stood at the foot of mount *Olympus*, on the side towards *Thessaly*, and about a mile from the sea; of which mile, the river *Baphyrus*, becoming there a lake, took up the one half; the rest was such as might be easily fortified.

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trains to *Heracleum*, but, crying out, *that he was vanquished without fighting*, he took from *Dium* what valuable things he could carry away in haste, abandoned the town, and retired with his army to *Pydæa*. In the same vehemency of amazement he sent strict commands to burn, without delay, his naval stores at *Thessalonica*, and to throw his treasures, that were at *Pella*, into the sea; as if the *Romans* were just at the gates of those two cities, and going to take possession. *Nicias*, who received the order to drown the treasure, performed it as expeditiously as he could; yet not so desperately, but that, when the King regretted the loss, the greater part was recovered by diving. As to the naval stores, *Andronicus*, who had charge to set fire to them, deferred the execution, foreseeing that repentance might follow. Whether *Nicias*, for his absolute and blind obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his prudent forethought, merited the greater commendation, it lay in the King's breast to determine. The reward of their service was this: *Perſes*, growing ashamed of his mad cowardice, caused them both to be slain. Those poor men also, who had fetched his treasure out of the sea, were recompensed after the same manner; that so there might be no witness of the King's frantic fear.

To fill up the measure of his folly, he withdrew his garrisons from *Tempe*, and called *Hippias* away from the pass of *Ajuriis*, as also *Alepiodorus*, from the guard of another pass; and these men he openly reproached, as if they, and not he, had betrayed to the enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*.

Marcus took *Dium* without resistance, and from thence went forwards into the country; but, after three days, was compelled, by want of provisions, to return. His fleet, which he had ordered to steer along the coast, came to him at this time; but had left the storeships behind at *Magnesia*. Luckily for him, *Lucretius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he had employed to seize the fortresses of *Tempe* (abandoned by the *Macedonians*) found there plenty of corn; of which good fortune he gave the Consul notice. The sooner to get this corn, *Marcus* quitted *Dium*, and went to *Phila*, to meet the convoy that was coming to him; by which foolish journey he lost not only that important place, but his reputation. For he was now thought a coward, or, at least, an unskilful General; since he thus retreated, when it most imported him to have pushed forward.

The imprudence of *Marcus* brought the King to see his own error. To correct it in the best manner he could, he quickly repossessed himself of *Dium*, and repaired it's fortifications, having found it dismantled by

^c It is likely, that the greater part of his stores (for he had taken a month's provision with him from *Pharſalus*) was lost among the mountains; otherwise he could not have been in such distress, as, without any opposition from the enemy, to be forced to quit his enterprize.

^e A town between *Dium* and *Tempe*.

Y. R. 584.
Bel. Chr.
168.
233 Conf.
34 W. 1.

the *Romans*. This done, he encamped strongly behind the River *Enipeus*. Less diligence, more early employed, would have been enough to have gained him ample revenge upon *Marcus*, who had formerly deceived him by an idle hope of peace. And even his recovering and fortifying *Dium*, and his posting himself on the *Enipeus*, made it impracticable for the Consul to do any thing towards the conquest of *Macedon* in all the continuance of his office. He took indeed *Heracleum*, and made a feint as if he would have driven the King further off, and retaken *Dium*; but he had nothing so great either in his intention or hope, his chief care being to provide winter quarters. In order to facilitate the conveyance of provisions from *Thessaly* to *Heracleum*, he caused the roads to be cleared, and magazines to be erected in the most convenient places. He also sent the admiral to make attempts upon the maritime towns, *Thessalonica*, *Cassandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others: But though this commander was assisted by *Eumenes* with twenty ships of war, and had five from King *Prusias*, he met with no success in any one of those enterprises, but lost a considerable number of men.

Polyb. L.
gal. 73.

As *Marcus* acquired little honour by this campaign, so he shewed himself very unwilling that *Appius Claudius*, who commanded on the side of *Myrium*, should acquire more. At the time when *Perses*, by the success of his arms against *Hofilius*, had gained great reputation, *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and the patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it for the good of the nation to assist the *Romans*, in their adversity, whom, in their prosperity, they were never prone to flatter. *Archo* therefore proposed a decree, which passed, "That the *Achæans* should send their whole strength into *Thessaly*, and share all dangers with the *Romans*." *Polybius* and others were appointed ambassadors to *Marcus*, to acquaint him with this decree, and to know his pleasure. Finding the Consul busy in seeking a passage into *Macedon*, they went along with the army, but mentioned nothing of their commission till he was got to *Heracleum*. Then *Polybius* presented the decree; at the same time setting forth how invariably obedient the *Achæans* had been, during the course of this war, to every command of the *Romans*. *Marcus* in very strong terms expressed his satisfaction in the proofs of their good-will; but said, that he now needed no assistance. Instantly *Polybius* dispatched his colleagues home to report the Consul's answer, staying himself behind in the camp. After a while, *Marcus* had advice, that *Appius Claudius* desired of the *Achæans* 5000 men; to be sent him into *Epirus*. There could be no room to doubt but *Appius* had need of these men, and might, with such an accession of strength, do signal service, by obliging *Perses* to divide his forces. Nevertheless *Marcus* desired *Polybius* to return into *Achaia*, and take especial care that no such aid were sent to *Appius*: The *Achæans*, he said, ought not to be burthened with an expence to furnish troops that were not wanted. Away went *Polybius*, musing, and unable to resolve whether

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whether the Consul's earnestness in this affair proceeded from affection to the *Achéans*, or from envy towards *Appius*. And when the matter came to be debated in the *Achéan* diet, *Polybius* was in a new perplexity; the issue nearly concerning himself and those of his party. For should he neglect what the Consul had given him in charge, he was sure to incur his resentment; and, on the other hand, he considered, that word, spoken by *Martius* to him in private would prove no good warrant to the *Achéans* for refusing assistance to *Appius*. In this dilemma therefore he had recourse to the decree of the Senate, which exempted all their allies from the necessity of submitting to any imposition from a *Roman* commander, unless the same imposition were authorised by express order of the Conscript Fathers. *Appius* having no such warrant, the Diet referred his demand to the Consul, by whom they knew it would be opposed. And thus *Polybius*, by his artful management, saved to the *Achéans* above 120* talents †.

V. R. 594.
Bef. Chr.
168.
183. Conf.

* 25, 250. l.
A. B. 1100.

C H A P XIX.

FOURTH YEAR of the War.

L. Æmilius Paullus chosen Consul at Rome.

The report of some commissaries with regard to the state of the war in Macedon.

A negotiation between King Perseus and King Eumenes; each believing the other to be a knave, they come to no agreement.

King Perseus cheats King Gentius.

The base and foolish conduct of the Macedonian towards the Bastarnæ.

PLUTARCH reports, that the people of *Rome*, weary of the long continuance of the *Macedonian* war, [in which, through the cowardice, or insufficiency of their Generals, they had got nothing hitherto

* This year was passed at *Rome* the famous Voconian law, so called from *Q. Voconius*, the Tribune who proposed it. The law enacted, that no woman should be left heiress to an estate; and that no *Census* should, by his will, give above a fourth part of what he was worth to a woman. By a *Census* is meant a person rated high in the *Censor's* books.

The same year a difference happened between the *Censors*, *T. Sempronius Gracchus* and *C. Claudius Pulcher*, about the freedmen. These, that they might have the less sway in elections, had been con-

signed to the four city tribes: and *Gracchus* now proposed to deprive the greatest part of them entirely of the right of suffrage. But *Claudius* insisted that this was illegal; and that though a *Censor* might remove a man from one tribe to another (which was the full meaning of *tribu movere*) yet he could remove no man, much less a whole order of men, from all the five and thirty tribes. It was at length agreed, that all the freedmen should be incorporated in one of the city tribes; and it fell by lot to the *Esquiline* tribe to receive them. *Liv. B.*

45. c. 15.

I i i 2

but

but dishonour,] cast their eyes upon *L. Æmilius Paullus*, as a Captain, from whose courage and abilities they might hope a speedy and fortunate issue to that enterprize.

This man, the son of that *Æmilius Paullus*, who perished at the battle of *Cannæ*, had been Consul in the year 571, and had then conducted the war against the *Ligurians* with so much success, as to deserve the honour of a triumph. He was now near sixty years of age, but in full strength both of body and mind. Some time before this, the people had refused him a second Consulship when he stood candidate for it: But in the present exigency they raised him to that dignity, even against his inclinations; and assigned him the province of *Macedon*, without suffering him to draw lots with his colleague *C. Licinius Crassus* *.

Y. R. 585.
B. I. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

Æmilius would propose nothing to the Senate concerning his Province, till by Commissaries, sent thither to view the state of things, the strength and condition both of the *Roman* and *Macedonian* forces were perfectly known.

The Commissaries at their return reported, "That the army had penetrated into *Macedon*, but with greater danger than benefit: that the two camps lay near each other, the river *Enipeus* between them: that the King avoided a battle, and the *Romans* had not strength to force him to it: that the *Macedonians* were 30,000 strong: that *Marcus* wanted provisions; the *Roman* Admiral, men; and, for those few that he had, wanted both money and clothes: that *Appianus Claudius* and his army, on the frontier of *Illyricum*, were so far from being in a condition to invade *Macedon*, that they lay exposed to the danger of being cut off, if not speedily reinforced: that *Eumenes* and his fleet had just appeared, and then gone away; nobody could tell why: that he was wavering in his friendship to *Rome*, but his brother *Attalus* unquestionably steady."

Valerius Antias reports that *Eumenes*, coming to assist *Marcus*, in the same friendly manner as he had assisted the former Consuls, was not treated with the distinction he had expected; and thereupon returned home in anger, refusing, though requested, to leave behind him his *Gallo-Greek* horse. Whether this were truly so, or whether the *Pergamenian* began, when too late, to apprehend, lest the fire, which he himself had helped to kindle, would soon take hold of his own kingdom, it is certain that about this time he grew cold in his behaviour to the *Romans*. *Perses* took encouragement from it to sound him; and, finding him tractable, made an attempt to disengage him from the interest of *Rome*. The ambassadors whom he sent to *Pergamus* on this business, (but under colour of negotiating an exchange of prisoners) were also commissioned to go to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, then at war with

Polyb. Legat. 85.
Liv. B. 44.
c. 24.

* *Livy* says nothing of *Æmilius's* reluctance to accept of the Consulship; and tells us, that the province of *Macedon* fell to him by lot.

Ptolemy

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Ptolemy of Egypt. These ministers had orders to represent to *Eumenes*,
 "that there could be no real friendship between a King and a free
 "state: that the *Romans* had an equal enmity to all Kings, though
 "they used the help of one King against another: that they had op-
 "pressed *Philip* by the help of *Attalus*; *Antiochus the Great* by the
 "help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now made use of the forces of *Eumenes*
 "and *Prusias* to ruin *Perfes*." They were to exhort the *Pergamenian* to
 consider, "that the kingdom of *Macedon* once destroyed, his own could
 "be no longer safe; and that the *Romans* already began to look with a
 "better eye upon *Prusias* than upon him." In like manner they were
 to admonish *Antiochus* "not to expect any good conclusion of his war
 "with the *Egyptian*, so long as the *Romans* could make him desist from
 "the prosecution of it, by a bare declaration of their will and pleasure."
 And lastly they were to request, of both *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*, "that
 "they would either, by negotiation, engage the Republic to make
 "peace with the *Macedonian*; or, in case she persisted in so unjust a
 "war, turn their arms against her, as against the common enemy of
 "all Kings." What answer the *Syrian* gave is not recorded. *Eumenes*
 having perceived that the *Romans* themselves were weary of so tedious
 and difficult a war, and thinking it not unlikely that a peace would soon
 be concluded, whether he used his mediation or not, conceived a project
 of drawing some pecuniary advantage to himself from the present situa-
 tion of things. He offered *Perfes*, for a 1000 talents, to stand neuter;
 for 1500, to procure him a peace; and, in either bargain, not only to
 pledge his word, but to give hostages. The *Macedonian* approved
 very much the article of hostages; and readily agreed with *Eumenes*,
 that they should be sent to *Crete*. But as to paying the money,
 here he stuck. He was willing to be at some expence for a peace with
Rome; but did not care to pay for it before he had it. Till the peace
 should be concluded, he would needs deposite the money in the temple
 of *Semestrace*. As this island belonged to *Perfes*, *Eumenes* thought the
 money would be no nearer to him there, than if it remained in *Pella*; and
 therefore insisted upon having at least a part of it in hand. Thus the
 two Kings, (says *Livy*) in vain attempted to over-reach one another, and
 got nothing but infamy for their labour.

After the like manner acted *Perfes* with *Gentius* of *Illyricum*; with whom
 whom he had been treating before, and who had answered him in plain
 plain terms, that without money he could not stir. The *Macedonian* was
 very backward at that time to diminish his treasures; but, when the
Romans had got possession of *Tempe*, he agreed to pay 500 talents, which
Gentius demanded as the price of his friendship, and hostages
 were to be delivered on both sides for performance of covenants. *Gentius*
 sent his hostages, in company with some ambassadors, to the *Mace-*
donian camp, where *Perfes* ratified the treaty by oath, and delivered

Y. R. 585.
 B. Chr.
 167.
 2 4 Cont.

Appian
 in comment.
 L. 9.

Id. Legat.
 85.

Y. R. 589.
Bef. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

Polybius
Legat. 87.
P. L. 3. 1.
82.

his hostages in presence of the troops, that they, being witnesses of this transaction, might be encouraged by such an accession of strength to their party. Embassadors were presently after sent from both Kings to Rhodes, to engage that Republic in the confederacy. The Rhodians answered, *That they had already resolved to bring about a peace; to which they exhorted the Kings to raise no unnecessary obstacles.* The favourers of *Perfes* having become the prevailing party at Rhodes, embassadors had been sent from thence to Rome, to press the Senate to cease the prosecution of the war. What reception these Ministers met with we shall see hereafter.

Sir W. R. *Pantaucus* the Macedonian embassador had remained with *Gentius*, daily urging him to begin the war, especially by sea, while the Romans were unprovided of a naval strength. Ten talents of the promised money came, as earnest of the rest that was following. More followed indeed, and sealed up with the *Illyrian* seal, but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money reached the borders of *Illyria*, *Gentius* had laid hands on two Roman embassadors, under the pretence of their being spies, and thrown them into prison; which *Perfes* no sooner heard than he recalled his treasure bearers^b, and sent them with their load to *Pella*: For now the *Illyrian* must of necessity make war with the Romans, whether he were hired to it or not.

There came about the same time, from the other side of the *Danube*, to the aid of *Perfes*, 10,000 horse and 10,000 foot of the *Gauls*, called by *Plutarch*, *Bastarnæ*. The King, having advice of their arrival on the frontiers, sent a messenger with some inconsiderable presents to the chiefs, whom he invited to come to him, and promised to gratify with rich rewards. *Clondicus*, the General, immediately asked, whether *Perfes* had sent money for the soldiers, who, according to the bargain, were to have part of their pay in hand. To this the messenger making no answer, *Why then*, said *Clondicus*, *tell thy master that the Gauls will not stir one foot farther, till they have money and hostages.* Upon the report of this answer, the King took counsel; if it might be called taking counsel, to deliver his own opinion before men so wise that they would not contradict him. He made an invective against the savage manners and perfidiousness of the *Gauls*; "who came in such numbers as could not but be dangerous to him and to his kingdom. Five thousand horse (he said) would be as many as he should have occasion for; and not enough to give him cause to fear them." Doubtless there wanted not employment for the whole army of *Gauls*; since, without any danger to the Kingdom, they might have been sent, by the

Pot. life of
Æmil.
Liv. B. 44.
c. 26.

^b *Polybius*, who tells us, that *Perfes* ratified by oath the treaty with *Gentius*, that he gave hostages to the *Illyrian* embassadors for the performance of covenants, and that

he sent those, who had come to take charge of the stipulated money, to *Pella*, there to receive it, says nothing of *Gentius's* being cheated of that money.

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way of *Perrhebia*, into *Thessaly*, where ravaging the country, they would have constrained the *Romans* to abandon *Tempe*, even for want of provisions. This and much more might have been done; but *Perſes* was a better guardian of his money than of his kingdom. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, one of his nobles, and the same messenger who had been with the *Gauls* before, was sent again, to let them know the King's mind. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmuring of those many thousands that had been drawn so far from their own country to no purpose. *Clondicus* asked him, *Whether he had brought the money with him to pay those 5000 whom the King would take into his service.* And when it was perceived, that *Antigonus*, for want of an answer, had recourse to shifting excuses, the *Gauls*, without delay, marched back towards the *Danube*, pillaging and wasting that part of *Thrace* through which they passed. Yet, barbarians as they were, they suffered the messenger of fraud to escape unhurt, which was more than he could well have expected.

Thus acted *Perſes*, like a careful treasurer for the *Romans*, and as if he meant, says *Livy*, to preserve his money for them, without diminishing the sum^c.

C H A P. XX.

Gentius of Illyricum conquered by the Prætor Anicius.

Æmilius Paullus arrives in Macedon, and drives the enemy from the banks of the Enipeus.

Perſes defeated at the battle of Pydna.

He takes refuge in the island of Samothrace.

All Macedon submits to the Romans; and the King surrenders himself to

Octavius, the Roman Admiral, who sends him prisoner to the Consul.

UPON the report before-mentioned of the Commissaries, returned from *Macedon*, the Senate ordered into that country a large supply of men; but *Æmilius* was to have, in his army, only two *Roman* Legions, of 6000 foot, and 300 horse each; and of the *Italian* allies 12,000 foot, and 1200 horse. What soldiers remained after completing these numbers, were to be disposed of in garrison, if fit for service; if unfit, they were to be discharged. Yet, according to *Plutarch*, *Æmilius* had in *Macedon* 100,000 men under his command. *Cn. Octavius* the Admiral

^c *Dio Cassius* imputes this parsimonious conduct of *Perſes*, to a confidence in his own strength, not doubting but that he should be able, without the assistance of allies, to drive the *Romans* out of *Greece*. *Dio Cass. ap. Vales. p. 64.*

Y. R. 585. of the fleet had 5000 recruits granted him. And to the Prætor I.
 B. Chr. 167. *Anicius*, appointed to succeed *Appius Claudius* in *Illyricum*, was allotted an
 284 Conf. army of 20,400 foot and 1400 horse.

The Consul, before his departure from *Rome*, made an harangue to the people. The substance of it was a reproof for the liberty they took, while ignorant of the true state of things, to censure the conduct of their Generals. He said: "That, if any of them thought themselves wise enough to manage this war, he desired their company into *Adriaticum*, to assist him with their advice; that he had ships, horses, tents, and provisions ready at their service: But if they did not care to exchange the ease and indolence of a town life for the fatigues of war, they would do well to restrain their tongues; for he should not govern his actions by their caprice; nor have regard to any councils but such as were given him in the camp."

In the beginning of *April*, *Emilius* the Consul, *Octavius* the Admiral, and *Anicius* the Prætor, set out for their respective provinces.

App. in
 Illyr.
 Liv. B. 44.
 c. 31.

The success of *Anicius* in *Illyricum* was, as rapid as fortunate. He brought the war to a conclusion in thirty days, and before they knew at *Rome* that he had begun it. *Gentius*, after some loss at sea, and the ready submission of some of his towns to the *Romans*, shut himself up in *Scodra*, his capital, with all his army, consisting of 15,000 men. This place being very defensible by nature, and so strongly garrisoned, and the King there in person, it could not possibly have been taken in a short time, had the defenders of it kept within their walls. But they would needs fall out and fight; in this seeming rather passionate than courageous, for they were presently routed: and though they lost but 200 men, yet such was their fright and amazement, that *Gentius* thought it advisable to ask of the Prætor a truce, in order, as he said, to deliberate concerning the state of his affairs. Three days being granted him, he employed this time in enquiring after his brother *Caravantius*, whom he had commissioned to raise forces, and who was reported to be approaching to his rescue. Finding the rumour groundless, and having asked and obtained of the Prætor permission to come to him, he threw himself at his feet, lamented with tears his past folly, and yielded himself, together with his wife and children, at discretion: After which the whole kingdom presently submitted. *Anicius* dispatched *Perperna* (one of the ambassadors whom *Gentius* had imprisoned) with the news of all these events to *Rome*.

Liv. B. 45.
 c. 41.
 Plut. life
 of Paul.
 App. in
 the event.
 Liv. B. 44.
 c. 32.

EMILIUS PAULIUS, having set sail from *Brundisium* at break of day, arrived at *Cercyra* before night. Thence in five days he reached *Delphi*; where he sacrificed to *Apollo*. In five days more he joined the army at *Phila*, not far from the *Enipeus*.

Perseus, after taking the best measures he could to hinder a descent from the *Roman* fleet on the coast, spared no labour to fortify his bank of the

the *Enipeus*; so that the Consul had little hope to force him in his camp, and enter *Macedon* that way *. On enquiry he learnt, that there was a passage over mount *Olympus*, and by *Pythium*; the road not bad, but blocked up by a body of troops which the King had placed there. To force this guard, *Æmilius* chose out good men, whom he committed to the conduct of *Scipio Nasica*, his son-in-law, and *Q. Fabius*, his own son by nature, but adopted into the *Fabian* family. In order to conceal the design, they took the way to *Heracleum*, as if they were going to embark on board the fleet. From *Heracleum* they directed their march to *Pythium*, dividing the journey so as to arrive there the third day before it was light. In the mornings of those two days, when they were passing the mountain, *Æmilius*, that he might fix the King's attention on something present, detached a part of his *velites* to attack the advanced guard of the *Macedonians*. The channel of the *Enipeus*, which received in winter a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceedingly deep and broad, and the ground of it such, as though at present it lay almost quite dry; yet it afforded no good footing for heavy armed troops. It was for this reason *Æmilius* employed only his *velites*, of whom the King's light armed soldiers had the advantage in a distant fight, though the *Romans* were better armed for close engagement. The engines from the towers, which *Perfes* had raised on his own bank, played also upon the *Romans*, and did considerable execution. Yet *Æmilius* renewed his assault the second day; when he suffered yet a greater loss than the first. The third day he made a motion as if he meant to attempt a passage over the river near the sea. In the mean time, the King's camp became, on a sudden, full of tumult and confusion. *Scipio* and *Fabius*, (according to *Polybius*) had surprized the *Macedonian* guard upon the mountain asleep and slain most of them; the rest with all speed fled to the army, with the news, that the *Romans* had passed the mountain, and were at their backs. The King instantly broke up his camp, and made a hasty retreat to *Pydna* †. Thus was a passage once more opened into *Macedon*; an advantage which *Æmilius* did not, like his predecessor *Marcus*, neglect to improve.

* About this time the Consul introduced some new regulations in the *Roman* discipline. The word of command used to be given aloud at the head of the legions to all the soldiers, but *Æmilius* now ordered the Tribune of the nearest legion to give it in a low voice to his *Primipile*, who was to transmit it to the next *Centurion*, and thus it was to be conveyed from one to another, till it had gone through the whole army. And whereas it had been the custom

for the guards to stand from morning to night in their posts, without being relieved; the Consul altered this method, ordering them to be changed at noon. And because they often fell asleep, leaning upon their shields, he commanded that for the future they should go upon guard without a shield. *Liv.* B. 44. c. 23.

† This account differs in some circumstances from *Plutarch's*.

Y. R. 585.
Bef. Chr.167.
284 Conf.Plut. life of
Æmil.Liv. B. 44.
c. 36.

Perfes could not determine for a while what course to take; whether to distribute his troops into the fortified towns, and so to protract the war; or to put all at once to the hazard of a battle. Seeing his men in good heart, and eager to fight, he at length resolved to venture a general action. He chose therefore a place near the walls of *Pydna*, commodious for the Phalanx, and on each side of which were some high grounds, fit for the archers and light armed troops. A river covered the whole front; and this river, though shallow, and of little breadth, must in some measure break the order of the *Romans* in advancing to him. It was not long before the enemy appeared. He offered them battle; which the *Roman* soldiers would gladly have accepted the instant they arrived: But *Æmilius*, knowing that they were fatigued with their march, did not think it advisable to come to an engagement till they had taken some rest. Yet, that he might seemingly yield to the ardour of his men, he began to draw them up as for battle, directing the Tribunes to repair each to his post. As the day advanced, and the sun grew hotter, the countenances of the soldiers appeared less animated, their voices sunk, and some of the men were seen leaning on their shields and javelins for weariness. The Consul hereupon ordered a camp to be marked out. His chief officers, though dissatisfied with this change, (as they thought it) of his design, yet remained silent. But young *Scipio*, whose late success on mount *Olympus* gave him confidence, took the liberty to remonstrate, begging him not to lose his opportunity by delay. *Æmilius* told him, he spoke like a young man, and bad him have patience. This said, he commanded the troops in the front of his army to remain in their order, while those in the rear formed a camp and entrenched it: which finished, the whole army at leisure fell back into it, without any confusion or molestation from the enemy.

The next day many in each army blamed their Generals for not having fought the day before. *Perfes* excused himself by the backwardness of the enemy, who did not advance, but kept upon ground very inconvenient for the Phalanx. On the other side the Consul, who had his reasons before-mentioned, communicated them to those about him.

Sir W. R.

In the evening of that day (which, by the *Roman* account, was the third of *September*) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a legionary Tribune, foretold to *Æmilius*, and, with his approbation, to the army, an eclipse of the moon which would happen the same night; admonishing the soldiers not to be terrified, it being a natural event, which might be known long before the time. The *Romans* (according to their custom) while the eclipse lasted, beat pans of brass and basons, as we do in following a swarm of bees; thinking that thereby they helped the moon in her labour. On the other side the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noise, and this doubtless because it was their custom, and not because they were frightened at the eclipse, as with a prodigy that foreboded any mischief to them;

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them; since it did not in the least diminish their ardour for the fight. *Æmilius*, though not so ignorant concerning this phenomenon as to imagine it any thing supernatural, yet, being very religious, could not refrain from doing his duty to the moon, and, by a sacrifice of eleven young bulls, as soon as she shone out bright again, congratulating with her on her delivery. And early the next morning, when he had given the signal to prepare for battle, he sacrificed to *Hercules* twenty oxen successively, before any good omens could be found in the entrails. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth ox, was found a promise of victory to the *Romans*, but conditionally, that they acted only on the defensive.

Y. R. 385.
Bef. Chr.
167.
234 Conf.
Plut. life of
Æmil.

About three in the afternoon, when there was no likelihood of a battle, *Perfes* keeping his ground, and *Æmilius* having sent abroad a part of his men for wood and forage, an accident brought that to pass, of which neither of the Generals seemed very desirous. A horse belonging to a *Roman* broke loose, and ran into the river, whither two or three of the soldiers followed him: eight hundred *Thracians* lay on the further bank, whence two of them ran into the water to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blows with the *Romans*, as in a private quarrel, and one of the *Thracians* was slain. Some of his countrymen hastened to revenge their fellow's death, and followed over the river those that had slain him. Hereupon assistance came in on each part, till the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused the Generals of both armies to be anxious about the event. *Perfes* and *Æmilius* drew up their men in order of battle; and, to elevate their courage, employed all the arguments which the importance of the occasion suggested. But the King having finished his oration, and ordered his men to the charge, withdrew himself into *Pydna*; there to offer sacrifice to *Hercules*: as if *Hercules*, says *Plutarch*, could like the sacrifice of a coward; or would grant victory to him that would not fight.

It

“ Sir W. R. pleasantly says, “ that *Hercules* was a Greek, and partial, as nearer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than the *Roman*. That therefore it had been better to call upon the new Gods lately canonized at *Alabanda*, or upon *Romulus*, or (if a God of older date were more authentic) upon *Mars*, the father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of military affairs, and who therefore would have limited his favour with no injunctions contrary to the rules of war.”

One of the most distinguishing parts of *Æmilius's* character was circumspection and caution, which he had inherited from his father, a disciple of *Fabius Cunctator*. And though Sir W. R. blames *Æmilius* on

this occasion, as vainly consuming a great part of the day, in the sacrifices above-mentioned; yet, considering the advantage which *Perfes* had of the ground, it is not improbable, that the Consul had better reasons than any he found in the ox's belly, for desiring that the King should quit his post, and be the assailant. *Plutarch* speaks of the morning sun being full in the faces of the *Romans*, as a reason for *Æmilius's* deserting the battle till the afternoon. But it appears from *Livy*, that the Consul had no intention to fight, even when the sun favoured him.

“ One *Posidonius* (an historian quoted by *Plutarch*) says, that he was present at this battle.”

Y. R. 585.
 Bef. Chr.
 167.
 284. Conf.

It is impossible to form any satisfactory notion of this battle, in it's detail, from the imperfect accounts of it in *Livy* and *Plutarch*. We read that the *Macedonian* cavalry quickly fled out of the field; that nevertheless the Phalanx pressed on so resolutely as to bear down all that opposed it, inasmuch that *Æmilius* was astonished and terrified, and rent his clothes for grief. What gave him the victory was the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of the Phalanx's preserving its order for any considerable time. For while some of the *Roman* battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoiled from it, it was necessary, if the *Macedonians* would follow those that gave ground, that some files should advance beyond the rest. *Æmilius* when he saw the front of the enemy's battle become unequal (by reason of the unequal resistance which they met with) and the ranks in some places open, divided his men into small battalions, ordering them to throw themselves into the void spaces, and charge the Phalangites in flank. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* by this means became useless: and, with only their weak swords and targets, they were by no means a match for the *Roman* Legionaries, who had strong swords, and whose shields covered them almost from head to foot. There soon followed a total rout of the *Macedonian* Infantry. More than 20,000 of them are said to be slain, and 5000 taken prisoners. It is also said, that the *Romans* did not lose above a hundred men; a tale not very consistent with what is related of the exploits of the *Macedonian* Phalanx.

Plot. life of
 Æmil.

Sir W. R.

Liv. B. 44.
 c. 43.

Perfes fled from *Pydna* towards *Pella*, attended by a great number of his horse. Some of the foot which had escaped from the slaughter overtook the King and his company in a wood, where they fell to railing at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traitors, and other such names, till at length they came to blows*. The King, fearing lest they should turn their wrath against him, suddenly left the high road. A few followed him: the rest dispersed themselves, and went every one whither his inclinations guided him. Of those that kept with their King the number began in a short time to lessen: for he fell to devising upon whom to lay the blame of that day's misfortune; which caused those that knew his nature to shrink away from him under various pretences. At his coming to *Pella* about midnight, he found his pages, and *Eutylus*† the Governor of the town, ready to attend him; but of his great men that

battle, and reports, that *Perfes*, though hurt the day before in the leg by a kick of a horse, did nevertheless, and contrary to the pressing instances of his friends, lead his phalanx to the charge, and that he continued at their head till he was wounded in the side by a javelin.

* *Livy* says nothing of the foot having

overtaken the horsemen, or of the quarrel between them; or that the King blamed any body for the loss of the battle.

† *Plutarch* says, that *Perfes* stabbed with his own hand this *Eutylus*, and one *Edus*, for telling him of his faults, and giving him advice with too much freedom.

had

had escaped from the battle, though he often sent for them, not one would come near him. Fearing lest they, who had the boldness to disobey his summons, would dare something worse, he stole out of Pella before morning. There went with him only *Evander* (the *Cretan* formerly employed to kill *Lumenes* at *Delpi*) and two other companions of his flight from *Pydna*. The third day after the battle *Perfes* came to *Amphipolis*, where having several times attempted to make a speech to the people, and having as often been hindered by his tears from proceeding, he appointed *Evander* to speak in his name what he himself had intended to say. The *Amphipolitans*, upon the first rumour of the King's defeat, had emptied their town of 2000 *Thracians* that lay there in garrison, sending them out, under colour of an expedition that was to make them rich, and then shutting the gates after them. And now to rid themselves of the King, some of the citizens cried out while *Evander* was speaking, *Hence; depart; must we be ruined upon your account?* *Perfes* therefore put his family, his treasures, and 500 *Cretans*, on board some vessels which were in the river *Strymon*, and embarking with them followed the course of the stream. These *Cretans* are said to have repaired to him, not out of any affection to his person, or his cause, but to his money, of which they hoped to share. The King knowing their wishes and views, caused some gold and silver cups and vases, to the value of fifty talents*, to be laid on the shore, as a booty for which they might scramble. He would not make the distribution himself, for fear of disobliging some of them. When the *Cretans* had loaded themselves with these riches, the little fleet sailed to *Galepsos*, a maritime town between the mouths of the *Strymon* and the *Hebrus*. But now *Perfes*, repenting of his liberality, pretended to the *Cretans*, that among the cups and vases there had been put, by mistake, some which *Alexander the Great* had made use of; for whose memory he had so high a respect, that it grieved him, he said, to part with the least thing that had belonged to that Hero; and he offered to redeem them with more than they were intrinsically worth. Many of the *Cretans*, imposed upon by this declaration, brought back their urns and vases. The King passed into *Samothrace*, and spoke no more of the money. By this base artifice he recovered about thirty talents^b.

Samothrace was an island consecrated to *Cybele* the mother of the Gods. According to tradition she had formerly dwelt in it, on which account it was held sacred by all nations. *Perfes*, hoping that the *Romans* would not profane this sanctuary by staining it with his blood, chose to retire thither with his family and the remains of his dear treasure (which

V. R. 585.
B. f. 108.
167.
284 Conf.

* 96871.
108. At-
but not.

Plut. life of
Æmil.

* This may be true, yet it seems natural, that, without this allurements, they should adhere to *Evander*, their country-

man and General, who continued about the King.

^b *Livy* makes no mention of this cheat.

Y. R. 585.

Bef. Chr.

167.

284. Conf.

* 387500 l.

Aibuthnot.

Liv. B. 44.

c. 45, 46.

still amounted to about * 2000 talents) and he took up his habitation in a place adjoining to the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

It is somewhat singular, that a King whose arms had prospered for three years together, should, after the loss of only one battle, be so deserted by all his subjects, and reduced to such miserable shifts: And it renders credible, in some degree, what the historians have related of his monstrous falshood, avarice and pusillanimity, in the latter part of his reign. The whole kingdom fell into the power of *Æmilius* in a few days after his victory. *Hippias*, who had kept the pass near the lake *Asauris* against *Marcus*; *Pantauchus*, who had been sent ambassador to *Gentius*; and *Milo*, another of the King's principal officers, were the first that came in, yielding themselves and the town of *Berea*, whither they had retired out of the battle. With messages to the like effect came others from *Theffalonica*, from *Pella*, and most of the towns of *Macedon*, within two days. *Pydna* held out a day or two longer. About 6000 soldiers of divers nations having fled out of the battle into that town, this confused rabble of strangers hindered the townsmen from coming immediately to any determination. *Milo* and *Pantauchus*, by the direction of *Æmilius*, went thither to parly with the commander of the garrison. It was agreed, that the soldiers should yield themselves prisoners of war, and that the *Roman* army should have the plunder of the city. After this, *Æmilius* marched to *Pella*, where, of the King's treasure, he found no more than 300 talents [*Livy* should have said, 290;] the same of which the *Macedonian* had lately defrauded *Gentius*.

B. 45. c. 4.

& seq.

The report that *Perfes* had taken refuge in *Samothrace*, was soon confirmed by his own letters to the Consul. He had sent these letters by persons of such mean condition, that *Æmilius* is said to have wept with compassion for a King so fallen as to have no servants of better rank to employ in this commission. But though *Perfes* had written in the stile of a suppliant, and not of a King, yet, because the inscription of his epistle was, *King Perfes to the Consul Paullus*, his folly, says *Livy*, in retaining the title of King, when he had lost his kingdom, extinguished all the Consul's pity, so that he would return him no answer either by word or writing. The *Macedonian* now felt the whole weight of his calamity; he wrote again, omitting the word King in the superscription, and desiring *Æmilius* to send to him some persons with whom he might confer about his present condition. Three went to him from the Consul, but effected nothing; they insisting, that *Perfes* should yield himself at discretion; and he refusing to part with the title of King. It was perhaps the hope of being able to compound with his enemies, and purchase of them the permission to live in quiet, and retain the title of King, that had made him so carefully preserve his treasures, and retire with them to *Samothrace*; imagining that the *Romans* would neither violate a sanctuary, nor yet neglect the riches in his possession.

Presently

Chap. XX. *Second Macedonian War.*

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Presently after arrived at that island, with the *Roman* fleet, *C. Octavius*, who had been ordered thither by the Consul. *Octavius* endeavoured, as well by threats as by fair words, to make the King leave his retreat. All proving ineffectual, a young *Roman*, named *Attilius*, moved a question to the *Samothracians*; *How they came to pollute their island (which they held to be sacred) by receiving, even into their sanctuary, a man stained with the blood of King Eumenes, whom he wounded and endeavoured to murder, in the holy precincts of the temple at Delphi?* As they were now absolutely in the power of the *Romans*, this question caused no small perplexity and fear. They signified to the King, that *Evander*, who lived with him, was accused of a sacrilegious crime, of which he must either clear himself, upon a fair trial; or, if through guilt he durst not stand a trial, must cease to profane a holy place, and leave it immediately. The King himself was not charged in this message; yet, what would that avail him, if the instrument of the fact, being brought into judgment, should impeach the author? *Perfes* therefore exhorted the *Cretan*, by no means to stand a trial, in which neither favour nor justice could be expected; adding that the best thing he could do was bravely to kill himself. *Evander* seemed to approve the advice; but said, he had rather die by poison than the sword; and, under colour of preparing poison, he prepared to escape. The King, suspecting his intention, found means to get him murdered; and then, to avoid the charge of having polluted the holy place, he bribed the chief magistrate of *Samothrace* to publish, that the *Cretan* had killed himself. This monstrous proceeding of *Perfes*, towards so constant a follower of his fortunes, drove almost every body from him, except his wife, his children, and his pages. Thus deserted, he turned his thoughts to make an escape, and fly with his treasures to King *Cotys* of *Thrace*, his good friend and ally. *Oroandes*, a *Cretan*, who lay at *Samothrace* with one ship, was easily persuaded to undertake the affair. The dear treasure (as much of it as could be so conveyed) *Perfes* caused secretly to be carried on board by night; After which, having got out at a window, with his wife and his elder son *Philip*¹; they passed through a garden, and over a wall, and thence to the sea-side. No ship was there. *Oroandes* had sailed away with the money. *Perfes* wandered some time on the shore, undetermined what course to take. It grew towards day: Fearing therefore to be discovered and intercepted, he made all haste back to his asylum.

Octavius published a proclamation, importing, That all the *Macedonians*, who yet attended their master in *Samothrace*, should have their lives and liberty, with whatever estate or effects they had, either in the island, or in *Macedon*, provided they immediately yielded them-

¹ This elder son is said by *Livy* to have been the King's brother by nature, and his son only by adoption.

Y. R. 585.
B.C. Chr.
167.
284 Conf.

Y. R. 585. selves to the *Romans*. Hereupon the pages, who were the sons of
 Bef. Chr. the chief nobles, and who had hitherto constantly kept with the King,
 167. surrendered themselves to the Prætor. *Ion* also, a *Thessalonian*, to whom
 284 Conf. *Perfes* had committed the care of his younger children, delivered them
 up. Lastly, the King, now destitute of all support, and accusing the
 Gods of *Sinagrace*, that had no better protected him, gave himself up,
 with his son *Philip*, to *Ottavius*, who sent them away to *Æmilius*: and thus
 the *Roman* victory was compleat^k.

Perfes entered the camp in a mourning habit; and when he came in-
 to the Consul's tent, would have thrown himself at his feet; a behavi-
 our so base and abject, that *Æmilius* thought it dishonoured his victory.
 Having made the King sit down, he expostulated with him, in gentle
 words, on his having, *so unjustly* and with *so hostile a mind*, made war
 upon the *Romans*. To this a Prince of more spirit would not have want-
 ed an answer. *Perfes* said nothing. The Consul went on, "However
 " these things have happened, whether through mistake, to which every
 " man is liable, or by chance, or by the inevitable decrees of fate; take
 " courage: The clemency of the *Roman* people, which so many Kings
 " and nations have experienced in adversity, affords you, not only a hope,
 " but almost an assurance of Life." He then gave the King in custody
 to *Ælius Tubero*, who was the Consul's son-in-law.

Thus ended the *Macedonian* war (which had lasted four years) and
 with it the *Macedonian* monarchy, after it had continued in splendor 193
 years, reckoning only from *Philip* the father of *Alexander the Great*.

Liv. B. 45. ^k *Æmilius Paullus* is (by *Livy* and others)
 c. 41. made to boast in a speech to the people,
 Plut. life of that he finished the war against *Perfes* in
 Paull. fifteen days. This is absolutely unintelligi-
 Appian. ble, unless he reckons from the battle of
 fragm. *Pydna*, or the action upon the *Enipeus*: for
 no circumstances of the whole story are bet-
 ter, if so well, authorized, than his leav-
 ing *Rome* the first of *April* to go to the army,
 his arrival in the camp the eleventh day
 after sailing from *Brundisium*, and his fight-
 ing the battle of *Pydna* on the fourth of
September.

Plutarchus says it is evident, from the e-
 clipse which happened the night before this
 battle, that it was fought in the year before
 Christ 168. *Rastinar. Temp. P. II. B. 2.*

So outrageous an insult upon wretched-
 ness, as *Æmilius* is guilty of, in this lying
 expostulation, is hardly to be paralleled.

The *Roman* State, by the entire con-
 quest of *Macedon*, became exalted to the
 pitch of its possible Power. Sir *Walter*

Raleigh, finishing that part, which he has
 left us of the *History of the World*, with this
 conquest, makes use of a beautiful similitude
 to express the prosperous condition and high
 fortune of the *Romans* at that period, and
 likewise the future fate, the decline, and
 total ruin of their empire.

"By this which we have already set
 "down, is seen the beginning and end of
 "the three first monarchies of the world.—
 "That of *Rome*, which made the fourth,
 "was also at this time almost at the highest.
 "We have left it flourishing in the middle
 "of the field, having rooted up or cut
 "down all that kept it from the eyes and
 "admiration of the world. But after some
 "continuance, it shall begin to lose the
 "beauty it had; the storms of ambition
 "shall beat her great boughs and branches
 "one against another; her leaves shall fall
 "off, her limbs wither, and a rabble of
 "barbarous nations enter the field and cut
 "her down." Sir *W. R. in fine.*

C H A P. XXI.

The ill reception of the Rhodian ambassadors at Rome.

Antiochus Epiphanes haughtily treated by a Roman ambassador.

Compliments to the Senate from Antiochus, the Ptolemys of Egypt and Masinissa.

The Prætor Anicius reduces the Epirots; and, in conjunction with five Commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Illyricum.

Æmilius Paullus, assisted by ten commissioners, settles the affairs of Macedonia.

Their conduct with regard to the Ætolians, Achæans and other Greeks.

Æmilius frames a body of laws for the Macedonians. His cruelty to the Epirots. He with difficulty obtains a triumph at Rome.

The death of Perſes.

The Romans restore to Cotys his captive son.

IT is needless to say any thing of the joy at Rome upon the news of the victory at Pydna. The Romans began now to look with a haughty and menacing eye, upon all those of their allies whose behaviour had displeased them during the war of Macedonia.

The republic of Rhodes (as was before * observed) had arrogantly undertaken to put an end to the war between Perſes and the Romans. At what time soever her ambassadors came to Rome on this affair (for the time is uncertain) they had not their audience till after the news of Æmilius's victory^a. The Senate, who knew upon what business these Ministers had been sent, maliciously called for them now, and bid them perform their commission. Ageſipolis, chief of the embassy, said, "That they had come in the view of mediating a peace, believing, that the war was extremely burthensome to the Greeks in general, and, on ac-

* Livy having before related (B. 44. c. 14.) that these very ambassadors had been admitted to audience in the consulship of Marcius, and had then spoken arrogantly and in threatening terms to the senate, now tells us, that, according to some authors, these ministers had no audience till after the battle of Pydna. That this last account is true, may be gathered from Polybius, who had a share in the transactions of those times. He tells us,

that the Rhodians indeed sent ambassadors to Rome, in the Consulship of Marcius; but that their business was to renew their friendship with the Romans, to vindicate Rhodes from the charge of disaffection to Rome, and to ask leave to export a certain quantity of corn from Sicily. He adds, that they were very graciously received, and civilly dismissed. Legat. 80. 86. 88. and 93.

Account

Y. R. 533. "count of the expences that attended it, even to the *Romans* them-
 Bel. Chit. selves. But since it was now brought to that conclusion, which the
 167. " *Rhodians* had always withed, they congratulated with the Senate and
 284 Curs. " people of *Rome* on so happy an event." To which the Fathers an-
 swered, "That the *Rhodians* had not sent this embassy, from any re-
 gard to the welfare of *Greece*, or from affection to the *Roman* people;
 " but for the service of *Perfes*. For, had they studied the good of
 " *Greece*, they would have offered their mediation, when *Perfes* had his
 " camp in *Thessaly*, and, for two years together, ravaged the lands of
 " the *Greeks*. But as the mediating scheme was not thought of till the
 " *Roman* army had entered *Macedon*, and *Perfes* had small hopes to
 " escape, it plainly shewed, that the only view of the *Rhodian* Repub-
 " lic was, as much as in her lay, to rescue the *Macedonian* out of his
 " danger. Her ambassadors therefore had no title to be received by
 " the Senate as friends, or to expect a friendly answer."

How excessively the *Roman* pride was swelled by their conquest of *Macedon*, we have a remarkable proof in what pass, about this time, between their ambassador and the King of *Syria*.

After the death of *Antiochus* surnamed the Great (who was killed by the people of *Elymais*, for plundering the temple of *Jupiter Belus* in their country) his son, *Seleucus Philopator*, succeeded him in the throne. *Seleucus* sent for his younger brother *Antiochus*, who had been a hostage at *Rome*, ever since the conclusion of the peace between his father and the Republic; and gave in exchange for him his own son *Demetrius*. Before *Antiochus* arrived in *Syria*, *Seleucus* was poisoned, and the kingdom usurped by *Heliodorus*, the treasurer. Nevertheless, by the assistance of *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, *Antiochus* expelled the Usurper, and seated himself in the throne, assuming the surname of *Epiphanes* [or the Illustrious.] He entered into a war against his nephew *Ptolemy Philometor*. King of *Egypt*, about *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; vanquished the *Egyptians* in two battles; and took *Pilometor* prisoner. Hereupon the *Alexandrians* declared *Ptolemy Euergetes* or *Physcon*, King, in the room of his elder brother. The *Syrian*, under pretence of restoring the latter to his kingdom, renewed the war against the *Egyptians*, defeated them in a sea fight, took *Pelusium*, and laid siege to *Alexandria*, where *Physcon* had shut himself up with his sister *Cleopatra*. These applied to the Senate for relief; and the Conscrip Fathers, not thinking it for the interest of the Republic, that *Antiochus* should annex *Egypt* to his dominions, dispatched ambassadors to put an end to the war between the two Kings. *C. Popillius Lænas*, *C. Decimius* and *C. Hostilius*, the persons commissioned on this affair, had orders to address themselves first to *Antiochus*, and then to *Ptolemy*, signifying to each, that if he persisted in carrying on the war, the people of *Rome* would hold him for their enemy. In the mean time, as the *Syrian* found it difficult to reduce *Alexandria*, in it's present

Strabo. B.
16. p. 744.

App. in
Syr. p.
116.

Polyb. Le-
gat. 72. &
82.

Hieronym.
in Dan. c.
11. ap.
Prideaux.
Liv. B. 44.
c. 19.

Liv. B. 45.
c. 11.

present strength, and hoped that he should succeed better in his designs when the brothers were weakened by the continuation of the war between themselves, he returned home; leaving *Philometer* in possession of *Memphis* and all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria* and *Pelufium*. This last town he kept in his own hands, that he might enter the country when he pleased. The brothers perceived the ambitious views of the *Syrian*; to disappoint which they came to an accommodation, by the good offices of their sister *Cleopatra*, and agreed to reign jointly. *Antiochus*, vexed to see his projects disconcerted, resolved now to make war upon both the brothers. In pursuance of this resolution, he sent a fleet to *Cyprus*, and marched with his land army towards *Egypt*. At his coming to *Rhinocolura*, ambassadors met him from *Ptolemy* the elder, to entreat him that he would not destroy his own work; but suffer their matter quietly to wear the crown he owed to his friendship. The *Syrian* answered, that he would neither draw off his fleet nor his army, unless *Cyprus*, *Pelufium*, and all the land on that branch of the *Nile* where *Pelufium* stood, were yielded to him in perpetuity. These conditions being rejected, *Antiochus* by force of arms subdued all *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*. He was on his march to besiege this city, and within four miles of it, when the *Roman* ambassadors (who, having passed through *Greece* and *Asia*, had been several months in their journey) came up to him. The *Syrian*, while a hostage at *Rome*, had contracted a friendship with *Popilius*, the chief of the embassy, and therefore immediately offered him his hand. But the *Roman*, instead of accepting the civility, put into the King's hand a writing, which contained the Senate's decree; and bid him read that. *Antiochus* read it; and then said, *He would consult with his friends*. Instantly *Popilius*, with a vine twig, drew a circle round the King: *Your answer*, said the ambassador, *before you go out of this circle*. *Antiochus*, stunned at the imperiousness of the command, hesitated for some moments; after which he replied, *The Senate shall be obeyed*. He would hardly have been so submissive (says *Polybius*) had he not received advice of *Emilius*'s victory over *Perfes*. And it may be worth observing, that this haughty *Popilius* was the man who, when the *Roman* affairs went ill in *Macedon*, employed such soft and gentle words to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*. Nor did *Antiochus*, during that war, pay any regard to the mediation of the *Romans*, who had sent ambassadors to terminate the war between him and *Ptolemy*. But times were changed; and the *Syrian* now most obsequiously withdrew his fleet and army, and went back into his own country.

Popilius and his colleagues having sent away *Antiochus*, and established a peace between the two *Ptolemys*, left *Egypt*, and returned to *Rome*.

^c It was this *Antiochus* who pillaged *Jerusalem*, filled the streets with dead bodies and the temple with profanations. A memorable event which the prophet *Daniel*^e had foretold.

^e Dan. ix.

^f Maccab. c. i. Joseph. Antiq. B. 12.

Y. R. 585. They were followed thither by ambassadors from *Syria* and *Egypt*. The
 B. 1. Chr. *Syrians*, on the part of their King, assured the Conscrip Fathers,
 167. "That he preferred a peace, that was agreeable to the Senate, before
 284 Conf. "any victory; that he had obeyed the orders of their ambassadors, as
 "if they had been the commands of the Gods; that he congratulated
 "the *Romans* on their victory over *Perfes*; and that, had they required
 "it of him, he would have zealously assisted them in the war." The
 Senate answered, "That *Antiochus* had done well in obeying the em-
 "bassadors, and that his conduct herein was very agreeable to the Re-
 "public." Then the *Egyptian* ministers, and, after them *Masgaba*,
 the son of *Masfiniffa*, had audience of the Fathers. Their speeches
 were such as if they had vied one with another, which should
 flatter the *Romans* most. The *Egyptians* said, "That the two King-
 "and *Cleopatra* thought themselves more indebted to the Senate and
 "people of *Rome*, than to their parents, or even the immortal Gods."
 And as for *Masgaba*, he truly, on the part of his father, (having
 first reckoned all the horse, foot, elephants, and corn, he had sent
 into *Macedon* in four years past) "was overwhelmed with confusion on
 "two accounts; the one, that the Senate, to have these supplies, had
 "employed a request, and not a command; the other, that they had sent
 "money for the corn." He added, "*Masfiniffa* never forgets that
 "he owes his kingdom and all its augmentations to you: He indeed,
 "by your favour, enjoys the revenues of it, but always considers you
 "as the Proprietors and Lords of *Numidia*. This, at my departure,
 "he instructed me to say. Having afterwards heard of your victory
 "over *Perfes*, he dispatched some horsemen after me, to bid me assure
 "you that he was overjoyed at your success; and beg that you would
 "permit him to come to *Rome*, if he should not be troublesome, and
 "offer, in thanksgiving, a sacrifice to *Jupiter* in the capitol." The sub-
 stance of the Senate's answer was, "That the *Romans* had done *Ma-*
 "*finiffa* the favours he mentioned; that he had deserved them;
 "and that he was a very grateful and a very honest man. As to his
 "journey, they said, it would be sufficient if he thanked God at home;
 "his son might do it for him at *Rome*."

Y. R. 586. *L. Aelius Pactus* and *M. Junius Pennus* were raised to the Consulate.
 B. 1. Chr. But the Senate continued *Emilius* in his command in *Macedon*, as Pro-
 166. consul; and *Anicius* and *Oclavius* in their respective provinces as Pro-
 285 Conf. prætors. They also appointed ten Commissioners to regulate the affairs
 E. V. B. 45. of *Macedon*, and five to settle those of *Illyricum*, in concert with the two
 c. 16. Generals.

c. 26. *Anicius*, before these Commissioners arrived, marched with part of
 his army into *Epirus*. All the country immediately submitted to him,
 except four towns, *Passaron*, *Tecmon*, *Phylax*, and *Horreum*; and not
 one of these, stood a siege. Two men, *Antinous* and *Theodotus*, who in
 concert

concert with *Cephalus*, had brought about the defection of the *Epirots*, and who despaired of pardon, would have persuaded the inhabitants of *Passaron* to hold out against the *Romans*, and prefer death to slavery: But the council of a certain young citizen of rank, who advised them to open their gates, had more weight with the multitude. *Antinens* and his friend, seeing themselves thus deserted, rushed out of the town, attacked a *Roman* guard, and there found the death they sought. *Cephalus*, who had engaged the people of *Tecmon* to shut their gates, being also slain, both these towns surrendered to the Proprator; and their example was soon followed by *Phylax* and *Horreum*.

Y. R. 586.
Bet. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

The reduction of *Epirus* being thus compleated, *Anicius* distributed his troops into winter quarters, and returned to *Scodra* in *Illyricum*. Here he found the five commissioners from *Rome*; with whom having consulted, he called an assembly of the principal men of the country, and, in conformity to a decree of the Conscrip Fathers, declared, That the Senate and people of *Rome* granted liberty to the *Illyrians*: That the *Roman* garrisons should be withdrawn from all the towns, fortresses and castles in the country: That those of the *Illyrian* towns which, before or during the war with *Gentius*, had come over to the *Romans*, should be exempted from all taxes: the rest pay but a moiety of what they had used to pay to their Kings." *Illyricum* was then divided into three parts, independent of each other.

During these transactions *Æmilius* was making a tour of pleasure, and visiting all the famous cities of *Greece*: He would not, any where, inquire into the dispositions of the inhabitants with regard to *Perjes*, that he might give them no alarm. Soon after his return from this excursion, he proceeded to business; the ten commissioners, who were to assist him in settling the affairs of *Macedon*, being arrived. He had ordered ten of the principal men out of each city of the kingdom, to attend him on a certain day at *Amphipolis*, bringing with them all the public registers, and the King's money. When this day came, he ascended the tribunal with the *Roman* commissioners, and, having caused silence to be made, pronounced, in *Latin*, to the assembly, what had been determined by the Senate of *Rome* and the council present, in relation to *Macedon*. The Prætor *Octavius* afterwards explained to them the whole in *Greek*. It was to this effect. "All the *Macedonians* shall be free, and enjoy their cities, lands and laws, and create annual Magistrates. They shall pay to the *Roman* Republic half the tribute they formerly paid their Kings. *Macedon* shall be divided into four cantons, Gi-

Liv. B. 4.
c. 20.

^b When *Livy* says *Læus*, he must mean the *By-Læus* of the several cities or communities; for we find that *Æmilius* made a body of laws for the government of the whole: If it be not rather true that, in pro-

misg them that they should retain their own laws, he acted as in other parts of his conduct, without the least regard to truth or humanity.

Handwritten signature

Y. R. 586. " which *Amphipolis*, *Pella*, *Thessalonica* and *Pelagonia* shall be the capi-
 Bet. Chr. " tals. In these chief cities shall be held the particular Diets of each
 166. " canton; and there the Magistrates shall be elected, and the tribute
 285 Conf. " money paid. No person shall be suffered to marry, or to purchase
 " lands, or houses, out of his own canton. No *Macedonian* shall be
 " suffered to work in gold or silver mines; but they may in those of
 " copper and iron."

The article of chusing their own Magistrates, and that of paying but half their former tribute, were some consolation to the *Macedonians*; but did not compensate them for separating the members of the national body, and thereby depriving each member of all assistance from the rest. *Livy* says, the *Macedonians* themselves were not aware how contemptible each part became by this division.

Livy. B. 45. *Æmilius*, in his return from his tour of pleasure, had been met by a
 28. crowd of *Ætolians* in mourning, who came to make heavy complaints to him. *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus*, two of their countrymen, whom their credit with the *Romans* rendered all powerful in *Ætolia*, had, with a body of soldiers, lent them by *Bæbius*, surrounded the Diet, and massacred 550 of the principal men of the nation, banished others, and given the estates, both of the murdered and the exiled, to their accusers⁴. The Proconsul had deferred his answer to these complainants, and bid them meet him at *Amphipolis*. He now, in conjunction with the Commissioners, examined into the affair. But the only enquiry was, Who had favoured *Perfes*, and who the *Romans*; not who had done, or who had suffered wrong. The murderers were consequently acquitted of all injustice, and the banishment of the exiles confirmed. Only *Bæbius* was condemned for having employed *Roman* soldiers in the massacre.

Sir W. R. Whatever might be said to palliate the cruelty of the *Roman* proceedings, in regard to those nations that had been conquered by them, certainly their behaviour towards the *Greeks*, that were not subjects to *Rome*, could deserve no better name than mere tyranny and shameless perjury. The *Greeks*, during the war, had been divided into three parties, which we may call by the names of the *Romanists*, the *Perseites*, and the *Patriots*; which last had nothing at heart but the preservation of the laws and liberty of their country. The two former may properly be stiled factions; because, as *Livy* tells us, they acted upon views only of private interest. Since the defeat of *Perfes*, the *Romanists* had every where got possession of all offices and honours; and these men employed their credit with the *Romans* to ruin both the *Patriots* and the *Perseites*. Coming in great numbers to *Æmilius*, they gave information

⁴ *Lyciscus* had been instrumental in dis-
 appointing *Perfes* of his hopes, when, dur-
 ing the war, he made a journey into *Æto-*
lia, as has been mentioned, p. 421; and

the men on whom this massacre was com-
 mitted, were probably those who had in-
 vited *Perfes* thither.

against the open and secret enemies of *Rome*; by the latter, meaning the Patriots. The Proconsul, by his mandates, summoned, from *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bactia*, all those whose names had been given in to him; and ordered them to follow him to *Rome*, there to be tried. V. R. 186.
Bef. Chr. 166.
285 Conf.

With regard to the *Acheans*, *Æmilius*, and the other ten Tyrants, proceeded with more form. *Callicrates*, that traitor to his country before-mentioned, had given in a list of all those of his countrymen whom he had a mind to destroy; but it was not judged advisable to summon these by letter; because the *Acheans*, having more spirit than the other *Greeks*, might possibly not obey; and perhaps they might massacre *Callicrates* and his adherents. Besides, though the Commissioners had, among the King of *Macedon's* papers, found letters from the leading men of the other States; yet they had found none from any *Achean*. They deputed therefore two of their own body, *C. Claudius* and *Cn. Domitius*, to negotiate with the *Achean* diet. One of these deputies, having first complained in the assembly, that some of the chief among them had, with money and other means, befriended *Perſes*, modestly desired, that all such men might be condemned to death: whom, after sentence given, he would name to them. *After sentence given* (cried out the whole assembly) What justice is this? Name them first, and let them answer. If they cannot clear themselves, we shall quickly condemn them. Then said the *Roman* impudently, *All your Prætors, as many as have led your armies, are guilty of this crime.* If this be true, answered *Xeno*, (a man of temper, and confident in his innocence) then have I also been a friend to *Perſes*; for I have commanded the *Achean* army. But if any one accuse me, I am ready to answer him, either here immediately, or before the Senate at *Rome*. The *Roman*, laying hold of these words, replied, *You say right: that will be the best way. Do you, with all the rest, clear yourselves at Rome before the Senate.* Then, by an edict, he ordered above a thousand of the principal *Acheans*, there named, to be carried to *Rome*: a proceeding unprecedented, and more tyrannical than any thing done by *Philip* of *Macedon*, or his son *Alexander the Great*. Those Princes, all powerful as they were, never thought of summoning their enemies, among the *Greeks*, to come to *Macedon* to be tried; but left the judgment of such matters to the Council of the *Amplyſſions*. Paulan. in
Achean. c
10.

This may be justly termed the captivity of *Greece*, so many of the worthiest men being torn from their native homes, for no other cause but their love to their country, and for being *Greeks* in *Greece*; though the *Romans* held it the greatest of crimes for a member of their Republic not to be a *Roman*. At the coming of the accused to *Rome*, the Senate without hearing them, and under pretence that they had been already condemned by their own countrymen, dispersed them into several cities of *Hetruria*, there to be held in custody. Frequent embassies were Polybius,
Legat. 103.
137.

V. P. 186.
B. I. C. 166.
85 Conf.

were sent from *Achaia* to remonstrate to the Senate that those men had not been condemned by the *Achaean*s; and to beg that the Father should either take cognizance of the cause themselves, or send the captives to be tried at home; where strict justice should be done. The Senate answered, *That they thought it not for the interest of Achaia that those men should return thither.* Neither could any solicitation of the *Achaean*s, who never ceased to importune the Senate for the liberty of their countrymen, prevail, till after seventeen years, when scarce 300 of them were enlarged; of whom *Polybius* the historian was one. All the rest had either died in confinement; or, for attempting to escape, had suffered death as malefactors.

C. I. B. 45.
12.

To return to *Æmilius*. After *Claudius* and *Domitius* had performed their commission in *Achaia*, the Proconsul convened a second general assembly of the *Macedonians*; and gave them a body of new laws for their better government: laws so wise, and so judiciously contrived, says *Livy*, that time and experience found nothing to correct in them. And the more effectually to secure the peace of the government, he ordered that all the chief nobles, all those who had been Generals of armies, Commanders of fleets and garrisons, or had been employed in embassies, or in any manner under the King, should, on pain of death, with their children (those above fifteen years of age) leave *Macedon* and go into *Italy*. These men accustomed to luxury and expence, to make servile court to the King, and to insult their inferiors, would, he thought, be impatient of that equality, which laws and liberty introduced.

After this the Proconsul celebrated games at *Amphipolis*, and made sumptuous feasts for his friends; that is to say, for those who had betrayed the liberty of their country to the *Romans*. One part of the shew was burning, in a great heap, all such of the *Macedonian* weapons as he did not think worth carrying to *Rome*: another was exposing to view all the statues, paintings, and rich moveables, of which he had plundered the King's palaces; doubtless a most agreeable sight to the *Macedonian* spectators. All these magnificent spoils he gave in charge to *Octavius* the Admiral; and, having exhorted the *Macedonians* to make a good use of the liberty granted them by the *Romans*, and preserve union among themselves; and having dispatched his son *Fabius* and *Scipio Nasica* to ravage the country of the *Illyrians*, who had assisted *Perfes*, [and to whom *Anicius*, by order of the Senate, had granted pardon and liberty*] he set out for *Epirus*.

* See page 445.

The Senate being desirous to preserve entire the *Macedonian* treasure, and yet to gratify the soldiers of *Æmilius*, had sent orders that all the towns of *Epirus*, which had favoured *Perfes*, should be given up to be plundered by the army. To use the words of a great historian, "This

* *Polybius* had not been sent into *Hetruria*; *Scipio* and *Fabius*, the sons of *Æmilius*, having obtained leave for him to stay at *Rome*. *Polyb. Excerpt. B. 31.*

" was

"was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmilius*, with mischievous subtilty." Being come to *Pessinus*, he, by letter, communicated to *Lucius*, who lay encamped not far off, what was going to be done, that he might not be alarmed at the execution. He then dispatched, into the several towns, certain Centurions, who were to pretend commission from him to withdraw the garrisons, that the *Epirots* might be free like the *Macedonians*. The same officers had also instructions to send to him ten of the principal inhabitants of each town. To these, when they came, he gave strict command to see, that all the gold and silver, both in the temples and private houses, were, on a certain day, carried into the market places of the respective towns; and (according to *Appian*) assured them, that, on their punctual obedience to this command, those towns should have a full pardon of all past faults. Under pretence of assisting these collectors in their business, and of furnishing a guard to take charge of the money, he sent with them some cohorts; contriving it so, that these cohorts should arrive at the respective towns at one and the same time. On the day appointed, and to the places appointed, the gold and silver was all brought, and delivered to the *Roman* officers; who then, pursuant to their instructions, gave the signal for the soldiers to pillage the houses, and seize the inhabitants. Seventy towns were sacked in one day, and 150,000 persons made slaves¹. The walls of these places were afterwards demolished.

"It may be granted," (says Sir *W. R.*) "that some of the *Epirots* deserved punishment, as having favoured *Perſes*. But since they among the people that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had been already sent into *Italy*, there to receive their due; and since this nation, in general, was not only at the present in good obedience, but had, even in this war, done good service to the *Romans*, I hold this act so wicked, that I should not believe it, had any one writer delivered the contrary."

After

¹ When the booty came to be divided, the share of each foot soldier amounted, according to *Levy*, to 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* and of each horseman, to 12*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* of our money. But according to the text of *Plutarch*, as we have it, each man's share came to no more than about 7*s.* It would seem, that neither of these reckonings can be true, if we suppose the slaves to have been sold for the benefit of the soldiery.

² *Polybius*, who was an intimate friend of *Scipio*, the son of *Æmilius*, reports, that the Pro-Consul, with regard to what has been above related of the *Ætolians* and

Abrians did not approve of the calamities brought by *Lycyus* and *Callicrates* against their respective countrymen. And *Plutarch* tells us, that in this treatment of the *Epirots*, *Æmilius* acted contrary to his natural temper, which was gentle and humane: But he does not say, that *Æmilius* wept for the miseries of these wretched people, as he did (when the *Thracian* captives came to him) for the humiliation of a King, whom the same *Æmilius* represents as the most cowardly, ambitious, treacherous, cruel, ignominious tyrant that ever disgraced a throne. *Æmilius* is reported to have

Y. R. 586.
 Bef. Cmt.
 166.
 185 Conf.

After this exploit, *Æmilius* marched to *Oricum*, where being rejoined by *Nasica* and *Fabius*, he embarked with his whole army, and arrived safe in *Italy*. *Anicius*, and *Octavius*, with the fleet, followed him a few days after. The Senate decreed triumphs to all three. But the triumph of *Æmilius* was opposed, in the assembly of the people, by his own foldiers, who complained of his excessive severity in discipline, and of his injustice in withholding from them the spoils of *Macedon*. *Servius Galba*, a Tribune of the second Legion, and a personal enemy of the General, harangued for four hours against him. The question was not put till the second day; when, the Comitium being thronged with foldiers, the first Tribes that gave their suffrages refused the triumph. Hereupon the principal Senators cried out, It was a shame to deny *Æmilius* an honour he had so well deserved; and that, at this rate, Generals would become subject to the caprice and covetousness of their foldiers. *M. Servilius*, a man of consular dignity, and, if we may believe *Plutarch*, of such prowess that he had slain twenty-three enemies in single combat, prevailed with the Tribunes of the Commons, to call back the Tribes which had already voted, and make them give their suffrages anew. The same consular, with permission of the Tribunes, made a long speech of expostulation to the people, and with such effect, that the Tribes unanimously decreed a triumph to *Æmilius*.

The number and excellence of the statues and paintings, the costly vases, the rich arms, the great quantities of gold and silver exposed to view in this triumph, made it more pompous than any that had preceded

have been disinterested, insomuch, that notwithstanding the great opportunities he had of amassing wealth, he died but moderately rich: It may be so. *Cicero* says, a disregard of wealth was the virtue of those times: But whatever virtues *Æmilius* possessed, it is very manifest, that the Roman Senate never had an abler minister of execrable fraud and cruelty.

^b Mr. Kennet, from *Plutarch*, gives us the following description of *Æmilius's* triumph.

"The people erected scaffolds in the Forum and Circus, and all the other parts of the city, where they could best behold the pomp. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways cleared and cleansed by a great many officers and tipstaves, that drove away such as thronged the passage, or straggled up and down. This triumph lasted three days: On the first, which

"was scarce long enough for the sight, were to be seen, the statues, pictures and images of an extraordinary bigness, which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon 250 chariots. On the second was carried, in a great many wains, the fairest and the richest armour of the *Macedonians*, both of brass and steel, all newly furbished and glittering; which, although piled up with the greatest art and order, yet seemed to be tumbled on heaps carelessly and by chance: Helmets were thrown on shields, coats of mail upon greaves, *Cretan* targets, and *Thracian* bucklers, and quivers of arrows lay huddled among the horses bits; and through these appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long spears. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that they knocked against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and terrible noise; so that the very spoils of the conquered

preceded it¹. What rendered it yet more glorious, was the person of *Perfes* himself, as the King of *Macedon*, led in chains before the chariot of the Victor. *Perfes* had earnestly begged of *Æmilius* to

Y. R. 586.
B. C. 166.
285 Conf.

prepare

" quered could not be beheld without
" dread. After these waggons loaden with
" armour, there followed 3000 men, who
" carried the silver that was coined, in
" 750 vessels, each of which weighed three
" talents, and was carried by four men.
" Others brought silver bowls, and gob-
" lets, and cups, all disposed in such or-
" der as to make the best show, and all
" valuable, as well for their bigness, as the
" thickness of their engraved work. On
" the third day, early in the morning, first
" came the trumpeters, who did not sound
" as they were wont in a procession, or so-
" lemn entry, but such a charge as the
" Romans use when they encourage their
" soldiers to fight. Next followed young
" men girt about with girdles, curiously
" wrought, who led to the sacrifice 120
" stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and
" their heads adorned with ribbons and
" garlands; and with these were boys that
" carried platters of silver and gold. After
" this was brought the gold coin, which
" was divided into vessels that weighed
" three talents, like to those that contained
" the silver; they were in number four-
" score wanting three. These were fol-
" lowed by those that brought the conse-
" crated bowl, which *Æmilius* caused to
" be made, that weighed ten talents, and
" was all beset with precious stones: Then
" were exposed to view the cups of *Anti-*
" *gonus* and *Seleucus*, and such as were
" made after the fashion invented by *The-*
" *ocles*, and all the gold plate that was
" used at *Perfes*'s table. Next to these
" came *Perfes*'s chariot, in the which his
" armour was placed, and on that his
" diadem. And, after a little intermission,
" the King's children were led captives,
" and with them a train of nurses, masters,
" and governors, who all wept, and
" stretched forth their hands to the specta-
" tors, and taught the little infants to beg
" and intreat their compassion. There
" were two sons and a daughter, who, by
" reason of their tender age, were altoge-
" ther insensible of the greatness of their

" misery; which insensibility of their con-
" dition rendered it much more deplor-
" able; insomuch, that *Perfes* himself was
" scarce regarded as he went along, whilst
" pity had fixed the eyes of the Romans
" upon the infants, and many of them
" could not forbear tears: All beheld the
" sight with a mixture of sorrow and joy,
" until the children were past. After his
" children and their attendants, came *Per-*
" *fes* himself, clad all in black, and wearing
" slippers, after the fashion of his country:
" He looked like one altogether astonished
" and deprived of reason, through the
" greatness of his misfortunes. Next fol-
" lowed a great company of his friends,
" whose countenances were disfigured with
" grief, and who testified, to all that be-
" held them, by their tears, and their con-
" tinual looking upon *Perfes*, that it was
" his hard fortune they so much lamented,
" and that they were regardless of their
" own. — After these were carried 400
" crowns, all made of gold, and sent from
" the cities, by their respective embassa-
" dors, to *Æmilius*, as a reward due to
" his valour. Then he himself came seated
" on a chariot magnificently adorned (a
" man worthy to be beheld, even without
" these ensigns of power): he was clad in
" a garment of purple interwoven with
" gold, and held out a laurel-branch in
" his right hand. All the army, in like
" manner, with boughs of laurel in their
" hands, and divided into bands and com-
" panies, followed the chariot of their
" commander, some singing odes (accord-
" ing to the usual custom) mingled with
" raillery; others songs of triumph, and
" the praises of *Æmilius*'s deeds, who was
" admired and accounted happy by all
" men, yet unenvied by every one that
" was good." *Kennet. Antiq. P. II. B. 4.*

c. 16.
¹ Authors are not agreed about the sum
Æmilius brought into the treasury. *Valerius*
Antias reckons this sum at (*millia ducenties*)
120 millions of little sesterces*. *Livy* thinks,
from the numbr of waggons employed to carry

*968,750!
Arbuthnot

Y. R. 586
Bet. C. int.
166.
285 Contl.

C. c. in
V. int. 5.
30.

* See p.
440.
Plut. &
Diod. Sic.
ap. Phot.

Diod. Si-
cal. in
frag.
Schult.
frag L. 4.

spare him this indignity; and had received for answer, *That what he asked was in his own power.*

It was the custom, that, when the triumphant Conqueror turned his chariot up towards the capitol, he commanded the captives to be led to prison, and there put to death; that so the glory of the victor, and the misery of the vanquished, might be, in the same moment, at the utmost. But as *Æmilus* * had encouraged *Perses* to an almost certain hope of life, from the known clemency of the *Romans* to conquered Kings and nations; this King was only thrown into the common gaol at *Alba* [in the country of the *Marfi*.] "He was afterwards", at the intercession of "*Æmilus*, removed to a more commodious habitation; where, according to most authors, he starved himself, but, according to some, the soldiers who had him in custody destroyed him, by not suffering him to sleep." Thus writes *Plutarch*. *Mitbridates*, in a letter to *Artabanes*, King of *Parthia*, says, "That the *Romans*, after many battles, between them and *Perses* with various success, entered into a treaty with him; and though, upon the altars of *Samothrace*, they pledged the *Roman* faith for the safety of his person; yet did these subtle deceivers, these inventors of the arts of perfidy, put an end to the life of that Prince, by depriving him of the necessary refreshment of sleep."

The King's daughter and one of his sons died soon; it is uncertain how: his other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toymen; but was afterwards preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at *Rome*. In such poverty ended the Royal house of *Macedon*, about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

Liv. B. 45.
c. 40.
Plut. life of
Æmil.

Æmilius Paulus, in the height of his glory, had the mortification to lose two sons; the one five days before his triumph, the other three days after it: A loss which he bore wisely, telling the people (when, according to custom, he gave them an account of his services) that, in the course of human things, great prosperities, such as they had lately experienced, being usually followed by great adversity, he had prayed to the Gods, that the calamities to be apprehended, might fall upon

carry it, that it must have been much more. *Valerius Patere*, values it at (*his milles centies*) 210 millions of little sesterces †; and *Phry* at (*his milles trecenties*) 230 millions of the same species ‡. *Cicero* (*de Off. L. 2. c. 22.*) tells us, that *Æmilius* brought so much money from *Macedon*, that the *Roman* people were no more taxed from that time. And *Plutarch* (*in Æmil.*) says, that they were not taxed till the Consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*,

i. e. the year after *Julius Caesar* was killed, and of *Rome* 710. But this immensity from taxes was no doubt chiefly owing to the great tribute paid by the provinces, and the immense sums brought into the treasury, at several times, by *Roman* Generals.

* *Livy* speaks, as if *Perses*, by the Senate's direction, was decently lodged and entertained, even at his first going to *Alba*. B. 45. c. 42.

† 1,695,312 l. 10 s. Aristhnot.

‡ 1,856,770 l. 16 s. 8 d.

him, rather than on the public: That his triumph having been immediately preceded by the funeral of one of his sons, and closely followed by that of another (so that, of four sons, not one remained to perpetuate his house and name; his two elder having passed by adoption into other families) he hoped, the Gods, satisfied with his private misfortune, would spare the commonwealth, and continue to make it flourish in all prosperity.

Y. R. 586.
Bet. Chr.
166.
185 ConC.

The triumph of *Amilius* was soon followed by those of *Octavius*, Admiral of the fleet, and *Anicius*, the conqueror of *Illyricum*. In the latter appeared King *Gentius* with his wife and children, and many of the *Illyrian* Nobles: But *Octavius* had neither captives in his procession, nor spoils to adorn his shew.

Among the prisoners taken in the *Macedonian* war, was a son of *Cotys*, King of the *Ordrysians* in *Thrace*. *Cotys* sent ambassadors to apologize for his having aided the enemies of *Rome*. He alledged, in excuse, that he had been forced to give hostages to *Perfes*; and he offered a ransom for his son, and for those hostages now in the hands of the *Romans*. The Fathers answered, "That they had not forgot the ancient friendship between the Republic and the *Thracian* Kings his ancestors: That his having given hostages was the accusation; and "would never serve for a defence; since *Perfes* could at no time be "very formidable to the *Thracians*; least of all, when engaged in a "war against the *Romans*: That though *Cotys* had preferred the friendship of the *Macedonian* King to that of *Rome*, yet they would less "consider his demerit than what became their own dignity: That they "would send back his son and the hostages: And that the gifts, "bestowed by the *Roman* people, were always free; because they preferred the gratitude of the receivers to any compensation what "soever."

L. vv. B.
45. C. 42.

The *Romans* having compassed all their views in that part of the public world, it was much for their interest, that *Cotys* should cease to be their enemy; who might otherwise have disturbed their new settlement. And it cost them very little, to make this parade of beneficence and magnanimity.

C H A P. XXII.

Attalus, who comes from his brother Eumenes to congratulate the Romans on their victory, disoblige the Senate, by declining their favours. The Rhodians harshly treated by the Romans. The servile flattery of King Prusias to the Senate. They refuse to receive a visit from Eumenes King of Pergamus.

Y. R. 586.

Bat. Chr.
166.

283 Conf.

Liv. B. 45.

c. 19.

Polyb. Le.

gat. 93.

OF the many ambassadors that came to Rome from Kings and States, after the victory over *Perses*, *Attalus*, and the *Rhodian* Ministers engaged the attention and curiosity of the public more than all the rest. *Attalus* came from his brother *Eumenes* to congratulate the *Romans*; and to ask their assistance, or countenance at least, against the *Gallo-Greeks*, who molested him. The Senators in general entertained the ambassador in a friendly manner; and some of the most considerable privately incited him to request of the Senate a part of his brother's kingdom for himself; assuring him that it would be granted. *Attalus*, not disliking the motion, promised to do as he was advised. But *Stratius* a physician (whom *Eumenes*, suspecting what might happen, had sent to watch *Attalus's* conduct) represented to him, That, by the unanimity between his brother and him, he already reigned in *Pergamus*, and had every thing of a King but the title; that *Eumenes* was infirm, could not live long, and had no heirs but him. [For the King of *Pergamus* had not yet owned that son who reigned after him.] By such arguments, *Attalus*, though with difficulty, was prevailed upon to bridle his mad ambition. In his speech therefore to the Senate, he only congratulated the *Romans* on their victory over *Perses*; desired that they would, by their authority, restrain the *Gallo-Greeks* from making incursions into *Pergamus*; and, in reward of his services in the late war, grant him *Ænos* and *Maronea*. These cities of *Thrace* had been formerly conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perses*, and had since been disputed with him by *Eumenes*. The Senate, imagining that *Attalus* designed to take another opportunity to ask a part of his brother's kingdom, not only granted him what he now asked, but, in their presents to him as ambassador, shewed singular magnificence. *Attalus* would not understand their meaning, but left Rome, satisfied with what he had already obtained. This so highly displeased the fathers that, while he was yet in *Italy*, they passed a decree, declaring *Ænos* and *Maronea* free cities. As to the *Gallo-Greeks*, the Senate dispatched an embassy to order them to keep within their own bounds; doubtless not caring that they should make a conquest of *Pergamus*.

The

The *Rhodians* had lately sent two embassies to *Rome*; the one close after the other; the first occasioned by the rough answer before mentioned, that was given to *Agefipolis*; the second, by the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of *Popillius* and his Collegues at *Rhodes*. These *Roman* ambassadors, in their way to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had landed at *Loryma* in *Caria*. Thither came to them the principal men of the *Rhodians*, earnestly entreating them "to visit *Rhodes*" (which was but twenty miles distant) "it greatly concerning the safety and honour of the city, that they, by informing themselves, upon the spot, of the state of things, should be able to report the truth to the Senate." The *Romans* were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to stop their voyage. And, when they came to *Rhodes*, it was necessary to use pressing instances before they would condescend to honour, with their presence, an assembly of the people. And this honour did not cease the terror of the *Rhodians*, by the manner in which *Popillius* delivered himself. His discourse was nothing but reproaches, uttered in the tone of an angry accuser, and with a stern, menacing countenance. But *C. Decimius*, another of the ambassadors, spoke with more moderation, says *Livy*; yet he mentioned all the faults of which he could possibly accuse the *Rhodians*; and these faults amounted to no more than that they had made decrees, flattering *Perses*, and sent embassies of which they had reason to be ashamed and repent: "Nevertheless he would by no means have these crimes imputed to the body of the people, but to some turbulent citizens, on whom alone the punishment ought to fall." In short, he was so moderate, as to desire, that only all those who had shewed themselves favourers of *Perses*, by attempting to bring about a peace, should be put to death. The multitude, glad to have the blame removed from themselves, applauded the discourse; and instantly passed a decree, condemning to death all who should be convicted of having done or said any thing for *Perses*, and against the *Romans*. Of those whom this decree affected, some had left the city before *Popillius* arrived; others killed themselves; the rest were executed.

Such absolute submission to the will of the *Romans*, one would naturally think, should have procured the *Rhodian* ambassadors a ready and favourable audience of the Senate. Yet they were not only refused a hearing, but the Consul, by order of the Fathers, signified to them, that they should not be entertained as ambassadors from a state in friendship with *Rome*. More than this, *Juventius Thalna*, the Prætor *Peregrinus*, moved the people to declare war against *Rhodes*. Hereupon the ambassadors went about, in mourning habits, soliciting with tears the favour of the principal citizens. And now two of the Tribunes took the part of this distressed people; and, having made the Prætor come down from the *rostra*, suffered two of the *Rhodian* ambassadors, *Philopbron* and *Mymedes*, to take his place; and, one after another, harangue the assembly. They received

Y. R. 586.
Bef. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

Liv. B. 45.
c. 10.

B. 45. c.
20.
Polyb. Legat. 93.

such

Y. R. 586.
Bef. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

such an answer as freed them from the apprehension of a war. At length the Senate also admitted them to audience. *Astymedes* humbly confessed before the Fathers the folly of his Republic, in the late steps he had taken with regard to the war between *Rome* and *Macedon*; yet he hoped that her former services would be remembered, and make her faults be overlooked: and in conclusion declared, that if *Rome* should resolve upon a war against the *Rhodians*, they were determined not to defend themselves.

Aul. Gell.
B. 7. c. 3.

The ambassadors then prostrated themselves on the ground, holding out olive branches to the Conscript Fathers. All those of the Senators who had commanded in *Macedon* as Consuls, Prætors, or Lieutenants, declaimed with heat against the *Rhodians*. *Cato* spoke in their behalf. There remain only some fragments of his speech, preserved by *A. Gellius*. They are to this effect. "I am very apprehensive, Conscript Fathers, lest, intoxicated with our present great prosperity, we should be hurried into some resolutions that will, in the end, overthrow it. Let us not be too hasty; but take time to come to ourselves.—"

"I believe indeed that the *Rhodians* did wish, that *Perfes* might not be conquered by us; and I believe also, that many other States and Nations wished the same. Some of them, perhaps, not out of ill will to us, but fear for themselves; lest, if there should be no power remaining to check us, and keep us in awe, we should become their absolute lords and masters. Yet the *Rhodians* never openly assisted *Perfes*. Do but consider with how much more precaution we act with regard to our private affairs. There is not one of us, who does not set himself to oppose, with all his might, whatever he thinks is doing against his interest. Yet the *Rhodians* in the like case were quiet and passive.—"

"Their bitterest accusers have not charged them with any thing worse than an inclination to be our enemies. And is there any law that makes inclinations penal? Is there any one of us that would care to be subject to such a law? For my part, I would not. Who has not wished to have more land than the laws allow? Yet nobody is punished for this. Does any man think of rewarding another, for having had an inclination to perform a good action, which he did not perform? And shall we think of punishing the *Rhodians*, because they are said to have had an inclination to do some ill, which however they did not do?—"

"But it is said the *Rhodians* are proud. Be it so. What is that to us? Are we angry because there is, in the world, a people prouder than we?"

Cato's discourse had probably some effect, and the weight of his character more; but it would seem (from *Cæsar's* speech in *Salust*) that what chiefly moved the Senate to drop entirely the design of attacking

Rhodes,

Rhodes, was the apprehension, lest it should be thought, that, not revenge, but covetousness, the desire of plundering that wealthy city, was their motive to the war. They returned however a very harsh answer, *That they would not treat the Rhodians either as friends or as enemies.* The Fathers soon after declared *Lycia* and *Caria* free; provinces which they had given to the *Rhodians* for their services in the war against *Antiochus the Great*. And, not long after, they were ordered to evacuate the cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonicea*, which produced a yearly revenue of 120 talents: The first they had bought of *Ptolemy's* Generals for 200 talents; the other had, for signal services, been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*. The *Rhodians* not only submitted to every thing, but decreed the *Romans* a present of a crown of gold of great value; which they sent to *Rome* by their Admiral *Theodotus*. This Minister had orders to solicit the Senate, that *Rhodes* might be admitted into an alliance with the Republic; a favour which in a hundred and forty years, that she had been in friendship with the *Romans*, she had never before asked, or even coveted. For it had been the steady policy of the *Rhodians* to keep themselves free from all such engagements as might hinder them from giving their assistance, whenever they pleased, to any King or State that wanted it. *Rhodes* therefore was much courted by all her neighbours; and drew advantage to herself both from their hopes and from their fears. A year or more passed before the Senate condescended to grant the *Rhodians* that alliance which necessity now urged them to request.

BUT, of all the worshippers of the *Roman* Senate, there was none so devout as *Prusias* King of *Bitynia*. He had long been in this devotion. Whenever any ambassadors came to him from the Republic, he used to go out to meet them with his head shaved, and wearing a cap, habit, and sandals, like those which the slaves at *Rome* put on when they were emancipated. In this dress, saluting the ambassadors, *You see*, said he, *one of your freed men, ready to obey all your commands, and to conform himself to all your customs.* And now when he came to congratulate the *Romans* on the success of their arms, stooping down, with both hands on the ground, at the entrance of the Senate-house, he kissed the threshold of the door, and began his address to the Fathers in these words, *Hail, Senators, ye Gods, my Saviours*—The rest of the speech was suitable to the beginning, and such as, *Polybius* says, he should be ashamed to repeat; who adds, that the Senate were the more gracious to the King for the meanness of his behaviour. They granted him every thing he asked: A renewal of the league between him and *Rome*: Leave to discharge a vow he had made to sacrifice ten oxen to *Jupiter* in the capitol, and one to Fortune at *Præneste*, in thank-

* The *Rhodians* appointed their Admiral to negotiate this affair at *Rome*, he alone being legally qualified to act in it without a decree of the people; and such decree they chose not to give, because it would make the ignominy the greater, in case the alliance were refused. *Polyb. Legat. 93. Liv. B. 45. c. 25.*

Y. R. 586.
Hef. Chr.
166.
285 Conf.

giving for the Roman victory: And a certain territory which, as the King pretended, the Romans had conquered from *Antiochus*, and which, they not having since given it to any body, the *Gallo-Greeks* had seized. But this last grant was made conditionally, that, upon examination, they should find, what the King had said, to be true. The Senate also promised to continue their care of his son, who had been educated at *Rome*. And when the *Bithynian* was to set out on his return home, they appointed *Scipio* to attend him, pay his charges on the road, and never leave him till he had seen him safe on board his ship at *Brundisium*, from whence twenty gallies were to convoy him to a fleet, of which the Fathers had made him a present.

Polyb. Le-
gat. 97.

ABOUT the time that *Prusias* left *Italy*, the Senate received notice that King *Eumenes* was coming. As they had an immovable hatred to the *Pergamenian*, and yet were unwilling to publish it, this advice embarrassed them. Should they give him an opportunity of speaking in defence of his conduct, they must return him an answer: To give him a favourable answer would be, not only contrary to their inclination, but to good policy; and openly to proclaim their hatred to him would derogate from their reputation of prudence and discernment, they having treated this unfaithful Prince as one of their best friends and allies. To avoid both these inconveniencies, they passed a decree, forbidding all Kings to come to *Rome*. And when they heard that *Eumenes* was landed at *Brundisium*, they sent a Quæstor to notify to him this decree, and enquire whether he had any thing to ask of the Senate. If he had not, the Quæstor was to desire him to leave *Italy* as soon as possible. The King said he had nothing to ask; and, without entering into farther conversation with the Roman, returned to his ships, and sailed home.

C H A P. XXIII.

Complaints brought to the Senate from Asia, against King Eumenes. He is insulted by a Roman ambassador.

On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Senate commission some of their body to go into Syria, and do mischief there.

Octavius, the chief of the commission, is assassinated.

Demetrius, the nephew of Antiochus Epiphanes, escapes from Rome into Syria, and makes himself King.

The Senate determine a dispute between two competitors for the kingdom of Cappadocia.

LIVY's history of *Rome*, from the time that King *Prusias* made his visit to the Senate, is lost; a loss not richly supplied by *Plutarch*, *Appian*, the tribe of Abridgers, and the collectors of Fragments; nor

nor consequently by the elegant and ingenious patchwork of *Freischmieds*. Of the year 587 (if this be not the date of the decree that stopped *Eumenes's* journey) the most important events, recorded, are these: That the Consuls *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* obtained some advantage in the endless war against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*; and that a kite caught a weasel behind the statue of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and dropt it among the Conscript Fathers, assembled in that temple: A dreadful omen, which it was thought necessary to avert by expiations.

IN the succeeding Consulship of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, ambassadors came to *Rome* from *Prusias*, complaining of some irruptions which *Eumenes* had made into the kingdom of *Bithynia*; and accusing him of having entered into a league with *Antiochus* against the *Romans*. His neighbours also, the *Galatians*, sent complaints of his encroachments. This people the Senate supported underhand, without declaring openly against the *Pergamenian*. For though *Tiberius Gracchus*, deceived by the artful behaviour of the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*, to whom he had been appointed ambassador, made a favourable report of their dispositions; yet the Senate continued to suspect them of some mischievous machinations. *Eumenes* dispatched his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Atbenæus*, to apologize for every thing in his conduct which had given umbrage to the *Romans*. The Fathers received those ambassadors graciously, and dismissed them with honours and presents. Nevertheless they sent new commissioners into *Asia*, *C. Sulpicius* and *M. Sergius*, to examine things to the bottom, and learn the real intentions of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*.

Sulpicius, being a vain man, would needs make a figure by insulting *Eumenes*; in whose dominions he no sooner arrived, than he ordered proclamations to be made in the principal towns, inviting all, who had any cause of complaint against the King, to repair to *Sardis*. There the ambassador erected his tribunal of inquisition; and during ten days, gave full scope to the *Pergamenians* to say whatever they thought fit against their sovereign. However, for any thing that appears to the contrary, all this bustle came to nothing.

IN the following year, when *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *M. Juventius Thalna* were Consuls, died *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*; and was succeeded in the throne by his son *Antiochus Eupator*, a minor, only nine years old, and under the guardianship of *Lyfias*.

This *Lyfias* had commanded the *Syrian* troops against the *Jews*, and having been defeated several times by *Judas Maccabæus*, had made peace with them, granting them the free exercise of their religion and laws. Nevertheless *Judas*, to secure the continuance of this peace, ap-

* The Capitoline Marbles give the Consuls a triumph. *Cicero* speaks with great contempt of the triumphs granted for victories in *Liguria*, calling them *Castellani*

triumphi, triumphs for taking a castle. In *Brut. c. 73.*

* *A. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Cassius Longinus*, Consuls.

plied himself to *Manlius* and *Memmius*, two Roman deputies then going to *Antioch*, and received a favourable answer from them.

When the news of *Epiphanes's* death came to *Rome*, *Demetrius* (the son of *Seleucus*, the late King's elder brother) who had been 12 years a hostage there, asked permission of the Senate to return home; that he might take possession of the kingdom. The Fathers refused his request; thinking it more for their interest to have a child upon the Syrian throne. They dispatched *Cn. Octavius*^b and two others to assume the administration of the government. And to these they gave instructions to burn all the decked ships, disable the elephants, and, in a word, weaken as much as possible the forces of the kingdom.

New Consuls were chosen at *Rome*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* and *C. Marcus Figulus*. But these Magistrates, upon the discovery of some defect in the ceremonies of their inauguration, abdicated; and *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* took their place.

Octavius, in his journey, passed through *Cappadocia*, where King *Ariarathes* offered him an army, to escort him into *Syria*, and to keep the people of that country in awe while he performed his commission. But he, confiding in the majesty of the Roman name, disdained all other protection. At *Laodicea*, he began to put the orders of the Senate in execution; burning the ships and disabling the elephants. His pretence was the treaty, made with *Antiochus the Great*, in which it had been stipulated, that the Syrians should not have above a certain number of ships of war, nor tame any elephants. This despotic manner of proceeding highly exasperated the people; and one *Leptines*, supposed to be hired by *Lysias*, assassinated *Octavius* in the *Gymnasium*. *Lysias* sent ambassadors to *Rome* to assure the Senate, that the fact had not been committed by the King's authority. The Fathers returned no answer.

These events encouraged *Demetrius* to think of addressing the Senate once more for permission to go into *Syria*. He sent for his friend *Polybius*, then at *Rome*, to consult with him upon this matter. *Polybius* advised him "to avoid striking his foot twice against the same stone; to place his hope in himself; and to dare something worthy of a King;" hinting, "That the present state of things afforded him sufficient opportunities." The Prince understood his friend's meaning, but said nothing. Opening himself afterwards to an intimate acquaintance named *Apolonius*; (a simple man, who considered only the justice of the case, and the absurdity of retaining *Demetrius* as a pledge of his competitor's fidelity) he was by him counselled to make a second application to the Senate. He did so, and met with a second refusal; the same reasons subsisting which had been the ground of the first. About this time came from *Syria* one *Diodorus*, who had formerly been

^b He had been Consul some years before, and was the first of his family who obtained that dignity. *Cic. Phil.* 9. 4.

employed in the education of the young Prince. *Demetrius*, from the accounts which this man brought of the state of things in that country, concluded, that there wanted little more than his appearance there, to get him the possession of the throne. He resolved therefore to attempt an escape from *Italy*, the very thing which *Polybius* had hinted to him, and to which he was now instigated by *Diodorus*. Before the Prince took any measures for the execution of his purpose, he asked the advice and assistance of *Polybius*; who, not caring to act in the affair himself, engaged his friend *Menibyllus* (ambassador at *Rome* from *Ptolemy Philometor*) to provide a ship and every thing necessary for the design. *Demetrius* having left the city, under the pretence of a hunting match, embarked at *Ofia* in a *Carthaginian* vessel bound for *Tyre*. The Senate had no information of his flight till four or five days after he had set sail, when it was too late to think of stopping him. But they deputed *Tib. Gracchus* and two more to follow him into *Syria*, and watch his motions.

Demetrius landed in *Lycia*, from whence he wrote a respectful letter to the Conscript Fathers, importing, that he had no design against his uncle's son *Antiochus Eupator*, but against *Lysias*, and to revenge the death of *Octavius*. From *Lycia* he sailed to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, where he gave out that he was sent by the *Roman* Senate to take possession of the kingdom. This occasioned a general desertion from *Eupator*, who with his tutor *Lysias*, being seized by the soldiers, in order to be delivered up to *Demetrius*, he refused to see them; and commanded both to be put to death.

After this, the new King delivered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*. These brothers had been great favourites of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who had made the first Governor, and the other treasurer of that province. *Demetrius* put *Timarchus* to death, and drove *Heraclides* into banishment, for which actions the people of *Babylon* gave him the surname of *Soter* [i. e. Saviour] which he ever after retained.

Notwithstanding all this success, being sensible that the favour of the *Roman* Senate was necessary to his firm establishment on the throne, he made application to *Tib. Gracchus*, then in *Cappadocia*, by his means to get himself recognized King by the *Romans*. *Gracchus* promised him his good offices; and *Demetrius*, to smooth the way for his advocate, sent an embassy to *Rome* with a rich present of a crown of gold. At the same time he delivered up to the vengeance of the *Roman* people, not only *Leptines* the murderer of *Octavius*, but a certain Grammarian nam-

* *M. Valerius Messala* and *C. Fannius Strabo*, Consuls. The *Fannian* law, so called from *Fannius*, the proposer of it, was passed this year, enacting, That no man's daily expences for his own eating and drinking should exceed ten asses, i. e. seven-pence three farthings. The senate also passed a decree for banishing from *Rome* the philosophers and rhetoricians, as a mischievous, pestilent set of men.

T. R. 591.
Bel. Chr.
161.
290 Conf.

Y. R. 592.
Bel. Chr.
160.
291 Conf.

Zonar. B.
9. c. 25.

1 Macc. c.
7.
Justin. B.
34. c. 3.

App. in
Syr. p.
118.

Polyb. Le.
24. 120.

Y. R. 592. ed *Isocrates*, who, in an oration to the multitude, had justified and com-
 Bef. Chr. 160. mended the act. *Leptines* had begged of *Demetrius* not to proceed to
 291 Conf. any extremities against the *Laodiceans*, on account of the assassination,
 Polyb. Lc- but to send him to *Rome*, where (he said) he would convince the Senate
 gal. 122. that what he had done was with the good pleasure of the Gods. As this
 man went cheerfully and of his own accord, and, during the whole
 voyage, continued surprizingly gay, he was brought from *Syria* to
Rome without fetters. At his arrival, he frankly owned the fact to every
 body that asked him about it, always adding, that he was sure, the Se-
 nate would do him no hurt. His confidence arose from the mean opi-
 nion he had of himself and his orator: sacrifices too insignificant, in his
 judgment, to be accepted by the *Romans* in satisfaction for the offence.
 But the Grammarian (with whom *Polybius* is extremely angry, for his
 meddling with politics) fully apprized of his own importance, ran stark
 mad with fear. *Leptines* judged rightly: The Senate would not, for
 two such victims, preclude themselves from calling the *Syrians* to account,
 when it should be thought convenient. However, they did not reject
 the King's gold: In return they sent him this answer, "That he might
 depend upon their favour, provided he took care to be as submissive
 to their orders, as he had formerly been."

Y. R. 593. THE year following (*L. Anicius Gallus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus* be-
 Bef. Chr. 159. ing Consuls) was concluded a treaty between the *Romans* and the *Jews*,
 292 Conf. in the time of *Judas Maccabæus*, who had sent an embassy to *Rome* to
 ask protection against *Demetrius*. *Justin* tells us, that the *Jews* were
 1 Macc. c. the first of the Oriental nations that received liberty by gift from the
 8. *Romans*; who, he adds, were very liberal of what was not their own;
 B. 36. c. 3. for the *Jews*, according to him, had revolted from the *Syrians*. The
 Senate wrote to *Demetrius* in these terms, as we find them in the first book
 1 Macc. c. of the *Maccabees*: *Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends*
 8. *and confederates the Jews? If therefore they complain any more against thee*
we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land^d.

We have hardly any thing for the years of *Rome* 594 * and 595 †, but
 the names of the Consuls.

Y. R. 596. IN the year 596 (the Consulship of *Sex. Julius Cæsar* and *L. Aurelius*
 Bef. Chr. 156. *Orestes*) *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* came to *Rome* for protection.
 295 Conf. *Demetrius*, partly to revenge himself on this Prince for refusing to marry
 his sister, and partly to earn a hundred talents, had driven him from his

Justin, B.

35. c. 1.
 in
 Syr. p.
 118.

^d *Æmilius Paullus* died this year. Father
Catrou observes, that this *Roman* seems to
 have wanted nothing but the knowledge of
 the true religion (the religion of the *Jews*)
 and the graces, by God, annexed to it, to
 render his virtue meritorious: That, in
 this respect, *Judas Maccabæus*, who died
 about the same time, had greatly the ad-
 vantage of him. *Gratia efficax per se*

would doubtless have made *Æmilius* a Saint;
 but I question whether any *Grace*, that requir-
 ed the simultaneous operation, would have been
 effectual.

* *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius*
Nobilior, Consuls.

† *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popillius*
Lænas, Consuls.

throne,

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throne, and placed upon it *Holopernes*, a supposititious son of the late *Cappadocian King*. *Ariarathes* pleaded his own cause before the Senate; and some ambassadors from *Holopernes* defended that of their master. These asserted that *Holopernes* was the elder brother of *Ariarathes*, by the same father and mother; though the mother, out of partiality to her younger son, had persuaded her husband into a belief, that the elder was neither his son nor hers. It seems, this mother (who was a daughter of *Antiochus the Great*) thinking herself barren, because she had been several years married without having children, had imposed upon the King her husband two sons, of whom this *Holopernes* was one. She afterwards bore a son, the *Ariarathes* now in question, and then repented of the cheat she had put upon the King, and discovered it to him. The supposititious sons were sent away, that they might be no obstacle to the succession of *Ariarathes* to the throne.

The Senate, having heard both parties, ordered *Cappadocia* to be shared between the two competitors, following, in this, one of the steady maxims of the *Roman* policy, which was, to divide the strength of kingdoms.

Y. R. 596.
Bef. Chr.
156.
295 Conf.
Polyh. Le-
gat. 126.
Diod. Si-
cul. ap.
Phot.

C H A P. XXIV.

Cato is sent into Africa to terminate a dispute between the Carthaginians and the King of Numidia. Cato's report at his return.

War against the Dalmatians.

An embassy to the Senate from the Athenians.

King Prusias grows mutinous.

The Roman armies pass the Alps for the first time.

New quarrels between the Ptolemys of Egypt.

Demetrius vanquished and slain by his competitor Alexander Balas, an impostor countenanced by the Romans.

MASINISSA had laid claim to a country, which *Appian* calls *Tisca*, belonging to the *Carthaginians*; and these made their complaints at *Rome* of this new encroachment. The Fathers, though always resolved to favour the *Numidian* in his quarrels with *Carthage*, yet, to preserve an appearance of justice, and probably to get exact information of the strength and condition of the city, dispatched *Cato*, with other deputies, into *Africa*, to take cognizance of the matter in dispute. On their arrival, *Masinissa* declared himself very willing to submit the contest to their arbitration: for he thought the *Roman* his sure friends: But the *Carthaginians* refused; alledging, *That the treaty concluded with Scipio Africanus, did not want amending; and that nothing more was requisite*

App. in
Punic. p
17.

Y. R. 596. *quisite than that each party should strictly observe the articles of that convention.* Cato, on his return to Rome, reported, that Carthage was grown
 Bef. Chr. 156. excessively rich and populous; and he warmly exhorted the Senate
 295 Conf. to destroy a city and Republic, which while they subsisted, Rome could
 Plut. life never be safe. Having brought from Africa some very large figs, he
 of Cato. shewed them to the Conscript Fathers, in one of the lappets of his gown: *The country*, said he, *where this fine fruit grows, is but a three days voyage from Rome.* We are told, that from this time he never spoke in the Senate, upon any subject, without concluding with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage should be destroyed.* Scipio *Nasica*, a man of great weight and authority among the Fathers, steadily and strenuously opposed him in this particular. He always ended his speeches (according to *Plutarch*) with these words, *I am also of opinion that Carthage should not be destroyed.* It is probable, says the same Historian, that *Nasica* seeing the people's pride and insolence grown, by their victories, to such a height, that they could hardly be restrained by the Senate, within any bounds; and knowing their power to be such, that they could force the Republic into whatever measures their caprice dictated, he was for preserving Carthage as a curb to check their audaciousness: For he thought that the *Carthaginians* were too weak to subdue the *Romans*, but yet too strong to be despised by them. Cato on the other hand judged, that for a people debauched by prosperity, nothing was more to be feared than a rival State, always powerful, and now, from its misfortunes, grown wise and circumspect. He held it necessary to remove all dangers that could be apprehended from *without*, when the Republic had, *within*, so many distempers threatening her destruction^a.

Y. R. 597. IN the Consulship of *C. Marcius Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*
 Bef. Chr. 155. *Lupus*, the Republic commenced a war against the *Dalmatians*, who
 296 Conf. had made incursions into *Illyricum*, and rudely treated some Roman ambassadors that had been sent to them the last year. This ill treatment, *Polybius* tells us, was only the pretence for the war: That the Senate being desirous to give the soldiers some exercise, and having neglected, ever since the times of *Demetrius Phariis*, that part of *Illyricum* now invaded, it was from these motives they ordered the expedition against the *Dalmatians*. *Marcius* conducted the war with various success^b; but the

^a This year upon examination was found in the treasury 16,810 pondo of gold, which reckoned in the decuple proportion, is 455,971 *l.* 5 *s.* Of silver 22,070 pondo, 59,864 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* And of coined money sexagies bis & 85,400 *H. S.* 50,741 *l.* 10 *s.* 2½ *d.* which in all comes to 566,577 *l.* 12 *s.* 8½ *d.* *Arden. p.* 191. *ex Plin. L.* 33. c. 3.

^b According to *Pigbius*, were passed, this year, the *Ælian* and *Fufian* laws, which *Cicero* calls the walls and bulwarks of peace and tranquillity. The first forbade acting any thing with the people while the augurs and proper magistrates were observing the heavens, and taking the auspices. The *Fufian* law made it unlawful to act any thing with the people on the days called *fasti*;

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the next year *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* finished it by subduing the invaders. His Collegue in the Consulship, *C. Claudius Marcellus*, gained over the *Ligurians* a victory, which procured him the honour of a triumph.

THE *ATHENIANS*, this year, sent an embassy to *Rome*, begging to be discharged from a fine of 500 talents, which the *Sicyonians* had condemned them to pay for having ravaged the lands of the *Orapians*. These had, in the first instance, made complaint to the *Romans*; and the Senate had referred the consideration of the matter to the *Sicyonians*. *Carneades*, an Academic Philosopher, *Diogenes*, a Stoic, and *Critolaus* a Peripatetic, all three famous for eloquence, each for a different kind, were the ambassadors from *Athens*. *Cicero* says of *Carneades*, that he never advanced any thing which he did not prove; nor ever opposed an argument which he did not overthrow. Multitudes of the *Roman* youth flocking about these *Athenians* to hear their discourses, this greatly disturbed the spirit of *Cato*, who, according to *Plutarch*, was an implacable enemy to philosophy, and used to call *Socrates* a babler. *Cato* advised the Senate to give the ambassadors an answer in all haste, that they might return to their schools, there to tutor, as they pleased, the children of the *Greeks*; leaving the *Roman* children to attend to the laws and the magistrates, their only masters, before the arrival of these eloquent Philosophers. The Senate complied with his humour, and dismissed the ambassadors, having first reduced the fine, imposed on the *Athenians*, to a hundred talents.

PRUSIAS, that religious worshipper of the Conscript Fathers, had, by this time, lost much of his devotional regard for those his Gods. On the death of *Eumenes*, the *Bithynian* had, without leave, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*, of which *Attalus* was regent; his nephew and pupil, *Attalus* the son of *Eumenes*, being a minor. *Rome* sent ambassador after ambassador to *Prusias*, commanding him to cease his hostilities, but all in vain. She at length sent ten ambassadors together to him, but neither did these succeed. However, when he found that the Senate would in earnest commence a war against him, and engage all her allies in the *East* to do the same, this terrified him into an absolute submission. He was condemned to make good all the damages he had done; to give *Attalus* twenty ships of war; and to pay him five hundred talents in twenty years.

IN the Consulship of *Q. Opimius* and *L. Posthumius Albinus*, the *Roman* armies for the first time passed the *Alps*. It was to make war against the *Oxybii* and the *Deciatae*, people originally of *Liguria*, but at this time inhabiting the country along the sea coast, in the neighbourhood of *Nicea* * and *Antipolis*. They had attacked those towns, which

sasti; that is, on such days as the courts were open, and the Prætors sat to hear causes. These two laws *P. Clodius* got repealed in his tribuneship, in the year 695.

Y. R. 599. belonging to the people of *Massilia* [*Marseilles*] these sent a complaint of
 Bef. Chr. it to the Senate. An embassy from *Rome* to the invaders having no suc-
 153. cess, *Opimius* led an army against them, and subdued them. He gave
 298 Conf. the greater part of the conquered country to the *Massilienses*; to whom
 Polyb. Le- also he obliged the vanquished to send hostages.
 gat. 134.

While *Opimius* was carrying on this war, *Ptolemy Physcon* came to
Rome. The Senate had been often pestered with the quarrels of the
 two *Ptolemys* of *Egypt*. After the accommodation between them,
 confirmed, in the year 585, by *Popillius* the Roman ambassador, *Phys-*
 See page 443. *con* (a monster of wickedness) had driven his elder brother *Philometor*
 Liv. Epit. from the throne. The latter coming to *Rome* for protection, the
 B. 46. *Romans* restored him to the possession of all the dominions of *Egypt*,
 except *Cyrenaica*, which they adjudged to *Physcon*; who not content with
 this division came afterwards to *Rome* to request that the island of *Cy-*
 Polybius prus might be added to his share. The Senate, thinking it for the in-
 Legat. 113. terest of the Republic to make a more equal, and less equitable division
 of the kingdom, granted the island to the petitioner, and appointed
 Ib. Leg. some Commissioners to put him in possession of it. *Philometor* refused
 115. to acquiesce in this decree; and the people of *Cyrene*, hating *Physcon*
 for his cruelty, took arms against him, and defeated him in battle.
 Ib. Leg. His brother was thought to have incited the *Cyrenians* to this rebellion.
 132. An attempt being afterwards made to assassinate *Physcon*, who received
 several wounds, he now came to *Rome*, and accused his brother of having
 hired the assassins. As *Philometor* had the reputation of great virtue
 and benignity, it was very unlikely he should give the least countenance
 to such a fact; yet the Senate were so prepossessed by what *Physcon* had
 said, [or rather so much offended with *Philometor* for not having obeyed
 their decree in relation to *Cyprus*] that they would not listen to any thing
 his ambassadors had to offer in his defence; but ordered them instantly
 to leave *Rome*. The Fathers sent five Commissioners with *Physcon*
 to put him in possession of *Cyprus*; and wrote to their Greek and Asiatic
 allies, giving them leave to assist the *Egyptian*. *Physcon*, having by this
 means got together an army, landed in *Cyprus*, where being attacked and
 vanquished by *Philometor*, he took refuge in *Lapithus*, a city of that
 island. Thither the conqueror followed him, and there took him pri-
 soner. *Philometor* used his victory with great moderation: so far
 from taking away his brother's life, he restored to him his domi-
 nions, added some other territories to them in lieu of *Cyprus*, and pro-
 mised him his daughter in marriage. Thus ended the war between the

• Polybius says of him that he was a Prince of great clemency and good nature; that he never put any of his nobles to death, nor so much as one citizen of *Alexandria*; and though his brother had often provoked him, he as often pardoned him, and even treated him with great generosity. *Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. in fin.*

two brothers; at least we hear no more of it. The *Romans* seem not to have interposed to hinder the accommodation.

ABOUT this time the Tribunes of the people at *Rome* did an act of justice which gained them great honour. *L. Cotta*, one of their college, refused to pay his debts; believing himself safe in an office which made his person inviolable. But the rest of the Tribunes, thinking it shameful that the majesty of the people should be made a screen for private perfidy, threatened to take the cause of his creditors into their hands, if he did not pay them, or give security.

EVER since the year 531 it had been customary for the Consuls to enter upon their office on the Ides of *March* (the 15th) but this year the necessity of sending a Consul without delay into *Spain*, which was in great commotion, made the *Romans* hold their assembly for the elections some months before the usual time. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luscus* entered on the Consulship the first of *January*; which from hence forward was always the day for the two chief Magistrates to take possession of the fasces. The events of the war in *Spain* will be hereafter mentioned.

In this year *Attalus*, the son of *Eumenes*, the late King of *Pergamus*, came to *Rome*, to recommend himself to the favour of the Senate, and was kindly received and treated with honour.

Also *Demetrius Soter* sent his son *Demetrius* to *Rome*; but the Senate considering him only as a boy, and not making those preparations for his reception which he thought suitable to his dignity, he in disgust returned home. It has been mentioned that *Demetrius* banished *Heracles*, the treasurer of *Babylon*, for his oppression of the people. This exile, to be revenged, set up, against the King, a man of obscure birth named *Balas*, pretending that he was the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia*, out of hatred to *Demetrius*, supported the impostor; and *Laodice*, the daughter of *Epiphanes*, joined in the fraud. *Heracles* was now at *Rome*: He had brought with him *Balas* (who took the name of *Alexander*) and also *Laodice* to give a better colour to the matter. He presented them both to the Conscrip Fathers, whose assistance he implored to place the young Prince on the throne of *Syria*. The Senate readily passed a decree in his favour.

And, in the following Consulship of *M. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *Alexander Balas* appeared, in *Syria* with a formidable army, consisting chiefly of the troops which the Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* had furnished him with, at the solicitation of the *Romans*. He was also joined by *Jonathan Maccabeus* with the forces of *Judea*. In a pitched battle the army of *Demetrius* being routed, he lost both his kingdom and his life.

Y. R. 600.
Bel. Chi.
L. 6. c. 5.
152.
299 Conf.

Liv. Epit.
B. 47.
Polyb. Le-
gat. 1400

Liv. Epit.
B. 52.
App. in
Syr. p. 131.
Justin. B.
35. c. 1.

Y. R. 601.
Bel. Chi.
151.
300 Conf.

1 Marc. c.
10. Joseph.
Antiq. B.
13. c. 5.

C H A P. XXV.

The Carthaginians are reduced very low in a war with Masinissa.

Rome resolves to seize the opportunity of their distress, to crush them entirely.

App. in
Pub. p. 38.
Y.R. 602.
Bef. Chr.
150.
301 Conf. **T**HERE seems to have been a party at *Carthage* who were for yielding any thing to *Masinissa* rather than come to an open rupture with him. Forty of these the people banished, and bound themselves by oath never to recal them. The exiles repaired to *Masinissa*, who sent two of his sons, *Gulussa* and *Micipsa*, to solicit their restoration. Against these ambassadors the *Carthaginians* shut their gates; and *Gulussa* in his return was attacked by surprise, and some of his followers slain*. Hereupon *Masinissa* came at the head of a great army, and besieged a town called *Oroscepa*, belonging to the *Carthaginians*, who sent against him, under *Asdrubal*, an army of 25,000 foot and 400 horse. Two of the King's Generals with 6000 horse went over to *Asdrubal*, who encouraged by this accession of strength, drew near to the enemy, and in several skirmishes had the advantage. The King pretending fear, retired before the *Carthaginians*, and by degrees drew them to a place where the ground favoured him. A general battle ensued. The *Numidians* had the advantage, but not a decisive victory. *Scipio Æmilianus* who had been sent by the Consul *Lucullus* from *Spain* to ask some elephants of *Masinissa*, was, from the top of a hill, a spectator of the action. He often declared afterwards, that, of all the battles he had seen (and he had seen many) none had ever given him so exquisite a delight: for it was the only time, when, without any danger to himself, he had beheld a hundred thousand men engaged in fight. He added, that such a sight had never been enjoyed by any one before him, except *Jupiter* and *Neptune* in the *Trojan* war.

App. in
Pub. p. 40. *Appian* relates, that *Scipio*, at the desire of the *Carthaginians*, took upon him the office of a mediator between them and *Masinissa*; that they offered to yield the territory in dispute; to pay 200 talents.

* The epitomizer of *Livy*, (B. 49.) reckoning up the causes of the *Romans* declaring war against the *Carthaginians*, mentions their not admitting *Gulussa* into their town, but says nothing of their design to assassinate him.

† *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Posthumius Albinus*, Consuls.

• *T. Quinctius Flaminius* and *M. Acilius*

Balbus, Consuls.

This year the senate, at the motion of *Scipio Nasica*, ordered a theatre for plays (which, by the direction of the Censors, was building at the public expence) to be demolished, and forbade the use of seats or benches at the public shows in *Rome* and within a mile of it. *Val. Max.* B. 2. c. 4. §. 2.

down, and 800 more in a certain time; but that *Masiniſſa* demanding further, to have the deſerters delivered up to him, this was reſuſed. *Scipio* returned into *Spain* with his elephants, and *Masiniſſa* purſued the war. He inveſted the enemy in their camp upon a hill, where they could receive neither provisions nor reinforcements. At this juncture arrived embaſſadors from *Rome*. Their pretended buſineſs was to make peace between the contending parties; but they had private orders to encourage *Masiniſſa* to purſue the war, if they found he had the advantage; otherwiſe, to put an end to it. Accordingly when they ſaw how matters went, they ſuffered the King to puſh his enemies to the utmoſt extremity. The *Carthaginians* held out, till great numbers of them periſhed by famine and peſtilence. Compelled by neceſſity they at laſt yielded to all the conditions of peace impoſed by the *Numidian*. They conſented to give up the deſerters, reſtore the exiles, notwithstanding their oath to the contrary, and pay 5000 talents in fifty years. *Masiniſſa* alſo made them paſs under the yoke unarmed, and in their tunics only. It is ſaid that *Guluſſa*, to be revenged for the ill treatment he had formerly met with from the *Carthaginians*, detached after the multitude a body of *Numidian* horſe, who fell upon them when they had neither arms to defend themſelves, nor ſtrength to fly: of the whole number very few eſcaped to *Carthage*.

AND NOW the *Romans*, taking advantage of the prodigious loſs the *Carthaginians* had ſuſtained, prepared in all haſte for war, yet without declaring their deſign. *Carthage* ſuſpecting it, and that the pretence for it would be her having taken arms againſt *Masiniſſa*, the ally of *Rome*, proclaimed, by a public herald, *Aſdrubal*, and the other authors of the war, guilty of treaſon againſt the State. They alſo ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, who accuſed *Masiniſſa* and their own Generals, laying upon them the whole blame of the hoſtilities. *Why then*, ſaid one of the Senate to the embaſſadors, *were you not more early in your ſentence againſt the authors of the war?* To this being at a loſs for an answer, they asked, *Upon what terms Carthage, if judged faulty, might be forgiven?* The Fathers replied, *She muſt ſatisfy the Romans*. On the return of theſe Miniſters home, the *Carthaginians* ſent a new embaſſy to deſire a clear and full declaration of the means by which the *Romans* might be ſatisfied. All the answer that could be obtained was, *That the Carthaginians knew the means very well*: an answer which, when reported, threw the city into great perplexity and conſternation. Their terror was much increaſed by the ſudden defection of *Utica*, the moſt conſiderable place in their dependence, next to their capital. The people of *Utica* had ſent deputies to make an abſolute ſurrendry of themſelves, their city, and their territory to the people of *Rome*. This event furniſhing the *Romans* with a convenient port for landing their forces, and a place of arms within eight miles of *Carthage*, they deſerred no longer a declaration of

Y. R. 603.
Bef. Chr.
149.
302 Conſo

war

Y. R. 603.
Bef. Chr.
149.
302 Conf.

Liv. Fpit.
B. 49.

war, in form. The reasons assigned for it were, that *Carthage*, contrary to her covenants with *Rome*, had fitted out a fleet, had gone beyond her limits to attack the King of *Numidia*, a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and lastly, had refused to let *Gulussa*, the son of *Masinissa*, enter within her gates, though conducted by *Roman* ambassadors. But *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that the cause of this war was mere jealousy of the power of *Carthage*, and not any offence by her committed ^a.

C H A P. XXVI.

Third P U N I C W A R.

FIRST and SECOND YEARS of the WAR.

The Carthaginians, after extraordinary submissions, vainly employed to divert the war, resolve to defend themselves; which they do with surprising activity and courage.

Y. R. 604.
Bef. Chr.
148.
303 Conf.

App. in
Punic. p.
42.
Polybius
Legat. 142.

THE conduct of the war in *Africa* was assigned to the new Consuls *L. Marcius Censorinus* and *M. Manilius*, who had strict orders, not to put an end to it, but with the destruction ^b of the city of *Carthage*. *Censorinus* commanded the fleet, and *Manilius* the army. The fleet was considerable, and had on board 80,000 foot, and about 4000 horse. Setting sail they arrived at *Lylibæum* in *Sicily*, and there stopped. *Carthage* did not yet know what had been resolved at *Rome*; but, upon the obscure answer brought from thence by her last ambassadors, had sent others with full powers to do whatever they should judge necessary; and even, if circumstances required it, to declare, that the *Carthaginians* surrendered themselves, and all that was theirs, to the *Romans* at discretion. They had never, in their former wars, entertained a thought of humbling themselves to this degree of submission. And they were sensible that even this would now appear the less meritorious, as the people of *Utica* had prevented them, by a more early example of the like deduction.

^a This year, according to *Pigbius* (V. 2. p. 442,) a law was enacted, that no man should be twice Consul. *Cato* spoke in favour of the law. It was constantly observed till the days of *Marius*, except in the case of *Scipio Æmilianus*.

^b *Florus*, after telling us, that *Cato* always voted for destroying *Carthage*, and *Nafica* for preserving it, gravely adds, That the Senate chose the middle way, which was, to remove the town out of its place. B. 2. c. 15.

The ambassadors finding, on their arrival at *Rome*, not only that war had been declared, but that the army was actually gone for *Sicily*, judged, that they had no time to deliberate: Being therefore admitted to audience, they made the absolute surrendry, according to their instructions. It was answered; That because they had taken the right resolution, the Senate granted them their liberty, laws, territories, and all the effects belonging either to the public or to private persons, on condition that in thirty days, they sent three hundred hostages, of their noblest youth, to the Consuls at *Libyæum*; and further performed what the Consuls should command. The ambassadors felt an extreme joy at hearing what the Senate granted; but this joy was instantly damped by the latter proviso. They returned to *Carthage*, and reported the answer and orders of the *Roman* Senate. The silence of the Conscrip-
Y. R. 604.
Def. Chl.
148.
373 Cons.
Diod. Sic.
ap. Fulv.
Utho.
Polyb. Le-
gat. 142.
App. p. 44.
 thers, with respect to the towns belonging to the *Carthaginians*, gave them extreme disquiet. However it was necessary to obey, nor had they any hope to mollify their enemies but by the readiness of this obedience. Without delay therefore they sent the hostages to *Libyæum*. Whereupon it was signified to the deputies who had brought them, that the Consuls would let *Carthage* know their further pleasure when they came to *Utica*. Thither they sailed with all their forces.

It is easy to judge of the consternation of the *Carthaginians*, when, after the submissions they had made, they learnt the arrival of so terrible an army in their neighbourhood. They in all haste deputed some persons to expostulate with the Consuls. "What have we done," said these ambassadors, "to provoke you to this sudden invasion of our country with so mighty an army? Have we not faithfully paid you the tribute? Have we built any ships of war? Have we tamed any elephants? If you are displeased with the defensive war we have made against *Masinissa*, consider how patiently we endured his encroachments, till he resolved to set no bounds to his avarice and cruelty? But supposing it a fault to have defended our territories against the *Numidian*, have we not since made an absolute surrendry of ourselves and our country to the *Roman* people? Have we not with readiness given the hostages you demanded? And does not the decree of your Senate expressly promise, that on condition of our delivering those hostages, *Carthage* shall remain free, governed by her own laws, and retaining her present possessions?" *Censorinus* answered, "You have forgot one part of the Senate's decree, that part which requires your obedience to the orders of the Consuls. And we told you in *Sicily* that we would signify to you these orders when we came to *Utica*. You have done very well with regard to the hostages; but if you sincerely desire peace, what occasion have you for arms? Bring to us all your arms; as well those of private persons as those belonging to the public." The deputies begged, he would consider what must become

Y. R. 624.
B. C. Chr.
148.
503 Cons.

become of *Carthage*, if he entirely disarmed her, especially at a time when *Asdrubal*, in revenge for having been condemned to death, had formed an army against her of 20,000 men. *Censorinus* replied, that the Senate and people of *Rome* would provide against that danger.

The *Carthaginians* without fraud delivered up all their arms, 200,000 suits of armour, an infinite number of spears and javelins, and 2000 *Catapultæ*, engines for throwing darts and stones. The long train of carriages which brought these to the *Roman* Camp, was followed by the most venerable of the *Carthaginian* Priests and Senators, in the hope, that this appearance would excite the compassion of the *Romans*. When these deputies were come before the tribunal of the Consuls, *Censorinus* rose up, and with a formal gravity said, "I cannot but praise, *Carthaginians*, the ready obedience you have shewn in sending us the hostages we required; and in now giving up your arms. Many words are useless when necessity urges. You will have fortitude to bear what the Senate further commands. Yield up your city to us. Transplant yourselves to whatever part of your territory you like best, provided it be ten miles from the sea. For we are determined to demolish *Carthage*."

At the sound of these words the *Carthaginians* all broke out into lamentable cries; they became even frantic with grief, rage, and despair; they threw themselves on the ground, beating the earth with their foreheads, and tearing their clothes, and even their flesh: they invoked the Gods, avengers of violated faith, and, in the bitterest terms, reproached and reviled the *Romans*. The Consuls calmly waited till the storm of passion was over, knowing, says *Appian*, that mighty calamities at first create, in those who are struck with them, a boldness, which necessity in a short time subdues. And thus it happened to the *Carthaginians*: When they had, in the manner above described, discharged their first fury and indignation, they lay silent and motionless, as if they had been dead. After a while, coming to themselves, and to a more perfect feeling of their distress, they, instead of angry words, fell to wailings and humble entreaties. *Hanno*, surnamed *Gilla*, endeavoured in a long speech to move the compassion of the Consuls, and, in conclusion, earnestly begged, that they would, at least, allow the *Carthaginians* time to make application to the Senate of *Rome*. The Consuls, inflexible, would neither recede from their sentence, nor consent to suspend the execution of it. *Be gone*, said they to the supplicants, *Hisberto you are ambassadors*. The Lictors were making them withdraw, when they, foreseeing the tumult that would be raised at *Carthage* by the answer they were to carry thither, begged leave, once more to speak. This granted, they said: "We are sensible of the necessity of obeying. You will not suffer us to send ambassadors to *Rome*: nor will our people suffer us to return to you; we shall be torn to pieces before we have fully delivered our message. We beg therefore, not
" for

“ for our own sakes, who are prepared for the worst that can happen,
 “ but for the sake of the people of *Carthage*, you would send your fleet
 “ thither; that our fellow citizens, while they hear your commands
 “ from us, seeing you ready to execute them yourselves, may be in-
 “ duced, if possible, to submit to their calamity. Hard indeed is that
 “ necessity which thus forces us to call for your fleet against our
 “ country.” *Censorinus* so far complied with this request as to go with
 twenty ships, and hover upon the coast near *Carthage*. Some of the
 deputies, in their journey towards the city, stole aside, and disappeared;
 the rest in silence held on their way. The people, in crowds upon
 the walls, were looking impatiently for their return: Many ran out
 to meet them, and, perceiving an excessive sadness in their counte-
 nances, eagerly enquired the cause. Nobody gave any answer. Much
 difficulty had the deputies, when they came to the city, to get through
 the press that choaked up the gate, and all the way to the Senate-house.
 Here being at length arrived, and having entered the assembly, one of
 them reported the Consuls command. The universal cry, which in-
 stantly raised within doors, was answered by a louder and more doleful
 noise from the multitude without, though they knew not yet the cer-
 tainty of the evil they apprehended. The Speaker continuing his dis-
 course to inform the Senate of the arguments that had been employed
 to move compassion, the Senators, through an earnest desire to know
 the event, became once more silent and attentive; and their stillness
 caused the like abroad. But, when it was understood, that the Consuls,
 inexorably cruel, refused even to respite the execution of their sentence,
 till an embassy could go to *Rome*, and return, the assembly again burst
 out in cries and lamentations; which the multitude hearing, and no
 longer doubting of the intolerable calamity, furiously broke into the
 Senate-house, reviling and insulting all those who had counselled their
 giving hostages, and delivering up their arms. The whole city became
 a scene of the most desperate grief, and the wildest rage; and the
 desolation and frantic wailings of the mothers, whose sons had been
 torn from them for hostages, and who ran raving about the streets, as-
 faulting those whom they accused of robbing them of their children,
 did not a little heighten the circumstances of the distress, the uproar
 and the confusion.

However, amidst this multitude of distracted people, there were
 some who, less transported with passion, had the presence of mind to
 shut and secure the gates of the city, and to gather upon the ramparts
 great heaps of stones, which might serve instead of other weapons.
 The same day, the Senate decreed war; proclaimed liberty, by a
 public crier, to the slaves; enrolled them in the militia; sent
 to *Asdrubal* whom they had condemned, and who, with an army
 of 20,000 men, was not far off, praying him to forget the injury
 they

Y. R. 604.
Bel. Chr.
148.
171 Conf.

they had been forced to do him; and employ his troops for the defence of his country, in this her extreme danger; and lastly appointed another *Asdrubal*, a grandson of *Masinissa* (by one of his daughters) to command in *Carthage*. These measures taken, they ordered a new deputation to the Consuls, to ask a truce of thirty days, that they might have time to send embassadors to *Rome*; which being denied, it was resolved unanimously, that they would preserve their city, or die defending it. Instantly the temples and other spacious buildings were converted into work-houses, where men and women, old and young, employed themselves by day and by night, in fabricating arms. That no time might be lost, whilst some eat or slept, others took their places; and the work never ceased. They every day made 140 bucklers, 300 swords, 500 javelins and lances, and 1000 darts for the *Catapultæ*. Of these machines they formed as many as they could; and, because there was a scarcity of materials to make cords for them, the women cut off their hair to supply that want.

Strabo, B.
17. p. 832.

Flor. B. 2.
c. 15.

App. p. 55.

In the mean time the Consuls, from a persuasion that an unarmed multitude would not think of sustaining a siege, or, if they did, that the town would easily be taken, made no haste to march thither. Finding at length how matters went, they advanced to the place. Their chief care was to secure provisions, which they could get only from *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Adrumetum*, and two other towns: *Asdrubal* held the rest of *Africa*, and plentifully supplied *Carthage*. *Masinissa* did not offer the Consuls any assistance. He thought himself ill used by the *Romans*, in that, after he had brought *Carthage* so low, they came to take advantage of his victory, without so much as imparting to him their design. When therefore, to try him, they sent to ask his aid, he answered, he would give it when he saw it was wanted. Shortly after he sent an offer of his aid; but then the Consuls answered, that, when they wanted it, they would ask it.

CARTHAGE, which is said to have been twenty-three miles in circuit, and to have contained 700,000 souls, was situated within a large gulph or bay, on a Peninsula forty-five miles in compass, and joined to the continent by an isthmus, or neck of land, three miles broad. The city seems to have been divided into three principal parts, *Cothon* (sometimes called the Port) *Megara* and *Byrsa*. The last, two miles in compass, was the citadel; it stood on the isthmus, and on that very spot of ground which *Dido* purchased of the *Africans*. On the South side, towards the continent, the city was defended by three walls, each thirty cubits high, and strengthened with towers rising two stories above the height of the walls. Along and between these walls were barracks^a for 20,000 foot, 4000

^a *Appian* makes these barracks, including not only the lodgings for the troops, but the stables and granaries for the horses and elephants, to have been in the walls, which seems improbable, as it must have ruined the strength of the fortification,

horse, and 300 elephants: Whether the harbour of *Carthage* was on the East or the West of the Peninsula, is uncertain. *Appian* places it on the West: but there are passages in *Polybius* from which one should naturally conclude that it was on the East; and so *Cellarius* believes. We find it divided into two ports, having both but one and the same entrance from the sea; and this entrance only seventy foot broad, so that it could be shut up with iron chains. The inner port was for the ships of war, and in the midst of it stood an island, natural or artificial, where was the arsenal; and where the admiral resided. The outer port belonged to the merchants.

It will not be attempted here to give a satisfactory account of the operations of the siege of *Carthage*, or to explain all that *Appian* says of it: A plan of the place is wanting; nor is it easy to form one from that author's description. What we find clear and distinct is, in substance, to the following effect. That the Consuls attempted to scale the walls in two places, believing they had need of nothing more than ladders to become masters of the town: that, to their astonishment, they found the besieged well armed and resolute; and that being twice repulsed they applied themselves to make the preparations for a regular siege, which would not soon be finished: that afterwards *Censorinus* made a breach in the wall, but notwithstanding all his efforts to enter the place, was driven back with considerable loss, and would have sustained a greater, if *Scipio Æmilianus*, then a legionary Tribune, had not covered his retreat: that the *Carthaginians* made fire-ships of some old rotten barks, and, the wind blowing favourably, let them drive upon the *Roman* fleet, which was thereby almost totally consumed: That *Censorinus*, after this disaster, returned to *Rome* to preside at the elections. We read also that his colleague *Manilius* continued the war with no better success, and would have lost the greater part of his army in a rash enterprize, against *Asdrubal* in the field, had it not been for the bravery and conduct of *Æmilianus*, who with 300 horse sustained the charge of all *Asdrubal's* forces, and covered the legions, while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy. By these and many other glorious actions, during this unfortunate campaign, *Æmilianus* established himself in so high a reputation of courage and ability, that *Cato*, a great niggard of praise, is said to have applied to him a verse of *Homer* in the *Odyssey*, where the Poet, comparing *Tiresias* with the other Ghosts in the *Ælysian* field, says, *He alone has understanding, the rest are but shadows*.

οἱ πᾶσι τοῖς δὲ σκῆαι δίσσοι.
Hom. *Odys.* L. 10.

To whom *Persephone*, entire and whole,
Gave to retain th' unseparated soul:
The rest are forms of empty æther made,
Impassive semblance, and a fleeting shade.
Odyssey, B. 10. l. 581.

Y. R. 615. At Rome were chosen to the Consulship *Sp. Posthumus Albinus Magnus* and *L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsenius*. The conduct of the war in *Africa* fell to the latter. While *Manilius* in quality of Proconsul continued to act there, *Ilmihæ Plemæas*, General of *Ascrubal's* cavalry, came over to the Romans, out of pure esteem (as it is said) for *Scipio Æmilianus*. The African brought with him 2200 horse, very opportunely, when the Proconsul, having led his army into a dangerous situation, was greatly at a loss how to make a retreat.

App. in
Pun. p. 63.
Polyb. Ex-
cerpt. ap.
Valef.
Diod. Si-
cul. ap.
Ptole.
E. v. Epit.
B. 50.
A LITTLE before this died *Masniſſa*; the best, and most fortunate King, (says *Polybius*) of his time: fortunate in a healthy and vigorous constitution, inſomuch that no labours of war were too great for his strength; and, though ninety years old at his death, he left a son but four years of age: fortunate in his friendship with the Romans, which procured him an extensive dominion: fortunate in the concord which reigned among his children, and prevented all intestine commotions and seditions. His great merit (not to speak of his courage and activity) was his introducing husbandry into *Numidia*, and shewing his subjects that the soil which they thought barren, was capable of bringing forth all kinds of fruits, and in as great plenty as any other country. Thus useful and beneficent to his own people, he was a very bad neighbour, as the reader must have observed.

App. loc.
cit. & Zo-
nar. T. 2.

We are told that, on his death bed, *Masniſſa* sent for *Scipio Æmilianus* to consult with him about disposing of his dominions; that he expired before *Scipio* arrived, but had commanded his sons to acquiesce in whatever division the Roman should make of the kingdom: That *Scipio*, having, pursuant to the intention of the deceased, provided handsomely for the bastard children, decreed that each of the three legitimate sons should bear the title of King; that *Micipſa*, being the eldest and of a pacific temper, should reside in the palace of *Cirtba*, and be treasurer; that the second, *Guluffa*, a military man, should be Generalissimo; and that *Manastabal*, the youngest, who had been accustomed to hear causes, should be Lord Chief Justice: and thus each King had the two other Kings for his Ministers^b.

The

^a There is a passage in *Sallust* which seems to contradict the whole of this story. His words are these: *Imperii autæque ejus [Masniſſæ] finis idem fuit. Dein Micipſa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Manastabale & Guluffa fratribus morbo absumptis.* Bell. Jugurth. c. 5. which words are in the new translation of that historian rendered thus: "When death put an end to his [*Masniſſa's*] reign, his son *Micipſa* succeeded him: at that time his only son, as his

"other two, *Manastabal* and *Guluffa*, had "been carried off by distempers." Perhaps the word *Dein* should be rendered, *Some time after*; and then the meaning of the passage will be this: "Some time "after the death of *Masniſſa*, *Micipſa* reigned alone; his brothers [and partners in "the government] *Manastabal* and *Guluffa*, "having been carried off by distempers." That *Micipſa* was not the only son of *Masniſſa* that survived him, we have the authority

The Consul *Calpurnius*, and *Mencius* (who commanded a new fleet) came into *Africa* in the beginning of the spring, but performed nothing to their honour. They did not so much as attempt to take *Carthage*, or even to molest *Asdrubal*, but applied themselves to reduce *Chpea* and *Hippogreta* on the *African* coast, attacking them, both by sea and land, without success. After which they retired with the army and fleet to *Uuca*, and spent the winter there.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, gathering new courage from the spiritless behaviour of their enemies, began to look abroad for allies. They not only sent into *Numidia*, and to the free states of *Mauritania*, but even into *Macedon*. About a year before, one *Andriscus*, a man of the dregs of the people, had given himself out to be the son of *Perfes*, assumed the name of *Philip*, and, being assisted by the *Thracians*, had, partly by force of arms, and partly by persuasion, engaged the *Macedonians* to recognize him for their King. Not content with this, he invaded *Thessaly*. *Scipio Nasica*, with the assistance of the *Acheans*, and other *Greek* allies, drove him from that country: but the Prætor *Juvencius Thalna*, who succeeded *Nasica*, and brought an army with him from *Italy*, lost the greater part of his troops, and his own life, in a rash enterprize to force his way through some narrow passes into *Macedon*: after which *Andriscus* easily recovered that part of *Thessaly* he had been forced by *Nasica* to abandon. The *Carthaginians* thinking that this Usurper was grown powerful enough to make an useful diversion, sent ambassadors to encourage him to a vigorous prosecution of the war, promising to supply him both with money and ships. The historians have not told us what answer *Andriscus* returned to the *Carthaginians*. Whatever it were, it proved of no service either to him or them. For *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who succeeded *Thalna* in the command of the *Roman* forces, defeated the usurper in two pitched battles; the first in *Macedon*, the second in *Thrace*, where one of the petty Kings, to whom he fled for refuge, delivered him up to the *Romans*. This impostor was no sooner crushed, than another started up, who called himself *Alexander*; and he likewise pretended to be a son of *Perfes*. *Metellus* easily drove him out of the country into *Dardania*.

authority of *Polybius*, the epitome of *Livy*, *Appian* and *Zonaras*. And it is very unlikely that *Sallust* would contradict a fact related by *Polybius*, in which the latter could not be deceived. Now *Polybius*, who was with *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*, speaks of *Gulussa*, King of the *Numidians*, as present at the same siege in the third year of the war. *Gulussa's* title of King implies that *Masimissa* was dead; and *Appian* relates

his death as happening two years before. Besides, *Polybius* expressly says that *Masimissa* left five sons, of which one was but four years old; and that, three days after the King's death, *Scipio* arrived at *Carthage*, where he settled all things with great prudence; for which good office on his part there would have been no occasion, if the kingdom had fallen intirely to one only son and heir.

C H A P. XXVII.

THIRD and FOURTH YEARS of the War.

The Consul Scipio Æmilianus restores discipline in the army before Carthage. He hinders any provisions from coming to the besieged. Carthage taken and demolished.

Y. R. 605. *SCIPIO Æmilianus* had, in the beginning of the second year of
B. F. Ch. the war, been sent with *Phameas*, from *Africa*, by the Proconsul
147. *Manilius*. The Senate conferred great honours and rewards on *Phameas*;
304 Conf. and promised him yet greater at the end of the war, if he continued
App. in faithfully to assist the Republic. As for * *Scipio*, every body, both at
Pun. p. 66. *Rome* and in the army, extolled his virtue and abilities. Whatever had
& 68. succeeded was ascribed to his bravery and skill, and all miscarriages and
disasters were imputed to the not having followed his advice. *Cato*, who
* In the died some * months before this, is reported to have prophesied on his
year 604. death bed, that *Scipio* was the man who would terminate the war by
Plut. list of the destruction of *Carthage*; and the people universally were full of this
Cato. impression: so that at the election of Magistrates for the year 606,
Liv. Epit. though he only stood for the Ædileship, and was not of the legal age
B. 50. for the higher offices, yet they promoted him to the Consulship, notwithstanding the opposition of the Fathers. The people also assigned him *Africa*, without having any regard to the remonstrances of his colleague *C. Livius Drusus*, who strenuously pleaded the custom of having the Provinces determined by lot. The same decree gave *Scipio* power to

Polyb. Ex- * *P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus*, the son
cerpt. l. 31. of *L. Æmilius Paullus*, and adopted by the
ap. Valef. son of *Scipio Africanus*, made his first campaign, when about seventeen years of age, under his father *Æmilius*, in *Macedon*. After the return of the army to *Rome*, the chief men of *Achaia* being ordered into custody in several towns of *Italy*, *Æmilianus* and his brother *Fabius* (so called because adopted into the *Fabian* family) obtained leave for *Polybius*, one of those *Achaean*s, to stay at *Rome*; and from that time, they lived in great familiarity and friendship with him. He tells us, that *Scipio* one day, thus spoke to him, when they were alone, "What is the reason, *Polybius*,

"that in conversation you always address
"your discourse to my brother, without
"taking any notice of me? I am afraid
"you have the same opinion of me that
"the citizens have, who think me slow
"and indolent, and averse from *Roman*
"manners, for that I don't apply myself
"to pleading causes. They say, that
"the family from which I am descended
"requires another sort of a representative
"than I am. And this gives me great
"uneasiness." *Polybius* was astonished at
this discourse from so young a man (for he
was but in his eighteenth year) and begged
of him, by all the Gods, not to entertain
any such suspicions. "I am far (said he)
"from

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to raise as many volunteers as he pleased, and to demand succours, in the name of the Republic, of the Kings and nations her allies.

He arrived with his levies at *Utica*, and very opportunely, as it is said; for *Maninus* with 3500 *Romans* must have unavoidably perished, if they had not been speedily succoured. These troops, while *Calpurnius* the Consul was absent on some inland expedition, had, in an attempt upon

“ from despising or neglecting you. If I ad-
 “ dress myself to *Fabius*, and seem to confi-
 “ der him chiefly in what I say, it is only
 “ because he is the elder, and because I am
 “ persuaded you have the same sentiments
 “ and dispositions with him. And as it is
 “ extremely commendable in you to think
 “ laziness a crime in a man descended from
 “ so illustrious a family, I gladly promise
 “ you all the assistance in my power to
 “ make you, both by your sentiments and
 “ actions, worthy of the glory of your an-
 “ cestors. As to the studies in which your
 “ brother and you are now employed, you
 “ will never want masters for them, since
 “ such sort of men are daily flocking hither
 “ from *Greece*. But, with regard to what
 “ you have most at heart, perhaps you will
 “ not find a more fit companion and
 “ assistant than myself.” At these words
Scipio taking *Polybius* by the hand and
 pressing it affectionately, “ I wish (said he)
 “ I might see the day when, neglecting all
 “ other things, you would come and live
 “ with me, and make me your principal
 “ care. Then should I think myself not
 “ unworthy of my family and my an-
 “ cestors.” *Polybius*, though pleased and
 affected with the dispositions of the young
 man, was yet full of anxiety, when he con-
 sidered the dignity and splendor of that fam-
 ily. *Scipio*, after this, never quitted him,
 but preferring his conversation to that of
 all others, there grew up between them a
 friendship, like that between a father and
 a son.

It was evident, says *Polybius*, that by
 the conquest of *Macedon* the *Romans* were
 become masters of the world. Their un-
 bounded power therefore, and the *Mace-*
donian wealth, which had been brought
 to *Rome*, introduced among them licenti-
 oussels and all kinds of luxury. Amidst

the general corruption of the *Roman*
 youth, who ran headlong into the de-
 bauched manners of the *Greeks*, *Scipio's* first
 care was the study of modesty and sobriety.
 He had been five years famous for these virtues,
 when the death of *Emilia* (the wife of the great
Scipio) gave him an opportunity of acquiring the
 reputation of generosity. He being her heir,
 gave her jewels, chariot, gold and silver vases
 used at sacrifices, her slaves, and all her e-
 quipage, to his own mother, *Papiria*, who,
 having been divorced by her husband *Emi-*
lius Paullus, lived in narrow circum-
 stances. She had not of a long time been
 seen at the public assemblies; but soon
 after this, appearing at a solemn sacrifice,
 in her chariot, and with a great train of
 slaves, her equipage drew the attention of
 the women; who, knowing it to be the
 same which had been *Emilia's*, lifted up
 their hands to heaven, and prayed for all
 kinds of prosperity to *Scipio*, the charming
 man who had made his mother so true;
 and being naturally great praters (says *Po-*
lybius) and vehement in every thing they
 set about, they spread his reputation far and
 wide. The historian adds, that this gene-
 rosity was the more admired at *Rome*, be-
 cause, in that city, nobody ever gives away
 any thing that belongs to him.

The daughters of the great *Scipio*, being
 married to *Scipio Nasica* and *Tiberius Grae-*
chus, had each 40 talents for her portion.
 Half this money their mother had paid in
 her lifetime, the other half she had left to
 be discharged by her heir. She had also,
 it would seem, bequeathed to each of her
 daughters a legacy of moveable goods to
 the value of 5 talents. By the *Roman*
 law, this last money was due in ten months
 after the death of the testator; but the
 heir had three years, time allowed him for

Y. R. 606
Bel. Chu.
146.
195 Conf.

upon the city, lodged themselves on a rock whence they could not retire, and where they had no provisions. *Scipio* hastened to their relief, and brought them off^b.

And now his first business was to restore discipline in the army, which had been much neglected by his predecessors. The *Roman* soldiers were become gangs of robbers. Without order or leave of their Commanders they made inroads upon the country, plundered the farms, and sold the booty at low prices, to merchants, who flocked to the camp to make cheap purchases. Quarrels often arose about sharing the spoil; and in the scuffles many were slain. The Consul in a short time reformed these abuses, and then applied himself wholly to the siege^c.
The

the payment of the portions; a third part every year. At the end of ten months, *Gracchus* and *Nasica* enquiring of *Scipio's* banker, whether he had any money for them, he answered, that he had orders to pay each of them 25 talents: At first they imagined the banker mistaken; but he persisting, that he had received such orders, they then supposed, that *Scipio* had given them, through ignorance of the laws: And in this they had reason, says *Polybius*; for, at *Rome*, nobody pays a single talent till the very day it is due; much less 50 talents two years before the time; so careful is every one of his money, and so diligent to make advantage of it. *Gracchus* and *Nasica* therefore going to *Scipio*, and understanding from him, that he had actually given directions for the present payment of the whole sum, they, as from a friendly concern for his interest, informed him, that the laws allowed him the use of the money for a long time to come. *Scipio* answered, "I know that very well; and with strangers I act according to law, but with relations and friends, more friendly and generously." His brothers hearing this, returned silently home, astonished (though they were of the chief men in the city) at *Scipio's* greatness of soul, and condemning their own excessive attention to make money.

Two years after this, *Emilius Paullus* dying, left all his effects to his sons *Fabius* and *Scipio*. The latter, to make his brother as rich as himself, relinquished to him the whole of the inheritance, which amount-

ed to above 60 || talents. And when his mother died, he gave all her effects to his sisters, though by law they had no title to any of them. Thus did *Scipio*, says *Polybius*, for the sum of 60 talents (for so much of his own money he gave away) acquire the character of generosity; not on account of the greatness of the sum, but of the time and manner of giving it.

Many apothegms of *Scipio Æmilianus* are recorded, of which the much greater part seem not worth repeating. But *Cicero* (*in Verr.* 2. c. 11.) relates an excellent answer, which that General, when going to *Africa*, gave to an old acquaintance of his, who was out of humour for being refused by him a considerable post in the army. "Be not surprized, said *Scipio*, that you do not obtain this of me: I myself have been long soliciting a man, who, I think, would have a tender regard for my reputation, to accept the employment you want; and I cannot yet prevail with him."

^b According to the Epitome of *Live* (B. 51.) *Mucius* not only took, but kept a part of *Carthage*, which seems to have been *Megara*.

^c The Jesuits in their *Roman History* have exhibited a map of the place; but if they had given us a picture of the moon, as it appears through a telescope, it would have agreed as well with *Appian's* description of *Carthage*, and it's port; or even with their own description of them. *M. Rellin* has not, I think, furnished more light than the Jesuits, to make us understand what passed at this siege. In his account we find

Megara

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the place was now commanded by that *Aſdrubal*, who, the preceding year, had been General in the field. He had got rid of the other *Aſdrubal* by accusing him of treachery. They had killed him in the Senate house. Y. R. 606.
B. of Chr.
145.
304 Cont.

Scipio having made himself master of the isthmus, he there pitched his camp, and built a wall before it, twelve foot high, and reaching quite across the isthmus from sea to sea; so that the besieged could get no provisions from the continent that way. As, nevertheless, they still received provisions from the continent, by means of the port, he, to cut off their supplies this way, caused a huge mole to be raised in the water, near the mouth of the Port; a work of infinite labour. Hereupon the *Carthaginians*, animated by necessity, dug a new passage out into the sea, and not only so, but built fifty gallies, with which they gave battle to the enemy's fleet. The engagement lasted the whole day, with what success is not very clear. Winter soon after put an end to the operations of the siege. *Æmilianus* however did not continue inactive. He destroyed an army, *Appian* tells us, of 84,000 men, commanded by one *Diogenes*: after which all *Africa* submitted to the *Romans*, and *Carthage* could get no more provisions.

In this distress *Aſdrubal* asked and obtained an interview with King *Pygmalion*, *Gulussa*, who, since the death of his father *Masiniſſa*, had with some forces joined the *Roman* army. The *Carthaginian* desired the King to be surety to the Consul for him, that he would submit to every thing, provided the miserable city might be spared. *Gulussa* answered, "You talk childishly, *Aſdrubal*. Can you now expect, when almost reduced to extremity, what was refused you, even before your town was invested?" He replied, "The *Carthaginian* affairs are not desperate; we have allies abroad, and an army in the field (for he did not yet know of the defeat of that army) but, above all, I confide in the assistance of the immortal Gods, who undoubtedly will not be regardless of the injuries we have suffered contrary to the faith of treaties, but will afford us various means of preserving ourselves. Admonish the *Roman* General therefore, that, in piety to the Gods, and in consideration of the variableness of fortune, he would spare the city. And assure him, that if we cannot obtain this, we are, to a man, determined

Megara, to be the city, properly so called, and habitation of the inhabitants, yet when *Scipio* has broke down the gates of one part of *Megara*, and entered it; and when those of the *Carthaginians* who had been appointed to defend that quarter, are retired to the citadel, imagining the whole city to be taken, he is no nearer being master of *Megara* than he was before. [And indeed by *Appian's* account *Scipio* hardens the quarter he had broke into.] We find him presently after encamped without the city, and looking into it from a high wooden tower, which he has erected on the wall before his camp. The next year, *Scipio* attacks the port called *Cuthon*, and the citadel at the same time; yet, according to Mr. Rollin, the citadel was encompassed by *Megara*, which, for any thing hitherto related, *Scipio* is not master of; and he does not get to the citadel till *seven days after Cuthon* is taken. Our author has, I presume, the authority of *Appian* for most of these particulars: But what does the reader learn from such an account?

Y. R. 606. "to die rather than surrender." *Polybius* adds, that upon *Gulussa's* report of what the *Carthaginian* had said, *Scipio* smiled^c, both at the conditions demanded by *Asdrubal*, after treating his *Roman* prisoners with the greatest cruelty (for he is said to have put them to death by torture) and at *his confidence in the Gods*, after such a violation of all laws human and divine. Nevertheless, as *Gulussa* represented to the General how much it concerned him to put an end to the war, lest a successor coming from *Rome*, should rob him of that glory, *Scipio* commissioned the King to return to *Asdrubal*, with an offer of life and liberty to him, and any ten families of his friends whom he should name, together with ten talents and six slaves for himself. The *Carthaginian*, having heard the message, replied, *The day will never come when the sun shall see Carthage destroyed and Asdrubal alive.*

Y. R. 607. Early the next spring (in the Consulship of C. *Cornelius Lentulus*, and Bef. Chr. L. *Mummius*) *Scipio* renewed his attacks upon *Carthage*, on the side of 145. 306 Conf. *Cothon* (or the port) and made himself master of the wall. Thence with a large body of soldiers he forced his way into the great square of the city, where he continued all the following night. From this square three streets led up to the citadel, the ascent pretty steep. As the tops of the houses, which lined these streets, were covered with men, who stood ready to shower darts and stones upon the *Romans*, it was necessary, before these advanced, to^d clear the houses of the enemy. Having broke into those that were nearest, and got upon the roofs, a desperate fight began there, while another more bloody was carried on in the streets below. When the *Roman* soldiers with dreadful slaughter, had, both above and below, driven the *Carthaginians* before them, quite to the citadel, they, by the General's orders, set fire to all the houses of the three streets. Then followed such a scene of misery as is not to be expressed. Wounded men, old women and children, who had hid

^c It would seem that *Polybius* might well enough have omitted this circumstance of his hero's smiling at *Asdrubal's* confidence in the Gods; when the hero himself was engaged in an enterprize as impious as ever General was charged with, and in breach of public faith and the law of nations. If the Historian had put something plausible into the mouth of *Scipio*, in answer to that part of *Asdrubal's* discourse which accused the *Romans* of injustice and perfidy, it would have been more pertinent. And as to *Asdrubal's* cruelty (supposing the story to be true) *Scipio*, as we shall see hereafter, acted, in *Spain*, a cruelty, towards 400 young men, his prisoners, which was much less excusable, the difference of circumstances considered.

Many things are said by *Polybius* and

Appian to make *Asdrubal* appear both odious and ridiculous: But their character of him does not very well suit with this part of his conduct, where he refuses no submissions, provided the city may be spared, and, without that condition, will listen to no preliminaries, how advantageous soever to himself and his particular friends. And if he were really such a monster as he is represented, and had so cruelly butchered the *Roman* prisoners, it seems not much for the honour of *Scipio* that, through fear of a successor, he should consent to spare that monster and his favourites, and them only, of all the miserable multitude of *Carthaginians*.

^d They might have cleared the houses of the enemy by setting fire to them, but perhaps they were willing to plunder them first. them-

themselves in holes and secret corners of the houses came tumbling, from the upper stories, upon the pavement below, whither they threw themselves to avoid the flames. The air rang with their shrieks and lamentations. The bodies of these miserable wretches, the living as well as the dead, were with hooks dragged away together, into ditches and pits, that they might not choak up the streets, by which the Romans of the houses so as to form an area, where the army might be drawn up, were spent six days and six nights; the soldiers, employed in the work, being relieved from time to time by fresh men. *Scipio* was the only person who took no sleep, nor hardly any refreshment. Fatigued at length with moving from place to place to give orders, he sat down on a high ground, whence he might see the tragedy to its conclusion. Once, it seems, the tears came into his eyes, and he repeated two lines of *Homer*, where *Hector* foretells the destruction of *Troy*. *Carthage*, that once mighty city, in flames, brought to his mind, not only the fall of *Troy*, but of those wide extended empires of the *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*; and, from the instability of human things, he feared that *Rome* would one day undergo a fate like to that which now overwhelmed *Carthage*. It was thus that he explained himself to *Polybius*, who was then near him. On the seventh day, and before the rubbish was quite removed, some persons from the citadel in the garb of suppliants, appeared before the Roman General, offering, on the part of the besieged, to surrender themselves, if he would but spare their lives. He granted their petition; only the Roman deserters were excepted. Hereupon there came forth 50,000 persons, whom *Scipio* immediately sent away under a good guard, and afterwards sold for slaves. The deserters, to the number of 900, despairing of mercy, retired with *Asdrubal* into the temple of *Æsculapius*; which standing on a rock, they might have defended it for a considerable time, if they had not been pressed by famine. The *Carthaginian* General came away privately, and bearing an olive branch, surrendered himself to the Pro-Consul. *Scipio* having made *Asdrubal* sit down at his feet, shewed him to the deserters, who, when they had reviled and cursed him, [nobody knows why] set fire to the edifice; chusing rather to perish that way than to meet the vengeance of the Conqueror.

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

Oros. B. 4.
c. 23.
App. p. 81.

Carthage

Ἔσεται ἡμερ ὅταν ποτ' ἀλώλη' Ἰλίου ἱερὸν,
καὶ Πύλαις, καὶ λαὸς εὐμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.

Yet come it will, the day decreed by fates;
(How my heart trembles while my tongue
relates!)

The day when thou, Imperial *Troy* must
bend,

And see thy warriors fall, thy glories end.

Iliad, Book 6. l. 570.

According to *Orosius* (B. 4. c. 23.) there came out first, in a body, 25,000 miserably looking women, and then 30,000 worse looking men.

While the fire was kindling, the wife of *Asdrubal*, having decked herself in the best manner she could, is said to have appeared, with her two children, on the top of the temple; whence calling out to *Scipio*, she begged him to punish her husband.

Q 9 9 2

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

Carthage thus taken, *Scipio* gave the plunder to the soldiers, excepting the gold, the silver, and the offerings found in the temples. After this, and when he had distributed the rewards of valour among his men, he sent advice to the Senate that he had finished the war in *Africa*, desiring further instructions. The Fathers named ten Commissioners who, in conjunction with *Scipio*, were to regulate every thing relating to the conquered country. They brought orders to him to demolish what yet remained of *Carthage*; and they decreed that nobody for the future should dwell there, adding dire imprecations on whoever should disobey; and especially on those who should rebuild *Byrsa* or *Megara*^b. They further decreed, that all the towns which had taken part with the enemy, should be razed, and their territories given to the allies of *Rome*: that *Utica* in particular should have all the lands as far as *Carthage* on the one side, and *Hippo* on the other: And that the whole country, which had been under the domination of the *African* Republic should be reduced to the form of a *Prætorian* province. After *Scipio* had seen these regulations executed; and, to the honour of the Gods, had celebrated games, wherein his soldiers were amused with seeing all the deserters that had fallen into his hands, torn in pieces by wild beasts, he returned to *Rome*, had a splendid triumph, and took the surname of *Africanus*.

Encl. Epit.
L. 51.

“THE elder *Scipio*, says *Velleius Paterculus*¹, had opened a way to the power of the *Romans*, the younger opened a way to their luxury. For, when the fear of *Carthage*, that rival of *Rome* for empire, was totally removed, the *Romans* did not gradually depart from virtue, but ran precipitately into vice.”

Polyb. Ex-
cerpt. ap.
Valef.
See p. 469.
and p. 464.

Polybius gives an earlier date to this precipitate hurrying of the *Romans* into luxury and debauchery; the conquest of *Macedon*. And *Cato* makes use of the corruption of *Roman* manners as his argument for the expe-

band, according to his desert, that traitor to his God, his country, and his family. Then directing her speech to *Asdrubal*; “Thou wicked perfidious wretch, the most cowardly of men: This fire will quickly consume me and my children: But thou, ruler of mighty *Carthage*, what a triumph shalt thou adorn! And what punishment wilt thou not suffer from him at whose feet thou art now sitting!” This said, she cut the throats of her children, threw them into the flames, and herself after them. *App. in Pæc.* p. 81.

This story seems to carry an internal proof of its being a fable, the charge of treachery on *Asdrubal* being manifestly absurd; unless, by treachery, be meant his

not killing himself when he could no longer make any defence.

^b Notwithstanding these imprecations we shall find, that, about 24 years after, *C. Gracchus* undertook to raise a town upon the ruins of *Carthage*. The work indeed was not perfected. But the emperor *Augustus*, or, according to some, *Julius Cæsar*, built a city near the place where *Carthage* had stood.

¹ *Potentia Romanorum prior Scipio viam aperuerat, luxuria posterior aperuit. Quippe remoto Carthaginis metu, sublataque imperii æmula, non gradu, sed præcipiti cursu à virtute descitum, ad vitia transcursum. Velleius Paterculus. B. 2. c. 1.*

diency of destroying *Carthage*. Nay, before the war against *Antiochus the Great*, *Cato* speaks of covetousness and luxury * as reigning vices at *Rome*. But, whatever was the true date of the introduction of luxury among the *Romans*, certain it is, that, from the time of the elder *Scipio's* conquest, they ran precipitately into shameless dishonesty, perfidiousness and cruelty: I speak of their Senate, their Generals and their Embassadors.

" If the reader recalls to mind their faithless treatment of King *Philip*, the *Bæotians*, and the *Spartan Nabis*; *Filaminus's* errand to *Prusias*, the knavery and hypocrisy of *Marcus* in his transactions with *Perseus*; the perfidy and cruelty of *Æmilius Paullus*; the tyranny exercised over the *Achæans* and other *Greeks*, by the Senate, after pretending to set *Greece* at liberty; their cruel usage of the *Rhodians*, for only desiring to mediate a peace between *Rome* and *Macedon*; their anger against *Attalus*, because he would not ask of them a part of his brother's dominions; the series of their injustices to the *African Republic*, on occasion of her disputes with *Masiniſſa*; and lastly, their fraudulent methods the more easily to effect that iniquitous and inhuman resolution of utterly destroying *Carthage*: If the reader, I say, recalls to mind these facts, he will think, that what (*Livy* tells us) was the * sentiment of the oldest Senators concerning the artifices of *Marcus*, would have been equally just with regard to the public proceedings in general¹; and that in the whole conduct of the *Romans*, from their victory at *Zama* to the end of the third *Punic* war, there was scarce any thing worthy of ancient *Rome*.

* *Vetres & moris antiqui memores* [Senatores] *negabant se in ea Legatione* [Marcus] *Romanas agnoscere artes.* Liv. L. 42. c. 47.

¹ The reader will presently see, that the

Romans had, for some time past, behaved themselves as infamously in *Spain*, as in *Greece* and *Africa*.

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.
See p. 318

THE Roman History.

SIXTH BOOK.

From the End of the THIRD PUNIC WAR, in the Year of Rome 607, when *Carthage* was destroyed, and the ROMAN POWER became irresistible, to the Death of the Younger GRACCHUS, in 632, the true Date of the Destruction of ROMAN LIBERTY.

CHAP. I.

*The imprudent behaviour of the Achæans.
The destruction of Corinth.
Greece is made a Roman province.*

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
306 Conf.

THE ROMANS, in the pursuits of their boundless ambition, made no distinction between ancient friends and ancient enemies, states from which they had received the most important services, and those by which they had suffered the most terrible losses and calamities. In that very year when they totally destroyed the city and republic of *Carthage*, they, with the like deliberate cruelty, subverted the commonwealth of *Acbaia*, and delivered up *Corinth*, its capital, a prey to the flames.

Pausan. A.
chaic. c.
12. & seq.

What gave occasion to this final overthrow of the liberties of *Greece*, was a new quarrel between the *Lacedæmonians* and the rest of the *Achæan* confederacy, about rights and privileges. Both parties made application to the Senate of *Rome*, who, having heard the pretensions of both, commissioned *Aurelius Orestes*, with some other Senators, to go into *Peloponnesus*, and there terminate the dispute by a peremptory sentence. The *Achæans*, nevertheless, impatient of all delay in humbling their adversaries, had immediate recourse to arms; and, regardless of the admonitions of *Metellus*, Pro-consul in *Macedon*, who pressed them earnestly to forbear war, and to wait the coming of the *Roman* commissioners, began hostilities against the *Lacedæmonians*, and vanquished them in battle. *Damocritus* was at that time Prætor of *Acbaia* and General of the forces. His successor *Diæus*, paying more deference to the repeated remonstrances of the Pro-consul, granted the *Lacedæmonians* a truce; and during this truce the commissioners from the Senate arrived at *Corinth*. Having there convened the Diet of *Acbaia*, they declared, That it was the will of the Senate and people of *Rome*, that *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Heracleum* near mount *Oeta*, and *Orchomenus* in *Arcadia*,

not having been anciently of the *Achaean* body, should now be dis-
 membered from it, and become independent. *Polybius* says, that the
Romans did not intend actually to dismember the *Achaean* State; that
 their design was only to alarm the *Achaean*s, and curb the high spi-
 rit that then appeared among them. Be that as it will, the mul-
 titude were so provoked, that they not only assaulted all the *Lacedae-
 monians* they met with in the streets, but tore out of the houses of the
 ambassadors those who had taken refuge there. *Orestes* and his colleagues,
 at their return to *Rome*, reported, in the strongest terms, the insult they
 had suffered. Nevertheless the Fathers thought it advisable to try ano-
 ther embassy before they came to extremities with the *Achaean*s. *Sextus
 Julius*, a man of prudence and temper, was ordered, with two more,
 into *Peloponnesus*. They repaired to *Aegium*, where the Diet of *Achaia*
 assembled. *Julius* spoke with great moderation, and palliated the in-
 sult upon the *Roman* ambassadors more than the *Achaean*s themselves
 would have done; that they might see it was easy to satisfy the Senate,
 if, for the future, nothing injurious were offered to the *Romans* or the
Lacedaemonians. The sober part of the assembly heard *Julius's* discourse
 with pleasure; but the multitude being under the influence of *Dionis*
 and *Critolaus*, the latter of whom was now Praetor, imagined that this
 courtesy and condescension of the ambassadors proceeded from their
 fears; the *Roman* arms not having prospered of late, in *Africa* nor in
Spain. However, the *Achaean*s answered, that they would send depu-
 ties to the Senate to apologize for what had happened to the *Roman*
 Commissioners; and proposed, that a congress should be held at *Tegea*,
 where the disputes between them and the *Lacedaemonians* might be ac-
 commodated in an amicable manner. To that town the *Romans* re-
 paired, accompanied by deputies from *Lacedaemon*. But, on the part
 of the *Achaean*s, only *Critolaus* came. He had contrived that the rest
 of those who had been summoned, should not appear; and now, in the
 conference, he pretended, that he could conclude nothing without the
 consent of his nation, but promised to report, what passed, to the next
 general Diet. This was not to be held till six months after. *Julius*
 seeing through the artifice of the Praetor, and highly offended with his
 arrogance and disingenuous conduct, dismissed the *Lacedaemonians*, and
 returned to *Rome*.

* May it not be reasonably questioned, whether what *Polybius* writes of these times deserves an equal credit with the other parts of his history. He was an intimate friend and companion of *Scipio Aemilianus*, and caressed, honoured, distinguished from all his countrymen, by *Mummius*, the destroyer of *Corinth*, and by the ten Commissioners, who, with that General, were

appointed to settle *Achaia* in the form of a *Roman* province. With this historian therefore *Mummius* was a person of great humanity, notwithstanding his proceedings at *Corinth*: And so *Aemilius Paullus*, and his son *Scipio* were both gentle and tender-hearted, in spite of all the proofs they give, by their actions, of a contrary temper.

After

Y. R. 607.
Bef. Chr.
145.
306 Conf.

After his departure, *Critolaus*, during the whole winter, went about from city to city, convening the people, under colour of imparting to them what had passed in the conference at *Tegea*, but, in reality, to excite in them a hatred to the *Romans*. To conciliate to himself the affections of the populace, he engaged the Magistrates to suspend all prosecutions for debt, till the war with the *Lacedæmonians* should be terminated. By this means the unthinking multitude were drawn away to be entirely at his devotion.

Metellus was still in *Macedon*, at the head of the army, with which he had vanquished the two impostors, *Andriscus* and *Alexander*. Receiving advice of the commotions in *Peloponnesus*, he dispatched thither four *Romans*, men of distinction, to endeavour a pacification. They arrived at *Corinth* when the Diet was actually assembled there. After the example of *Julius*, they spoke with temper and moderation, earnestly exhorting the *Achæans* not to suffer their quarrels with the *Lacedæmonians* to alienate their minds from the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, says *Polybius*, were at this time out of their senses, and especially the *Corinthians*. The latter treated the *Roman* deputies with derision; and with clamor and tumult drove them out of the assembly. *Critolaus* took advantage of the present disposition of the multitude to declaim against those of the magistrates who did not enter into his views; and he used great freedoms in speaking of the *Romans*; "whom he was content to have for allies, but would never own for Lords of *Achaia*. If you are men, said he to the people, you will never want friends and allies; if you are but half men, you will never want masters." And he insinuated to them, "that his present measures had not been undertaken rashly, but in concert with Kings and Republics." By such discourses he engaged the assembly to decree a renewal of the war against the *Lacedæmonians*; a war, says *Polybius*, indirectly declared against *Rome*.

If *Critolaus* and the *Achæans* were mad, they found other States as mad as themselves. The *Thebans*, in resentment for some fines imposed upon them by *Metellus*; and the *Chalcidians*, from what passion is not known, lost their reason so far as to imagine that they, in conjunction with the *Achæans*, should be able to withstand the *Roman* power.

Metellus, hearing that *L. Mummius* the Consul was coming from *Italy* with an army against the *Achæans*, and being ambitious of quieting them himself, sent a new deputation to them, with a promise that the *Roman* people should pardon their past faults, if they would consent to the dismembering, from their body, *Lacedæmon* and the other cities before-mentioned. To add weight to his message, he advanced with his forces by the way of *Thessaly*. The *Achæans* not listening to his overture, he continued his march, and came up with their army near *Scarphea* in *Locris*, where

Pausan. in
Achaic.
c. 14.
Liv. Epit.
B. 52.

Pausan. in
Achaic.
c. 15.

where he routed it with great slaughter, and made a thousand prisoners. What became of *Critolaus* is uncertain; some say he poisoned himself, others that he was drowned in a marsh. *Diaus* took the command, insisted the slaves (whom he set free) and drained *Achaia* and *Ar-cadia* of their men to recruit his army. *Metellus* marched to *Thebes* in *Boeotia*, and found it almost deserted. He forbade his soldiers to rattle the temples or the houses, or to do violence to any of the inhabitants, whom they should find either in the city or the fields. Only *Pitbyas*, the chief Magistrate, and author of the defection, being taken, was put to death. From *Thebes* *Metellus* proceeded to *Corinth*, where *Diaus* had shut himself up. The Roman, still earnestly desirous to finish the war before *Mummius* could arrive, employed three of the principal men of the *Achaean* State, to persuade their countrymen to an acceptance of the peace offered them. The inhabitants of *Corinth* would have complied; but *Diaus* and his faction were the masters; and these cast the deputies into prison. Yet, for the bribe of a talent, they were soon after released by *Diaus* himself.

Y. R. 667.
B. I. C. 11.
145.
306 Cont.

When *Metellus* had fought, says *Florus*, *Mummius* came to the victory. On his arrival at the isthmus he sent *Metellus* and his army back into *Macedon*. The besieged soon after made a sally upon an advanced guard of the Consul's troops, killed many of them, and pursued the rest to their camp. *Diaus*, flushed with this success, came out of the town, and offered the Consul battle. It was fought just at the entrance of the isthmus. The *Achaean* horse were broken at the first onset and ran away; their foot, though much inferior in number to the enemy, behaved themselves resolutely, till being attacked in flank by a body of chosen troops, they were thrown into confusion, and could no longer make resistance. Had *Diaus* retired into *Corinth*, a place of great strength, he might probably have obtained some tolerable conditions from *Mummius*, who would be in haste to finish the war: but the *Achaean*, instead of turning his thoughts to the preservation of the town, or its inhabitants, fled strait to *Megalopolis*, his native city, where he set fire to his house, killed his wife (that she might not fall into the enemies hands) and put an end to his own life by poison.

B. 2. C. 1.
P. 100.
A. 100.
C. 100.

The Consul, when the next day he advanced to *Corinth*, found the gates open. All who had fled thither from the battle, and most of the citizens, had quitted the place in the night. Of those who had staid there, he put the men to the sword, and sold the women and children; and having plundered the city of its statues, paintings and most valuable effects, he set fire to it^b, and reduced the whole to ashes. The walls were afterwards demolished, and the lands of the *Corinthians* given to

^b *Florus* and others pretend that the famous *Corinthian* brass was formed at this conflagration, by the mixture of gold, silver and copper, which being melted ran together into one mass.

Y. R. 607. the *Sicyonians*; such was the decree of the Senate. The pretence for
 Ref. Chi. this severity was the insult offered to the *Roman* ambassadors; the true
 145. reasons, according to *Cicero*, the strength and situation of the place,
 306 Conf. which might one day encourage the *Acheans* to rebel. *Mummius* after-
 Liv. Epit. wards got into his power those of the *Corinthians* who had fled out of the
 L. 52. city, and sold them all for slaves.

De Ofic. *Thebes* (which *Metellus* had spared) and *Chalcis*, were both razed to
 L. 1. the ground by the Consul, who also disarmed the inhabitants and demo-
 Liv. Epit. lished the walls of the other towns, that had taken part with the *Acheans*
 L. 52. in this war. All this he performed before the arrival of ten Commis-
 Paulin. sioners, whom the Senate had appointed to settle, in concert with him,
 loc. cit. the affairs of *Achaia*. These Commissioners abolished, in all the cities
 of *Greece*, the popular government, and placed over them Magistrates
 chosen from among the richest of the citizens. They likewise suppressed
 all national assemblies; but these were restored, not many years after.
Greece became now a *Roman* Province, under the name of the Province of
Achaia, whither *Rome* sent a Prætor annually to govern it^c.

Plot. life of *Polybius* the historian came at this time into *Peloponnesus*, opportunely
 Philopame- to defend the memory of his Father's friend, *Philopamen*. Some base
 men. foolish fellow, to make his court to *Mummius* and the ten Commissioners,
 had moved to have all the honours, formerly done to *Philopamen*, in the
 several cities of *Greece*, abolished. He accused the deceased of having
 Polyb. Ex- shewed himself, in all his actions, an enemy to the *Romans*. *Polybius*, on
 resp. de Vint. & Vit. the other hand, represented, that *Philopamen*, though he had indeed some-
 times opposed the measures of the *Romans*, had proceeded only in the
 way of remonstrance and dissuasion: That when the war was breaking
 out between them and *Antiochus*, and before the *Roman* armies came in-
 to *Greece*, he had advised and engaged his countrymen to declare against
 the Syrian and his allies the *Ætolians*. In a word, *Polybius* made so
 good a defence, that *Mummius* and the Commissioners would not suffer
 the honours of *Philopamen* to be in any degree abrogated. *Polybius* fur-
 ther requested and obtained, that some statues of *Acheus*, *Aratus*, and
Philopamen, already carried out of *Peloponnesus* into *Acarnania*, might
 be brought back: by which he so greatly pleased and obliged his country-
 men, that on this account they erected a marble statue to him; and
 the Commissioners, as a mark of their esteem, offered him whatever
 he should choose of the effects of *Diaus*, before they were exposed to
 sale. The *Greek* not only declined the offer, but exhorted all his friends
 to follow his example.

The Commissioners being sensible of the abilities and noble spirit of
 the man, gave him in charge, at their departure for *Italy*, to make
 a progress through the several cities of *Greece*, judge controversies

^c It is thought that *Macedon*, in this year, took the form of a *Prætorian* province.
Ruf. Fesl.

among the inhabitants, and make them acquainted with the new constitution and laws. He happily executed this commission, put an end to all private contests among his countrymen, and brought them to acquiesce in the established form of government. In gratitude for these services they, in many places, erected statues to him, on the base of one of which was an inscription to this effect. *That Greece would not have erred, if, from the beginning, she had followed the Counsels of Polybius; and when, through error, she came to need assistance, she found it in him.* Y. R. 607. Ref. Chr. 145. 306 Conf. Pausan. in Arcad. c. 37.

Polybius (as quoted by *Strabo**) tells us, that he saw some Roman soldiers playing at dice upon a picture of *Bacchus*, by *Aristides*; a picture esteemed one of the finest in the world. King *Attalus* afterwards bought it at the price of 600,000 † sesterces, at the sale of the plunder of *Corinth*; which when *Mummius* understood, he was beyond measure astonished, and concluded that the picture had some magical virtue. He would not therefore let the King have it, but carried it to *Rome*, and placed it in the temple of *Ceres*. If we may believe *Velleius Paterculus*, *Mummius* was so little of a virtuoso, that he covenanted with the masters of the ships, whom he hired to convey from *Corinth* to *Italy* a great number of exquisite pieces of painting and statuary, that, if they lost any of them, they should furnish others in their stead. * B. 8. p. 381. Plin. B. 35. c. 4. † 4843 l. 15. Arbutnot.

The conqueror raised no fortune to himself out of the spoils of the country he had conquered. At his death, he did not leave enough to portion his daughter. The Senate gave her a portion. After his triumph, the chief ornaments of which were the pictures and statues he had brought from *Corinth*, he employed them to embellish *Rome* and the neighbouring cities. Yet, that he made use of none of them to adorn his own house, as one historian says, and *Cicero* seems to say, cannot well be reconciled with what *Strabo* tells us of *Mummius*'s being cheated of some of them by *Lucullus*. This man, being about to dedicate a temple of his own building, borrowed a certain number of the pictures to hang up in it during the ceremony, promising to return them as soon as it should be over. After the dedication, he told *Mummius* that he might fetch away his pictures if he pleased; intimating probably, at the same time, that he would be guilty of sacrilege if he did. He bore the loss with patience; for which he was much applauded. Cic. de Offic. l. 2. c. 22. Plin. B. 34. c. 7. Frontin. Strateg. B. 4. c. 3. §. 15. Auct. de Vit. in Mum. Strabo. B. 8. p. 331.

Mummius took the surname of *Achaicus*; as *Metellus*, who, about this time, triumphed for his conquest in *Macedon*, took that of *Macedonicus*. In the triumph of the latter was led in chains the impostor *Andriscus*.

C H A P. II.

A summary of what passed in Spain from the year 558 to the beginning of the Celtiberian war in the year 600.

A peace concluded with the Celtiberians.

The infamous conduct of some Roman Generals in Spain.

The commencement of the Viriatic war.

SPAIN was now the chief object of the Senate's attention. Nothing has been said of the transactions in that country, since the settling of tranquility there, by * *Cato*, in the year 558.

The year following *Scipio Nasica* began to extend the Roman conquests in **FURTHER SPAIN**. He took about fifty towns, or rather castles. Next year the *Lusitanians*^b fell upon that Province, and pillaged it; but, in their return, *Nasica* stript them of their booty, near *Ilipa*, on the north of the *Bætis*. His successor, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, defeated in battle the *Vaccæi*^c, *Vettones* and *Celtiberians*, at *Toletum*, on the north of the *Tagus*. The following campaign (year of Rome 561) *Fulvius* took several towns, and last of all *Toletum*. His successor *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who afterwards conquered *Perfes*, conducted the war in Spain for three years with various success. The Romans seem to have extended their conquests but little farther, in this Province, till the year 573, when *L. Posthumius Albinus* subdued the *Lusitanians* and *Vaccæi*, and triumphed over them. Yet these nations were far from being totally reduced, as we shall find hereafter.

IN THE **HITHER PROVINCE**, *C. Flaminius Nepos*, the Prætor for the year 560, took *Ilucia*, a city of the *Oretani*, near neighbours to the *Celtibe-*

* By the conquests of *Scipio Africanus* in Spain, during the second *Punic* war, the Romans became masters of almost all the country between the *Pyrenees* and the *Iberus*, and perhaps of a small territory beyond that river. This, for a considerable time, made the *Hither Province*. In the same war, they became possessed of the sea coast from the mouth of the *Iberus* to *Gades*; but seem to have gone only a little way up into the country; for all the towns which *Scipio* reduced in those parts lay not far from the sea. This long tract got the name of the *Further Province*.

For several years after the Romans made no new acquisitions in Spain. All their battles there were fought against the nations alrea-

dy conquered, but often rebelling. To reduce these rebels were employed *Lentulus* and *Acidinus*, *Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Helvius*, *Q. Minucius Thermus*, and *Cato*. Hist. p. 260. 323. 331.

^b The boundaries of *Lusitania* are mentioned, in p. 156. Note.

^c The *Vaccæi* were situated on the north of the *Durius*; the *Vettones*, between that river and the *Tagus*. *Strabo* relates, that certain of the *Vettones*, (after this nation was subdued) seeing some Roman Centurions walking to and fro, for air and exercise, imagined, that they were mad, and, in kindness, offered to conduct them to their tents.

rians. The latter^d made war against the *Romans* in the year 566; and in 568, with the assistance of the *Lusitanians*, routed the joint forces of *Cippinus* and *Calpurnius* (the Prætors of both Provinces) in *Carpetania*, not far from *Hippo* and *Toletum*. All these places were near the head of the *Tagus*; on the banks of which river, the same Prætors afterwards obtained a victory over the enemy, quieted the Provinces, and triumphed over the *Celtiberians* and *Lusitanians*.

The *Celtiberians*, in the year 572, rebelled once more, and were de- Liv. B. 46.
feated by *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Pro-prætor of *Iberia Spain*, who then C. 30.—31.
took *Contrebia*, at the head of the *Tagus*; and the greatest part of *Celtiberia* submitted. Nevertheless the Prætor *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was sent against them next year. After taking *Munda* by surprize, he C. 47.
sat down before *Certima*. The inhabitants of this place sent a deputation to him, to tell him, that had they forces sufficient, they would fight him; and to desire, he would permit them to go and ask assistance of their countrymen, incamped not far off; adding, that if they were refused assistance, they would then consider what was best for them to do. Their demand astonished *Gracchus*; yet he consented. The *Spaniards* went trait to the *Celtiberian* camp, and soon after, with ten deputies from thence, returned to the *Romans*. It was in the heat of the day. They began with asking the General to order them some drink. Drink was given them. They called for more, and more they had; the soldiers being greatly diverted with the simplicity of these *Spaniards*. When the deputies had quenched their thirst, the eldest of them thus addressed himself to the Prætor. We are sent by our nation to know what it is you depend upon, that you bring war into this country. *I depend upon a good army*, said *Gracchus*, *which, if you please, you shall see*; and instantly he ordered his troops to arm, and pass in review before the deputies. This sight deterred them from assisting the people of *Certima*; and the town surrendered to the Prætor.

After this he marched against the *Celtiberians* that were in the field. These, though, they had refused to fight for their neighbours, stood upon their own defence. *Gracchus*, by parties which he detached to skirmish with the enemy, drew them towards his camp; whence his Legions, ready for action, sallied out on a sudden, and entirely routed them. He then took *Alce* their capital; after which *Ergavia*

^d *Celtiberia*, according to *Strabo* (B. 3. p. 162.) was bounded on the north by the *Berones*; on the west by the *Vaccæi*, *Petones*, *Carpetani*, &c. on the south by the *Oretani* and the nations on the *Sucro*; and on the east by the mountains called *Idubeda*, which stretch along the south side of the

Iberus from the *Cantabri* to the *Mætanian Sea*. In this country rest the *Dacæi*, the *Tagus* and the *Anas*.

^e From all this it appears that the *Romans* had never been in this part of *Celtiberia* before.

and 103 other towns^f surrendered to him in a few days. Before he left the Province he made a treaty with the *Celtiberians*. The substance of it will be presently mentioned.

From this time we find nothing of moment done in *Spain* till the *Lusitanian* war, of which that with *Viriatius* was a continuation. In the year 599 the Prætor of the Further Province, *L. Calpurnius Piso*, was defeated by the *Lusitanians*, whom *Appian* calls (*ἀνθροποι*) a people governed by their own laws. Next year *L. Mummius**, who succeeded *Calpurnius*, was vanquished in battle by the *Lusitanians*; yet he afterwards fought prosperously against them in several engagements.

App. in
Iber. p.
286.

* Afterwards A-
chaicus.

App. in
Iber. p.
279.

IN THE SAME Year (600 of *Rome*) began the *Celtiberian*, sometimes called the *Numantine* war. The occasion of it was this. The people of *Segeda*, a city of the *Belii*, a nation of *Celtiberia*, were going to enlarge their town, bring new inhabitants into it, and build a wall round it. To put a stop to this work, the Senate of *Rome*, signified to the *Segedenses* that it was contrary to the treaty concluded with *Gracchus*; and ordered them at the same time to send auxiliary soldiers to the *Roman* armies in *Spain*, and pay the tribute stipulated by the above-mentioned treaty. They replied, that *Gracchus* had indeed forbid them to build new towns; but that no mention had been made of repairing or enlarging old towns; and that, as for the quota of soldiers and the tribute, the Senate had formerly remitted both. This was true: but *Appian* tells us, that the *Romans* always reserved to themselves a power of resuming such grants. It would seem that the *Segedenses* were like to be powerfully supported, or that the *Romans* were in great haste to make a conquest of this country; for they ordered that the Consuls elect should enter upon their office, not the 15th of *March* as usual, but the first of * *January*: and one of them, *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, received directions to go immediately into the *Ithier* Province. Upon his arrival there, the *Segedenses*, not having finished their wall, took refuge amongst the *Arvaci*, a people of *Celtiberia*, whose capital was *Numantia*^g at the head of the *Durius*.

* See p.
467.

App in
Iber. p.
280.

Under the command of a General named *Carus*, a citizen of *Segeda*, an army was formed of 25,000 men, probably the united forces of the two nations. He laid an ambush for the Consul, fell upon him by surprise, slew six thousand of the *Romans*, and put the rest to flight. But pursuing the runaways too far, and in disorder, he was charged by the

^f *Polybius* says, *Gracchus* took 300 towns. But *Pofidonius* blames the Greek historian for calling castles towns, in flattery to *Gracchus*. *Strabo* joins with *Pofidonius*, and finds fault with those authors who affirm that there are 1000 towns in *Spain*; and he asserts that there are few towns, but many villages in that country. *Strab. B. 3. p. 163.*

^g *Florus* gives a different account of the

cause of the *Numantine* war. "If (says he) we may speak the truth, there hardly ever was a war more unjust. The *Numantines* had received into their town the *Segedenses*, their relations and allies, who had escaped out of the hands of the *Romans*. No regard was had to the excuses and entreaties of the *Numantines*; and as the price of peace they were required to give up their arms." *B. 2. c. 18.*

Roman

Roman horse that had been left to guard the baggage; and in this action he lost 6000 men with his own life. Night put an end to the conflict. The same night the *Spaniards* rendezvoused at *Numantia*, and created two new Generals, *Ambo* and *Leuco*. *Fulvius* came three days after, and encamped within three miles of the city. A second battle was fought, in which the *Romans* had the advantage in the beginning, by means of some elephants they had received from *Masinissa* (the *Arvaci*, according to *Appian*, having never seen any before^b.) But the Consul bringing those elephants near the walls of *Numantia*^c, whither the enemy had fled, one of the beasts, wounded in the head by a great stone, turned in a rage upon the *Roman* troops; and the rest of the beasts following his example, the whole army was thrown into confusion. The *Numantines* took advantage of the accident, made a sally, and slew 4000 of their enemies. After this and some other disasters, *Ocilis*, a town where the *Romans* had their money and a magazine of provisions, revolted to the *Celtiberians*. *Fulvius*, quite discouraged, durst not separate his troops to put them into winter quarters. He kept them encamped in the field all the winter; which proved so severe, that many of his soldiers died of distempers caused by the extremity of the cold; and the army suffered much for want of provisions.

The Consul *M. Claudius Marcellus*, in the year of *Rome* 601, succeeded *Fulvius* in *Hisber Spain*, and brought with him 8000 foot, and 500 horse. He laid siege to *Ocilis*, the inhabitants of which obtained pardon on paying thirty talents, and giving hostages. The fame of the Consul's clemency engaged the *Arvaci* to sue for peace. They offered to submit to a moderate penalty, on condition the treaty they had made with *Gracchus* might be renewed. *Marcellus*, desirous of the honour of finishing the war, gave them leave to solicit the Senate upon the affair. At the same time some petty nations of *Spain*, enemies to the *Arvaci*, and in confederacy with *Rome*, sent deputies thither to oppose their demands. The allies were first heard. These, pretending to be in fear of the *Arvaci*, prayed "that *Rome* would either keep a standing army of the *Arvaci*, prayed "that *Rome* would either keep a standing army ^{Polyb. Lib. 2. c. 14.} "in *Spain* to protect her friends, or, that before she recalled her legions, "the *Arvaci* might be so severely punished, as to be deterred from all "future rebellion: For that, if neither of these were done, the *Spaniards*, "in friendship with the Republic, would be treated by the rest as traitors "to their country."

When the *Arvaci* were admitted to audience, they spoke like men of spirit, sensible of their inability to contend with *Rome*. In mentioning the battles fought, they insinuated that the advantage had been on their side:

^b *Appian* must only mean that this generation had not seen elephants, or else we must suppose that the *Carthaginians* had never brought their armies into this country, for

they seem always to have made use of elephants.

^c *Florus* says *Numantia* had no walls.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless they offered to submit to a fine, provided it were something fixed and ascertained, and provided they might hereafter be upon the same foot as by the treaty of *Gracchus*. The Fathers gave one and the same answer to the deputies from both parties, which was only this, That *Marcellus* should let them know the Senate's pleasure. To him they sent private orders to prosecute the war with a vigour becoming *Romans*: But, as the Fathers doubted of his courage from the inclination he had shewn to peace, one of their first cares was to provide him a successor. *Licinius Lucullus*, who had entered upon the Consulship for the year 602, received orders to prepare for an expedition into *Hither Spain*. When the levies came to be raised for this service, it was found that none of the *Roman* youth would give in their names to be enrolled^{*}: Nay nobody would accept of the office either of Tribune or Lieutenant. The fear which *Marcellus* had betrayed, and the reports, spread by *Fulvius* and his soldiers (who had passed the winter in tents) of the hardships and losses they had suffered in the *Celtiberian* war, and of the invincible courage of the enemy, were the causes of this backwardness. *Polybius* reports that in this critical conjuncture, when the Senate and Consuls were at a loss what measures to take, *Scipio Æmilianus*¹, who had not yet acquired any military renown, extricated them out of their perplexity. In an harangue to the multitude, he told them, that though he was invited into *Macedon*, to discharge there an employment, that would be less dangerous and more profitable to himself, he was ready, at the pleasure of the Senate, to go either as Lieutenant or Tribune into *Spain*; whither he thought the exigencies of the Republic called all those who had any ambition of true glory. The generous zeal for his country, which *Scipio* expressed both by words and example, had the effects proposed. For he got much applause, and the Republic many soldiers for the war in *Spain*. They came in crowds to be enrolled.

App. in
Iber. p. 283. In the mean time, *Marcellus*, having advice that *Lucullus* was coming to succeed him, and being determined to leave him nothing to do, negotiated and concluded a peace with the *Arvaci* and other *Celtiberians*, they giving hostages and 600 talents. *Lucullus* at his arrival found all quiet in the province; but coveting both glory and money (for he had very little of either) he without any provocation, and without orders from the Senate, invaded the country of the *Vaccæi*, a people bordering upon the *Arvaci*. Crossing the *Tagus* he laid siege to *Pauca*, one of their towns. The inhabitants, after some sallies and skirmishes, sent out the most venerable of their citizens to ask upon what conditions they might

^{*} According to *Livy's* Epitome (B. 48.) both the Consuls were sent to prison by the Tribunes of the people, for refusing to exempt from the service some of their friends.

¹ If, as *Plutarch* reports, *Scipio* was about 17 at the battle of *Pydna*, which happened in 585, he must have been at this time about 34 years of age.

purchase his friendship. He answered; "by giving hostages, paying 100 talents, and sending their cavalry to serve in his army." To all this they consented. *Lucullus* then desired them to admit a garrison into the town. This also they agreed to, and received 2000 soldiers; who when they had possessed themselves of the walls, let in the rest of the army. Presently he gave the signal to put all the inhabitants to the sword, and plunder the town: Of 20,000 very few escaped, and these by making a shift to get over the walls. After this glorious and gainful exploit, he marched to *Intercatia*, where 20,000 foot and 2000 horse had assembled to defend it. Finding the place so well guarded, he would have made a treaty with the *Intercatians*; but they reproached him with his perfidy at *Cauca*, and would not trust him. He therefore besieged the town in form, and, after some time, made a breach in the wall. However, when he attempted to enter the place he was repulsed, and the *Intercatians* repaired the breach. Famine distressing both parties, they came to an accommodation. The besieged agreed to supply the Consul with 6000 coats for his soldiers, and some cattle, and to give 50 hostages. As for gold and silver (the thirst after which had been the cause of this war) he could have none: This people were poor, and, if we may believe *Appian*, gold and silver were not in esteem among them. But now the question was, What security the besieged should have for the performance of covenants on *Lucullus's* part: And it seems, that though they would not take his word, they confided in *Scipio's*, who promised that they should not be treated with fraud or treachery. How *Scipio* came to have so much credit with them does not appear; for we find nothing recorded of him, for which he could be distinguished by them, but that he had killed one of the stoutest of their countrymen in single combat.

From *Intercatia* *Lucullus* marched to *Palantia*, a town famous for the bravery of it's inhabitants, and whither many people from the neighbouring countries had retired. Some of his officers therefore advised the Consul to pass by this place; but he, having been told that it was rich, would needs try what could be done. The *Palantines* quickly drove him from before their town, and pursued him in his retreat as far as to the river *Durius*: Whence, without much glory, (whatever money he may have got) he stole away into *Turdetania*, and there wintered.

IN FURTHER SPAIN the Prætor *M. Atilius Serranus* had succeeded *Mummius*, who went to *Rome* to demand a triumph. *Atilius* made a successful expedition in *Lusitania*; but, upon his going into winter quarters, there was almost a general insurrection of the several nations of that country. They attacked some cities in alliance with *Rome*. The Prætor *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, who in 602 succeeded *Atilius*, hastened to the relief

App. in
Iber. p.
287.

of the Roman allies; but was entirely routed by the enemy, and lost 7000 men. Having fled with the horse to a city called *Garmelis*, he there gathered about him what remained of his broken forces, and, when he had raised 20,000 men among the allies, bravely marched into winter quarters.

In the mean time the *Lusitanians* invaded that part of the Roman province which lay between them and *Turdetania*, where *Lucullus* wintered. Hearing that they were in the neighbourhood, he sent out against them his best troops, which falling upon them by surprise, slew 4000. And when the enemy made a second irruption, he cut off 1500 of them, near *Gades*, and took many prisoners: After which he entered *Lusitania* and ravaged it. *Galba*, encouraged by the success of *Lucullus*, now came forth again, and plundered the country on his side. The *Lusitanians* of that quarter sent to him, offering to submit, upon conditions. He received their deputies kindly, and said, "he knew, that poverty and the barrenness of their country had compelled them to have recourse to rapine for a subsistence; that he pitied their condition; and that if they would keep in friendship with *Rome*, he would assign them a better country than their own: but then he must divide them into cantons, because he had not lands, lying together, sufficient for all." The *Lusitanians*, believing what he said, came to him, in great numbers, on a day he had appointed. He divided them into three companies, ordering each to repair to a different place, and there wait his further directions. When these companies were got to such a distance from each other as was sufficient for his purpose, he led his troops to the nearest, and having prevailed with the *Spaniards* to give up their arms (for which he told them they had no further use) he let loose upon them his soldiers, who put them to the sword. In like manner he massacred the second and third companies, before they could have notice of what had happened to their fellows. The number of the slain some authors make to be 30,000, others only 9000. A few escaped; among whom was *Viriatius*, who became, soon after, General of the *Lusitanians*. *Galba*, surpassing *Lucullus* in avarice, gave but little of the booty, acquired in his expedition, to the soldiers or his friends; the rest he converted to his own use. Though he were one of the richest men in *Rome*, yet he never scrupled to lie or to perjure himself, if any thing was to be got by it. And, what rendered him a compleat pest to society, he was, with all these vices, a great orator: Insomuch, that though prosecuted at *Rome* for the massacre above related, and though *Cato* was his accuser, yet by his eloquence he obtained absolution by almost all the suffrages of the people.

In the year 604 (when the third *Punic* war began) the Prætor *C. Vetilius* came from *Rome* into *Spain*, with a new army, and took the place.

Liv. Epit.
B. 49.

App. in
P. r. p.
189.

place of *Galba*. The *Lusitanians* had assembled about 10,000 men and were ravaging *Turdetania*. *Vetilius* fell upon them when dispersed about the country, slew many, and drove the rest into a place whence they could not easily retreat, and where if they staid they must perish with hunger. In this distress they sent deputies to *Vetilius*, offering to become faithful subjects to *Rome*, if he would only grant them lands, where they might settle, and which would be sufficient to subsist them. The *Prætor* readily consented; and a treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when *Viriatius* admonished his countrymen to put no trust in *Roman* faith. "Remember (said he) the perfidiousness of *Lucullus* and *Galba*. If you will but follow my directions, I engage to bring you safe out of this place." Hope reviving in their breasts, they instantly chose him General. *Viriatius* drew up his troops as if he meant to give battle. Then, having selected a thousand of his best horse to remain with him, he commanded the rest of his forces upon a signal given to disperse themselves, and, by different ways, fly to the city of *Tribola*, and there wait for him. Every thing being ready for the execution of his stratagem, he mounted his horse, for that was to be the signal, and the soldiers all at once broke their ranks and fled. *Vetilius*, surprized and disconcerted, and not daring to order his men to the pursuit, lest *Viriatius* should fall upon them in the rear, bent all his forces against him, who seemed to offer battle. The *Lusitanian*, by keeping his cavalry in continual motion, one while retreating, and then making a feint as if he would fight, eluded all the efforts of the enemy. When he judged that his men were got safe to the place of rendezvous, he followed them in the night, by ways unknown to the *Romans*. The success of this stratagem acquired him great reputation, and not only established his authority, but augmented his strength; numbers flocking from all quarters to serve under his command.

According to *Livy*, *Viriatius* from a shepherd became a hunter, and from a hunter a robber, living by his sword, a method of life which enured him to dangers and fatigues. But when he is said to have been a robber, perhaps nothing more ought to be understood by it, than that he helped to rob the *Romans* of what they had got by rapine in his country: Or perhaps that he and his companions made war after the manner of robbers, falling upon their enemies by surprize, and disappearing immediately after the action. For *Appian* calls a regular army of 10,000 *Lusitanians*, 10,000 robbers: But with such robbers we shall find that the Senate and people of *Rome* did not disdain to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance.

Vetilius having advice, that the enemy were rendezvoused at *Tribola*, resolved to march thither. The *Lusitanian* had laid an ambush in the way; so that the *Romans* found themselves on a sudden attacked in front

and rear. Of 10,000 men scarce 6000 escaped to *Carpessus*; the rest were slain or taken prisoners. *Vetilius* himself fell alive into the enemies hands; but the *Spaniard* who took him, seeing him old and unwieldy, and thinking he would not sell for much, slew him. The *Quæstor*, now General of the *Roman* army, keeping his own troops within the walls of *Carpessus*, sent into the field 5000 men of his *Spanish* allies. *Viriatius* cut them all off, not a man escaping: After which the *Quæstor* not daring to stir abroad, continued quiet in the town, and waited for assistance from *Rome*.

C. Plautius Hypsæus succeeded *Vetilius* (in the year 605.) He brought with him 10,000 foot and 1300 horse. On the arrival of this new army, *Viriatius*, who was pillaging the country about *Carpessus*, pretended fear, and made a feigned flight. *Plautius* detached 4000 men to pursue him. The *Spaniard*, suddenly facing about, fell upon them, and put the greater part to the sword. Eager to repair his honour, the *Prætor* followed *Viriatius* over the *Tagus*, and fought a pitched battle with him, but was so entirely routed, and with such destruction of his men, that, not daring longer to keep the field, he went, says *Appian*, into winter quarters in the middle of summerⁿ.

The *Lusitanian* had the like success the two following years (606 and 607) against the *Prætor C. Unimanus* and his successor *Nigidius Figulus*^o.

Flor. B. 7.
c. 7. Orof.
Auct. de
Vet. Hist.
in V. nat.

ⁿ *Plautius*, at his return to *Rome*, being accused of having suffered these losses through his ill conduct, was banished by a decree of the people. *Dio. Sic. Excerpt. l. 26. ap. Vales.*

^o According to one author, the victories of *Viriatius* had so intimidated the *Romans*, that a thousand of them were vanquished by three hundred *Lusitanians*. It is added, that, after this victory, a foot soldier, who

had pursued the enemy too far, was encompassed by a body of their cavalry; that with his lance he killed the horse of one of the *Romans*, and with a stroke of his sword cut off the rider's head. After which he walked away at his leisure, and with an air of contempt; the *Romans* remaining in astonishment and not daring to approach him. *Claud ap. Orof. B. 5. c. 4.*

C H A P. III.

Events of the war in Lusitania.

A new regulation at Rome concerning the PRÆTORS.

War renewed against the Celtiberians.

Appius Claudius triumphs at his own expence.

Scipio and Mummius chosen Censors.

Metellus Macedonicus conducts the war in Celtiberia with success.

The Roman army defeated by Viriatus.

A new impostor quelled in Macedon.

THE LUSITANIAN war being grown a very serious affair, and the Republic, by the destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, being now at leisure effectually to provide for the support of her authority in *Spain*, she resolved to send thither a new army, under the command of a Consul.

Q. *Fabius Æmilianus* (brother of the younger *Scipio*) was, with L. *Hostilius Mancinus*, raised to the Consulship for the year 608. *Mancinus* had, two years since, in quality of Prætor, commanded the Roman fleet before *Carthage*; and, after his return home, having made a plan of the city and its fortifications, had explained to the multitude the operations of the siege, as carried on by *Scipio*: A condescension so agreeable to them, that for this merit chiefly they now honoured him with the Consular fasces.

Fabius, either by lot or by special appointment, had *Further Spain* for his province. He landed in *Bætica* (the present *Andalusia*) with 15,000 foot and 2000 horse. As his troops consisted wholly of raw men (it being thought reasonable that the soldiers who had served in *Africa* and *Greece* should have repose) he would not hazard a battle, till by exercise and discipline he had prepared them for it. Leaving this care for a while to his Lieutenant, he went by sea to *Gades*; there to perform his devotions to *Hercules*, from whom the *Fabian* family pretended to derive their lineage. At his return he found, that his army had been

At the election of Ædiles for this year, there happened an event which shews how much it imported the greatest men of *Rome* not to offend the meanest. P. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica* (son of a President of the Senate, and grandson of the famous *Nasica*, who, for his eminent probity, had been judged the most worthy of all the *Romans* to receive the statue of the Goddess *Cybele*) was one

of the candidates. *Nasica*, to pay the civil civility to one of the citizens, took him by the hand; and finding it extremely rude, and callous, pleasantly asked him whether he used to *rub upon his hands*: It was which so much offended the rustic tribes, that they refused the candidate their votes. *Max. B. 7. c. 5. l. 2.*

vanquished

vanquished by the enemy. Nor was he at all disposed to attempt revenge, by a general battle; to which *Viriatus* frequently challenged him. The *Roman*, nevertheless, from time to time detached small parties to skirmish, that his soldiers might thereby become acquainted with the enemy, and gradually lose all dread of them.

THE CHOICE made, at *Rome*, of supreme magistrates, for the new year, seems a strong proof of the degeneracy of the people from the virtue of their forefathers. They placed at the head of the Republic *Sulpicius Galba*, the cruel, perfidious, rapacious, eloquent miser, spoken of above; and they joined with him a very suitable colleague, *L. Aurelius Cotta*, that Tribune of the commons, who would have taken advantage of the privilege of his office to cheat his creditors.

These Consuls had a warm struggle in the Senate for the province of *Further Spain*. *Scipio*'s opinion being asked, *I think*, said he, *that neither of them ought to be sent thither, because the one has nothing, and the other nothing can satisfy*. These few words had such effect that both Candidates were disappointed of their pretensions: The consequence of which was, what *Scipio* perhaps had chiefly in view, the continuance of his brother in the command of the army.

It is thought to have been about this time, that the Republic made a considerable change with regard to the functions of the Prætors. Hitherto criminal causes had been tried either by the people or by judges specially commissioned for the occasion: The Prætor *Urbanus* and the Prætor *Peregrinus* had cognizance of all civil causes. It was now decreed, that the other four Prætors, instead of going, immediately after their election, to govern the provinces, should reside at *Rome* the whole year of their Prætorship, have separate tribunals, and try criminal causes; which were exceedingly multiplied at *Rome*, since her conquests in *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africa*: The people however still retaining their right of judging in the last resort, and of appointing, when they thought proper, judges extraordinary. The six Prætors, after spending the year in the functions above-mentioned, repaired to their respective provinces abroad with the title of Pro-prætors.

FABIUS, having well disciplined his men, during the winter, led them into the field in the spring, and (if flattery did not invent the tale) vanquished *Viriatus* in battle, and took some towns: After which he put his troops into winter quarters at *Corduba*.

Appian briefly reports, "that *Viriatus*, after his defeat by *Fabius*, "[which doubtless never happened] thinking himself no longer secure, "drew off from the *Roman* alliance the *Arvaci*, *Belli*, and *Titti*;" nations of *Celtiberia*, who are supposed to have continued quiet since the peace with *Marcellus*. No other author mentions this peace with *Marcellus*, or the defection of these allies at the solicitation of *Viriatus*. Nor do we find in *Appian*, that their defection occasioned any diversion

Y. R. 609.
Bef. Chr.
143.
308 Conf.

Val. Max.
B. 6. c. 4.
§. 2.

App. loc.
cit.

App. p.
292.

of the *Roman* troops employed against the *Lusitanian*, or that he received any assistance from those nations, or that he wanted any to enable him to beat the *Romans*. Thus much seems certain, that the Consul *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* (Colleague of *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*) had, in the year 610, commission to make war upon the *Ciliberians*. The particulars of his exploits during his Consulship are not related by the historians; we only know in general that he made a fortunate campaign.

Y. R. 610.
Bel. Ch.
141.
309 Conf.

In the Further Province *Viriatus* gained a victory over *Quintius* the successor of *Fabius*, and forced him into winter quarters in the middle of autumn.

Liv. Epit
App. P.
197.

THE Consul *Appius Claudius* had, for his province, *Cisalpine Gaul*: where, because there was nothing to do, he contrived to kindle a war with the *Salassi*^b, that he might have the honour of a triumph. In his first engagement with them they defeated him, and killed 5000 of his men: In a second, he gained the victory, and slew 5000 of the *Salassi*. This slaughter of 5000 enemies gave him a legal title to a triumph; yet, on account of the loss of so many *Romans* as were cut off when he was vanquished, the Senate refused him the honour he aspired to; and they forbade the *Quæstor* to furnish the usual money for the expence of the show. A triumph nevertheless he resolved to have, though at his own charge. During the procession, a certain Tribune of the people came fully determined to pull him out of the chariot. *Appius* had a daughter, who, being a vestal, was a personage no less sacred than the Tribune. She perceiving his intended affront to her father, nimbly threw herself between them. The Tribune out of respect to the holiness of her character, desisted from his purpose; and the victorious vestal, mounting the chariot, rode, with her father, in triumph to the capitol.

Strab. l. 4.
P. 205.
P. Orol. P.
5. c. 4.

V. J. Max
B. 5. c. 4.
§. 6.
Cicero. pro
Cæli. c. 14.

Sueton. in
Tiber. c. 20.

THE same *Appius Claudius*, the next year, when *Q. Fabius Servilianus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus Celerus* (brother of *Metellus Macedonicus*) had the Consular Fasces, stood candidate for the Censorship, in competition with *Scipio Africanus* and *Mummius Achaicus*. *Appius* came to the field of *Mars* conducted by a numerous body of the chief men of *Rome*; *Scipio* (who is censured by *Plutarch* for paying his court to the populace, contrary to the example of his father *Emilius*) was attended by a multitude of freedmen and plebeians of the meanest condition. His competitor, seeing him enter the assembly in such company, cried out, "O Manes of *Emilius Paullus*! If in the shades below you know any thing of what passes here, how grieved must you be, that your son is thus presented as a candidate for the Censorship, by the cry of *Emilius*, and by *Licinius*, ringleader of the mob!" Nevertheless *Scipio's* cabal carried the election in his favour. The people joined with him, in the same office, *Mummius*, an easy indolent man, of whom *Scipio* afterwards,

Y. R. 611.
Bel. Ch.
141.
310 Conf.

Plut. life of
Scipio.

^b A people inhabiting the country now called the valley of *Aoste*.

Y. R. 611. in a speech to the people, complained, as having obstructed his designs
 Bef. Chr. of reformation. He told them, " that he should have discharged his
 141. " office in a manner worthy of the majesty of the Republic, *if they had*
 310 Conf. " *either given him a Collegue, or given him no Collegue*."

Val. Max. THE Consul *Servilianus* had the conduct of the war in *Further Spain*
 B. 6. c. 4. §. against *Viriatius*: His colleague staid in *Italy*. *Metellus Macedonicus* con-
 2. tinued at the head of the army in *Hisber Spain*, in quality of Proconsul.
 Vell. Pa- While he was besieging *Contrebia*, a town of the *Celtiberians*, he com-
 teric. B. 2. manded five cohorts, who had been driven from their post by the enemy,
 Val. Max. to return thither immediately; giving public orders at the same time to
 B. 2. 7. §. the rest of the army, to put to the sword every man of the detachment
 10. that, turning his back to the *Spaniards*, should fly to the camp for
 Frontin. safety. The soldiers, of the five cohorts, thinking themselves going to
 Stratagem. certain death, made each of them one of those verbal wills, which the
 B. 4. c. 1. *Romans* called Testaments in *procinctu*, a term taken from their manner of
 §. 23. girding round their waists the lappets of their coats when they were going
 to fight. Thus, with the courage of despair, they advanced against the
 enemy, and recovered the post.

Flor. B. 2. *Metellus*, so rigid in discipline, gave a remarkable instance of humani-
 c. 17. ty at the siege of *Nertobriga*. A breach was like to be made in the wall,
 Val. Max. when the besieged, to be revenged of *Rhetogenes*, one of their principal
 B. 5. c. 1. citizens, who had deserted to the *Romans*, exposed his young children
 §. 5. to the strokes of the rams. The father desired *Metellus* to continue the
 battering; but the Proconsul, in pure compassion to him, quitted a
 certain conquest, and raised the siege. He lost nothing by this action:
 On the same of his humanity, several cities of *Celtiberia* had recourse to it,
 and submitted.

App. p. IN the mean time *Servilianus* with 16,000 foot and 1600 horse, from
 292. *Italy*, and 300 horse and 10 elephants sent him by *Micipsa* King
 of *Numidia*, was engaged in the war against *Viriatius*. This migh-
 ty army the *Spaniard*, with only 6000 men, overthrew^d in the plain

^c It is reported that *C. Licinius Sacerdos*, a Roman knight, presenting himself to the Censors, *Scipio* said aloud, " I know that *Licinius* is guilty of perjury; and if any one will accuse him, I offer myself to be a witness." No accuser appearing, *Scipio* would not degrade the knight, lest it should be said, that the Censor had been accuser, witness and judge*. He changed the prayer used at the lustration after the Census. Instead of an address to the Gods to augment the prosperity and extend the dominion of *Rome*,

he prayed, that they would continue to her present happiness. And this became afterwards the common form used by the Censors†. The number of citizens polled at this Census was 428,342‡.

^d It may be proper to inform the reader that *Appian* (from whom alone we have any account of these campaigns) seldom gives *Viriatius* a victory, without first making the *Romans* rout him; but then the latter never fails to face about on a sudden, and vanquish the pursuers. Perhaps *Viriatius's* feigned flights were mistaken for real ones.

* Plut. in Apothebm.

† Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1. §. 10.

‡ Mar. Capitol. Liv. Epit. l. 54.

field. He pursued them to their camp, and would have taken it, if night coming on had not favoured the *Romans*. After this he so harassed and distressed them that they were forced to retire to *Ituca*, a town in *Be-tica*: But, in a short time, scarcity of provisions constrained *Viriatus* to return into *Lusitania*. 505
Y. R. 611.
Bel. Chi.
141.
310 Conf.

During the present Consulship, a third impostor appeared in *Macedon*, who called himself *Philip*, and pretended to be a son of *Perſes*. He got together a body of 17000 men, and with this army advanced to assault the *Roman* camp, where, in the absence of the Prætor *Licinius Nerva*, the Quæstor *L. Tremellius* commanded. A battle ensued, in which the *Romans* gained a victory so entire, that it put an end to the war. L. F. p. 1.
B. 53.
Eutop. B.
4.

C H A P. IV.

The acts of the Consul Q. Pompeius against the Numantines and their allies. The Proconsul Servilianus concludes a peace with Viriatus, which is confirmed by the Senate, but is soon after infamously broken by the Romans. The death of Viriatus, and its consequences.

AT *Rome*, the Comitia raised to the Consulship *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *Q. Pompeius*. The latter, who was the first of his family that arrived at this dignity, procured his advancement by a trick, which, at the election, he put upon *Scipio Æmilianus* and his friend *Laelius*, surname *Sapiens* [the Wife] one of the candidates: For at their desire he undertook to solicit votes for *Laelius*, and while they, trusting to his industry, used little pains themselves, he engaged the people's voices for his own promotion. Y. R. 612.
Bel. Chi.
141.
311 Conf.
Plut. in
Apothegm.

Pompeius was appointed to succeed *Metellus* in the province of *Hispania*. This Proconsul, who had till now conducted himself so worthily, is said by one writer, who deals much in strange stories, to have acted Val. M. x.
B. 9. c. 3.
§. 7.

* The Quæstor, says *Varro* (*de re Rustic. l. 2. c. 4.*) got the surname of *Scrofa*, [Sow] from his telling the soldiers, in a speech, that he would scatter the enemy as a sow scatters her pigs. *Macrobius* finds another origin of this surname. Some of *Tremellius's* slaves having found a stray sow, killed it and brought it home. The owner, a neighbour, came to demand it. *Tremellius*, who had learnt the fact from his steward, put the sow under his wife's bed-clothes, and made his wife lye down upon them. When his neighbour, to whom he had given leave to make a search, came in that room, *Tremellius*, pointing to the bed, swore he had no sow in the house but what was in that bed. *Macrobius Saturn. l. 1. c. 6.*

† The learned and ingenious writer of the *Life of Cicero* remarks, that it seems to be the view of *Valerius Maximus*, in the collection of his stories, to give us rather what is strange, than true; and to dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake of drawing a moral from them. *Dr. Midd. Life of Cic. Vol. I. p. 567.*

V. R. 612.
Euf. C. 11.
140.
311 Conf.

on this occasion, through passion and pique, the part of a madman. To disable his successor, who was his particular enemy, from carrying on the war with advantage, he dismissed all those of the soldiers who claimed a discharge from the service, granted leave of absence to all who asked it, and fixed no time for their return. He also withdrew the guards of his magazines, that they might be plundered; forbade any food to be given to the elephants, and caused the bows and arrows of the *Cretan* auxiliaries to be broken, and thrown into the river. *Appian* says nothing of all this, but reports that *Metellus* delivered up to *Pompeius* a well-disciplined army of 30,000 foot and 2000 horse.

In Iber. §.
297.

Diod. Sic.
Excerpt. L.
34.
Florus, B.
2. c. 18.

Numantia and *Termantia* were the principal cities that remained unsubdued in *Celtiberia*. The inhabitants of these places sent deputies to the Consul to treat of peace. He demanded that they should clothe 9000 of his soldiers, furnish him with 3000 ox hides, and 800 horses, give 300 hostages, and deliver up to him their cities, and their arms. At this last demand, the deputies, in each other's faces, read the indignation which so shocking a proposal excited. Turning to the Consul, "Is it thus (said they) that you treat brave men? They never quit their arms but with their lives." Their report of the Consul's demands, to their respective cities, filled every breast with resentment and rage. Even the women declared, that they would never own for their husbands, men who should be so base and cowardly as to suffer themselves to be stripped of their arms^b.

App. in
Iber. p.
298.

Pompeius led his army successively to the siege of these two places, but quitted both enterprises with loss and dishonour. He had better fortune in his attempt upon *Malia*, a small town garrisoned by *Numantines*. The inhabitants, upon the Consul's approach, slew the garrison, and surrendered the place. He then marched into the country of the *Sedetani*, and vanquished a gang of robbers, as they are called. The prisoners he sold for slaves, little to the profit of the purchasers; for some of these slaves killed themselves, some killed those that had bought them, and others, in their passage to *Italy*, contrived to bore holes in the ships, and sink them.

Diod. Sic.
Excerpt.
ap. Valef.

The Consul seems to have finished this campaign with the taking of *Lanci*. *Numantia* had sent 400 men to the assistance of the inhabitants. These nevertheless offered to surrender their town, upon condition their lives might be spared. *Pompeius* would hearken to no proposals unless the *Numantines* were delivered up to him. This the *Lancians* at first refused, but being afterwards reduced to great extremities, they signified to the Consul their consent to his demand. On discovering the secret,

^b An obscure fragment of *Diod. Siculus*, which does not mention the name of any commander, or afford any circumstance for fixing the time, is the foundation of this

story. The passage, as given by *Fulvius Ursinus*, and transcribed by *Frienshemius*, contains much absurdity; but it seems to mean something like what is said in the text.

The *Numantines*, to prevent the townsfolk, fell upon them in the night, and made a great slaughter. During the confusion hereby occasioned, *Pompeius*, who had notice of it, scaled the walls, and put all the *Lusitanians* to the sword; but spared the *Numantines*, now reduced to 200 men, and set them at liberty. *Diodorus* supposes that the Consul acted thus, partly out of compassion for men so unworthily treated by those they had come to defend, and partly from a view to conciliate to him the good will of the people of *Numantia*.

In *Further Spain*, *Fabius Servilianus*, who had been continued in the command as Proconsul, made some expeditions, in which he shewed himself extremely treacherous and cruel; and then led his army to besiege *Erisane*. Before he had finished his lines, *Viriatius* got into the town in the night, whence, next morning, sallying out, he briskly attacked the *Romans*, and drove them to seek refuge in a place full of rocks and precipices, out of which they could no way escape. The *Lusitanian*, whose chief object, both in good and bad fortune, was the welfare of his country, thought this a favourable opportunity to procure for her a peace upon reasonable conditions. By a treaty now concluded with the Consul, and afterwards confirmed at *Rome*, it was agreed, That *Viriatius* should be held the friend and ally of the Roman people, and that the *Lusitanians* should retain the lands they then actually possessed.

A YEAR that brought so much dishonour to the Roman name was followed by another that made it yet more infamous. The Consular *Palces* having passed into the hands of *C. Lelius Sapiens* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, the latter went into *Further Spain*. Highly dissatisfied with the peace his predecessor had concluded with the *Lusitanians*, he made repeated applications to the Senate for leave to break it. The Conscrip Fathers allowed him to do clandestinely whatever mischief he could to *Viriatius*, their new friend and ally. But *Cæpio*, not satisfied with this permission, and still pressing his first request, they at length passed a decree for an open declaration of war against the *Lusitanian*. Thus authorised, the Consul marched his forces towards *Arja*, the residence of *Viriatius*, who not being in a condition to defend the place, abandoned it, and retired towards *Carpetania*. *Cæpio* pursued him, and came up with him near the confines of that country: But though the *Spaniards* were much too weak to fight, their able commander saved them by a stratagem like that which he had formerly practised against *Vetilius*.

^c In this Consulship *Hofilius Tubulus* was prosecuted by one of the Tribunes named *Scævola*, for having in his Prætorship taken bribes to give unjust judgments. The people referred the matter to the Senate, and the Senate to the Consul *C. Servilius*

Cæpio. *Tubulus*, finding that he should be condemned, went into banishment; and being commanded home, he poisoned himself, to avoid dying by the hand of an executioner. *C. de finib. l. 2. c. 16. Aſcon. Pædian. in Orat. pro Scæur.*

Y. R. 613.

B. 1. Chr.

139.

312 Conf.

Liv. Epit.

B. 54.

Vel. Pat.

B. 2.

Flor. B. 2.

c. 17.

As *Viriatuſ* had made no preparation for a war, which, till he was attacked, he had no reaſon to apprehend, he deputed three of his friends to negotiate an accommodation with *Cæpio*^d. Theſe men the Roman engaged, by large bribes and many promiſes, to undertake the murder of their General. *Viriatuſ* frequently ſlept in his armour, that in all exigencies he might be ready for action; and his friends had acceſs to him at all hours of the night. The three traitors, entering his tent when he was in his firſt ſleep, cut his throat, the only part of his body then unarmed. Having perpetrated their villany without noiſe, no alarm was taken, and they ſtole away to the Roman camp to aſk the promiſed reward. *Cæpio* answered, "They ſhould continue to hold what they already poſſeſſed, but for any further recompence, he muſt refer them to the Senate."

Thus fell *Viriatuſ*, whoſe life and death will be an eternal reproach to the memory of the Romans of that age. One would imagine, from what is ſaid of him by *Diodorus*, *Appian*, *Dio Caſſius*, and other writers, that all the virtues which were called Roman had forſaken Rome, to paſs into the breaſt of that one Spaniard. They ſpeak of him as free from every vice; nor is there any virtue or talent, aſcribed to the beſt of the Roman Generals, which *Viriatuſ* is not ſaid to have poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree: Veracity, juſtice, prudence, moderation, humanity, contempt of riches and ſhew, ſtrict temperance, patience of the ſevereſt hardſhips and fatigues, intrepid courage and conſummate ſkill in the art of war. Though a man of low birth, and raiſed to command by ſol-

Diod. ap.

Valeſt.

App. in

Iber. p. 297.

Dio. Caſſ.

fragm.

^a *Freinſhemius* has cooked up a ſtrange ſtory (which Father *Catrou* and *M. Rollin* have adopted) of a negotiation previous to the deputation mentioned in the text; and the brave *Viriatuſ* is made, through exceſs of fear for himſelf, to ſacrifice his wife's father, his beſt friends, and the chief men of his allies, to the Conſul, on his demanding this ſacrifice as a condition of peace. *Viriatuſ* himſelf murders one half of the victims, and delivers up the other to *Cæpio*, who cauſes their right hands to be cut off, and then requires the Spaniſh General and his troops to give up their arms: But this demand they will not comply with; and ſo the treaty breaks off.

The only foundation for this ſtory, which *Freinſhemius* has adorned with ſer ſpeeches, is a very few lines, a fragment of *Dio Caſſius*, according to which the tranſaction paſſed, not in the time of *Cæpio*, but of *Popiliuſ*, who did not come into Spain till the year after the death of *Viriatuſ*. And

had there not been this objection, the ſtory is entirely void of probability. So perſidious, ſo cowardly, ſo cruel an action muſt naturally have leſſened the love and eſteem which *Viriatuſ*'s followers had for him: Yet we find that he ſleeps ſecurely in the miſt of them, and, when he has been baſely murdered by hired aſſaſſins, the army mourn his death as of a common parent to them all.

There is another fragment of *Dio Caſſius*, containing matter no leſs extraordinary, concerning *Cæpio* and his cavalry: That, in anger, he ſent them to cut wood on a hill, where *Viriatuſ* being encamped, they muſt be expoſed to the utmoſt danger: That they performed his orders; but, at their return, would, in revenge, have burnt him with the wood they had brought, if he had not hid himſelf.

^e *Eutropiuſ* (L. 4.) makes *Cæpio* answer that the Romans never approved of ſoldiers

diers,

diets, his equals and companions, he kept them in exact discipline without losing their affection. No mutiny or sedition ever happened in his army. His ruin seems to have been brought upon him by the honesty of his own heart; which would not permit him to suspect that the Senate of Rome could be as void of all honour as *Galba*, and some of the other Generals they had sent into *Spain*.

The *Lusitanians* having performed the most magnificent obsequies they could to their deceased General, whose death they lamented as if he had been their common father, chose one *Tantalus* in his room: But this man not having the talents of his predecessor, was soon obliged to yield up himself and his army to the Consul, who stripped them of their arms. They seem however to have capitulated on the terms of being transplanted from their own country to some other, where they were to have lands assigned them for a settlement.

Y. R. 611.
B. f. Ch.
139
312 Cor.
Diod. S. c.
Excep. l.
34. 3p.
Valei.
App. p.
296.

C H A P. V.

The Romans are shamefully vanquished in Spain; they make shameful treaties of peace; and they more shamefully break those treaties.

The Tabellarian laws passed at several times.
A people of Illyricum subdued.

IN HITHER SPAIN the war still continued, where *Pompeius*, now Proconsul, had again laid siege to *Numantia*. The *Numantines* made frequent sallies, and always with success; so that the Roman army became greatly diminished. But *Pompeius*, having received from Italy a reinforcement that was brought him by some Senators commissioned to be his council, resolved to continue the siege during the winter, in order to recover his reputation. Of this hope he was disappointed; for not only he suffered a great loss of men by cold and distempers, but the *Numantines* continued to have the ascendant, and beat him in every conflict. So many misfortunes compelled him at length to raise the siege and go into quarters for what remained of the winter. Fearing to be called to account at Rome for his conduct, he thought it advisable to clap up a peace with the enemy upon the best terms he could; and he contrived to engage the *Numantines* to make the first overtures. It was privately agreed that they should in public surrender at discretion, this being necessary to save the Proconsul's honour; but that he should insist on nothing more than their delivering up their prisoners with the Roman deserters, giving hostages, and paying thirty talents, part down, and the rest in a short time. A peace was concluded on

App. p.
298.

• these

these terms in presence of his council and the chief officers of his army^a.

Y. R. 614. WHEN the *Numantines* brought to *Pompeius* the second payment,
 Ref. Cur. according to the stipulation, *M. Popillius Lænas* (Colleague of *Cn.*
 138. *Calpurnius Piso* in the Consulship) was come to take upon him the
 313 Conf. command of the army. The Proconsul, who had made peace least he
 should be called to account for his conduct in the war, was now afraid of
 being called to account for the peace. He therefore confidently denied
 that he had made a peace, notwithstanding the many witnesses of dignity
 Cic. de finib. L. 2. and weight that had been present at the treaty. *Popillius* referred the
 c. 17. *Numantines* to the Senate of *Rome*, there to dispute the matter with the
 App. p. Proconsul; and in the mean time led his army into the territory of the
 300. *Lusonæ*, a people in the neighbourhood of *Numantia*, against whom he
 performed nothing.

Liv. Epit. The Senate having heard the cause between *Pompeius* and the *Numan-*
 B. 55. *tines*, decreed that the war should be carried on against the latter. It
 Cic. de seems however that it was referred to the people whether *Pompeius* should
 Offic. L. 3. be given up to the enemy, and that by his solicitations and entreaties he
 c. 30. obtained pardon.

Liv. Pat. T HIS year a Tribune of the people, named *Gabinus*, got a law passed
 L. 2. for balloting in the election of Magistrates: Hitherto, in the Comitia,
 Cic. de the people had given their suffrages by pronouncing aloud the name of
 Legib. L. the person for whom they voted. *Gabinus* pretended that the peo-
 3. c. 16. ple would be more free from undue influence, if it were not known for

^a *C. Memmius Gallus* obtained a law this year, forbidding any criminal action to be commenced against those who were actually employed on public affairs, in the provinces (*Val. Max. B. 3. c. 7. §. 9. Cic. in Vat. c. 14.*) It is thought that this law also directed, That every informer, convicted of calumny, should be marked in the forehead with the letter K, the first letter of the word *Kalumniator*, according to the way of spelling in those times; and that whoever received this mark should never be admitted as a witness. (*Cic. pro Rosc. Amerin. c. 19, 20.*) The Emperor *Trajan* ordered, that the punishment of calumny should be according to the *lex talionis*; that is to say, the same which the accused was to have suffered had the false accuser made good his charge. *Plin. Panegy.*

The same year *T. Manlius Torquatus* gave an instance of the severity and rigid justice for which his family was remarkable. His

son *D. Junius Silanus Manlianus* (adopted into a branch of the Junian family, whose surname was *Silanus*) had, when Prætor of *Macedon*, been guilty of great oppression in his province, and the *Macedonians* had complained of him at *Rome*. *Torquatus* desired the Senate would appoint him judge in the affair; which being granted, he heard the cause and examined it with great attention for two days; the third he pronounced the following sentence. "Since it has been proved, that *Silanus* my son has [unjustly] taken money from the allies, I judge him unworthy of my family, or to serve the Republic, and forbid him ever to appear in my sight." This sentence so affected the criminal that the next night he strangled himself; at which his father shewed no manner of concern, nor would be present at his funeral. *Val. Max. B. 5. c. 8. §. 3. Cic. de finib. L. 1. c. 7. Liv. Epit. B. 54.*

whom

whom each man gave his voice. His law therefore enacted, that, for the future, every citizen should put into a box, prepared for that purpose, a tablet, on which was written the name of the candidate he favoured.

[Two years after, *L. Cassius*, another Tribune, introduced the same method of voting, in trials before the people, and perhaps in trials by the judges ^b.

In the year 622 *Papirius Carbo* extended the use of tablets to the case of making or repealing laws.

And *Celius* in 646, to judgments on accusations of treason, which had been excepted in *Cassius's* law ^c.]

IN the next election of Magistrates *P. Scipio Nasica* and *D. Junius Brutus* obtained the Consulship. *Italy* fell by lot to the former, *Further Spain* to the latter: *Popilius* was continued in the hither province in quality of Proconsul. Y. R. 615.
B. 1. 1.
137.
314 Conf.

While the Consuls were making the levies, one *C. Maternus* being tried before the Tribunes of the people for having left the army in *Spain* without a discharge, and being found guilty, was severely whipped in sight of the recruits, and then, as a creature of less value than the vilest of slaves, was sold for about seven farthings *. According to *Frontinus*, several other deserters underwent the like punishment. Liv. Ept.
B. 33.
* Aelian. c.
B. 4. c. 1.
3. c. 9.
§. 19.
Liv. Ept.
B. 35.

These Tribunes, so zealous for the preservation of military discipline, arrogated to themselves a power of exempting ten citizens, such as they should chuse, from serving in the war. This the Consuls strenuously opposed; upon which the Tribunes threw them both into prison. *Nasica* however lost nothing of his weight and authority, for having been thus insulted. Some time after there being a scarcity of corn at *Rome*, one of the Tribunes, in an assembly of the people, called upon the Consuls to move the Senate, that commissioners might be sent into the provinces to buy corn. When *Nasica* began to speak against the proposal, he was interrupted, but not daunted, by the clamours of the multitude. *Romans*, said he, *I pray you, be silent; I know better than you what is expedient for the Republic.* The people instantly became still and attentive. Cic. de
Leg. b. L.
3. c. 9.
V. d. Max.
B. 3. c. 7.
§. 3.

THE Consul *Brutus* made great progress this year in quieting *Lucania*. For the remains of *Viriatus's* army he built a town, and called it *Valentia*, which some authors suppose to be the present capital of the province that bears that name.

^b It is said that *Antius Briso*, one of the Tribunes, opposed for some time the passing of this law, but that *Scipio Aemilianus* at length prevailed with him to cease his opposition. *Cic. in Brut. c. 25.*

^c *Cicero*, in an oration before the people * calls the tablets the silent assertors of

liberty; and in another, spoken the year before he stood for the Consulship †, a source of most reasonable liberty. But in other parts of his writings he condemns this method of voting and all the authors of it. *Cic. de Amicit. c. 12. de Leg. L. 3. c. 16. Orat. pro Sext. c. 48.*

* 2 Agrar. c. 2.

† Pro Cornel

Popilius,

Stratag. B.
3. c. 17.
§. 9.

Popilius, following his instructions, renewed the war against the *Numantines*; who (according to *Frontinus*) not only beat him but outwitted him. By seeming to desert the defence of their walls they drew him to attempt an escalade. His soldiers had planted their ladders, and many of them were mounting, before he suspected any stratagem on the part of the besieged. But no enemy yet appearing he began now to be afraid, and founded a retreat. In that moment the *Numantines* made a sally, and routed his whole army. He seems to have been disabled from fighting any more during the campaign.

Liv. Epit.
B. 55.

Y. R. 616.
Def. Chr.
136.
315 Conf.

C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS (raised to the Consulship with *M. Æmilius Lepidus*) came the next year to complete the disgrace of the *Romans* before *Numantia*. His misfortunes had been foretold; for not only a foal came into the world with five legs, but the chickens, consulted at the Consuls inauguration, instead of falling greedily to their meat, flew away into a wood, and were never seen more.

Jul. Obseq.
de prodig.
c. 23.

App. in
Iber.
p. 300.

At his arrival in *Spain* he found the *Roman* legions extremely disheartened by their ill success; and he himself being worsted in every action great or small, he thought it advisable to retire to a place of safety at some distance from the town. While he was stealing off in the night the *Numantines*, getting notice of it, sallied out, fell upon his army in the rear, slew 10,000 of them, and shut up the rest (it does not appear how or where) in such a manner as they had no hope to escape. *Mancinus* therefore sent a herald with an overture for an accommodation. As peace with *Rome*, and independence, were all the *Numantines* aimed at, they did not refuse to treat; but required that *Tib. Gracchus*, then *Quæstor* in the *Roman* army, and whose father had formerly made a peace with them and maintained it inviolate, should be sent to them. The particular articles of the treaty are not mentioned, but it was concluded upon equal terms, and confirmed by the oaths of the Consul, the *Quæstor* and the other principal officers.

Val. Ant.
ap. A.
Gell. L. 7.
c. 9.

Vell. Pat.
B. 2.
• Iber. §.
310.
† Liv.
Epit. B.
55. &
Auct. de
Vir. Illust.

This wonderful success of the *Numantines* against enemies so superior in number, (for they were 30,000 strong) would hardly gain credit, if all the writers who give any account of this war did not agree in the fact. We are told that the forces of the *Numantines* never exceeded 10,000 men; *Appian* * says 8000; *Florus* and *Orosius* 4000: Two other authors affirm that in the action just related they were but 4000. †

* One Author gives us the following account how the besieged came to discover that the *Romans* were retreating. The *Numantines*, it seems, used to celebrate their marriages at certain stated times, one of which happened to be the day before that night when the *Romans* decamped. A young woman of great beauty was

courted by two men, and her father agreed to bestow her upon him of the two rivals who should first bring the right hand of a *Roman*. The lovers, being abroad upon this enterprize, perceived that the besiegers had left their camp, and gave notice of it in the town. *Auct. de Vir. Illust. in Mancin.*

The

The *Numantines* had taken the *Roman* camp, and, among the spoil, *Gracchus's* book of accounts.* As it imported him greatly to recover it, he went to *Numantia* with two or three of his friends in that view. The *Spaniards* received and entertained him with much civility, and not only returned him his book, but offered him any part of the spoil he should desire. He accepted of nothing but a box of incense, which he employed in the public sacrifices.

ON the first news of the defeat of the *Roman* army, the Conscrip-
t Fathers determined to recal *Mancinus*, and send his colleague *Emilius*
in his stead. *Mancinus* arrived at *Rome* accompanied by deputies from
Numantia; and when *P. Furius Philus* and *Sex. Atilius Serranus* had
entered upon the Consulship, the affair was brought before the Senate.
The *Numantine* deputies insisted upon the treaty so solemnly concluded,
and so much to the advantage of the *Romans*.

Mancinus, in excuse of his many defeats, pleaded, that *Pompeius* had
left him an army so dispirited and cowardly, that not a man of them
had the courage to look a *Numantine* in the face. He added, that it
was no wonder the *Romans* had been so unsuccessful in a war, which
they had decreed contrary to all justice; and that by the peace concluded
with the enemy, he had saved the lives of 20,000 citizens who could
not otherwise have escaped.

The Conscrip Fathers were too proud to acquiesce in a treaty, by
which they thought the Republic dishonoured. And having a prece-
dent of an infamous proceeding of the Senate in the case of the treaty
made at the *Caudine Forks* *, they determined [*more majorum*] not to
abide by the peace, but to give up *Mancinus* by way of satisfaction to the
Numantines. It is not clear whether *Tib. Gracchus*, and the other officers,
who had sworn to the treaty, were involved in the same sentence. Be-
that as it will, the people, when the matter came before them, pardoned
out of regard to *Gracchus*, all but *Mancinus*, who voluntarily offered
himself to be the victim; not that he thought this devotion would
be a reparation to the *Numantines* for the infringement of the peace (for
he seems to have been an honest man) but because it was all he could do
to convince them, he had meant honourably in that transaction.

BRUTUS, whom we left in the year 615 settling the remains of *Viria-*
tus's army in *Valentia*, proceeded to reduce the rest of the *Lusitanians*, who
in flying parties made war after the manner of the modern *Miquelets* of
Catalonia. When they had surprized and plundered a village, or defeated
a *Roman* detachment, they retired hastily amongst the rocks and moun-
tains to divide the spoil. The Proconsul judged that the best way to
quell them was to march into the countries, where they were born,
and where they had left their wives and children; to defend whom, he
doubted not they would return thither. They did as he expected; and
he met with some difficulty in subduing them; the women universally

Y. R. 617. becoming soldiers to assist the men. In the end, all the *Lusitanians* on the south side of the *Durius* submitted. He then passed that river, and ravaged the country as far as the *Lethe*, or *River of Oblivion*. This stream bearing the same name with one of the rivers which the poets placed in their map of Hell, the soldiers, through superstition, refused to pass it; till the General, snatching a standard from the bearer, led the way, and removed their apprehensions. He afterwards crossed the *Minus* and marched against the *Bracari*, a people on the banks of the *Alces*, now *Rio di Braga* in the north part of *Portugal*. Here also he found the women in arms as well as the men, and of so desperate a courage as to chuse rather to die in battle than run away, or be slaves: And if by chance any of them were taken captive, they killed themselves and their children. He however reduced this fierce nation, and penetrating into the country of the *Galleci* subdued it quite to the ocean on the west; for which he got the surname of *Gallæcus* or *Callaicus*.

Orof. B. 5.
c. 5.
Strab. B.
3. p. 152.
Vell. Pat.
l. 2.
App. p.
300.

ÆMILIUS was come into *Hisber Spain* to succeed *Mancinus* in the command of the forces. Not knowing what turn the affair of *Numantia* would take, he did not assail that city. Yet, that he might be doing something, he resolved upon an expedition against the *Vaccae*, neighbours of the *Numantines*. His pretext for the war was, that this people had given assistance to the enemy. The better to succeed in his enterprize, he engaged the Proconsul *Brutus* (whose daughter he had married) to join him. They entered the territory of the *Vaccae* and ravaged it. While they were besieging *Palantia*, the capital, two Senators arrived from *Rome* with a decree of the Senate forbidding *Æmilius* to make war upon the *Vaccae*. The Consul answered; "that the Senate were ignorant of the true situation of things; they did not know that *Brutus* with his forces had joined him, nor that the *Vaccae* had aided the *Numantines* with men, money and provisions." He added, "That, the war being actually begun, should he quit the enterprize, it would be imputed to fear, and make the *Roman* arms contemptible in *Spain*, and perhaps occasion a general revolt." For all these wise reasons he continued the siege; but the *Palantines*, by the resolution with which they defended themselves, made him, in some time, weary of his undertaking; and at length famine constrained the two Generals to decamp.

They went off, in the last watch of the night, in such hurry and confusion, that it was rather a flight than a retreat. The *Palantines* perceived it, and falling out to the pursuit, made havock of them all the next day. One author says, the *Romans* lost 6000 men; and another makes the slaughter as great as that which *Mancinus's* army suffered by the *Numantines*.

Orof. B. 5.
c. 5.
Liv. Epit.
B. 56.

It is not clear whether *Brutus's* conquest of *Gallæcia* was before or after this unfortunate expedition with his son-in-law against the *Palantines*. But he did not return to *Rome* (where he had a triumph) till some years after this.

Not

Chap. V. The ROMAN HISTORY.

515

Not long after, the Consul *Furius* arrived to take the place of *Æmilius*, who was recalled to *Rome*, where the people laid a fine upon him for his misconduct.

Y. R. 617.
Bef. Chr.
135.

316 *Cont.*

Furius had brought with him *Mancinus*, whom he was to deliver up to the *Numantines*. The Pater Patratus or Chief Herald led him naked to the waist, and with his hands tied behind his back, to the gates of *Numantia*; but the *Numantines* would not receive him: They said, "that the manifest breach of faith by the *Romans* could not be expiated by the blood of one man: That the Senate must either abide by the treaty, or deliver up all the troops that had escaped under the shelter of it." The *Romans* on the other hand would not suffer *Mancinus* to return to the camp; so that this man, who not long before had appeared there at the head of a great army, and in all the pomp of the consular dignity, remained a whole day, in the condition that has been described, abandoned by his countrymen, rejected by the enemy, and a melancholy spectacle to both. At night the Consul, thinking that the decree of the Senate and people with regard to *Mancinus* had been sufficiently executed, and having consulted the chickens, received him into the camp.

App. in
lib. 1. p.
302.
Cic. de
Orat. L. 1.
c. 40.
Vell. Pat.
L. 2. Piot.
in Græc.
P. Oros. B.
5. c. 5.

At his return to *Rome*, he made no scruple to take his place in the Senate; but *P. Rutilius*, a Tribune of the people, ordered that he should leave the assembly, alledging that he was no *Roman* citizen; that, according to tradition, whoever had been sold by his father or the people, or delivered up to an enemy by a Pater Patratus, had no claim to a *postliminium*, that is to say, was incapable of being reinstated in the rights he before enjoyed. The matter being brought before the people, they decided in favour of *Mancinus*; because, without acceptance, there could be neither donation nor dedition; and *Mancinus* had not been accepted by the *Numantines*.

Ant. de
Vir. Illust.
in Man.
Cic. de
Orat. L. 1.
c. 40.
Orat. pro
Cæm. c.
34.
Cic. Topiq.
c. 8.

IT is recorded as a merit in *Furius*, that he chose, for his lieutenants, *Q. Metellus* and *Pompeius*, who were his personal enemies. He would shew that he was not afraid to have his enemies for witnesses of all he did; which happened to be nothing. His successor *Calpurnius Piso*, who was raised to the Consulship with *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus*, did no more. *Fulvius* subdued the *Ardeans*, a people of *Illyricum*. One victory finished the war; and the vanquished, a seafaring people, were transplanted into an inland country.

Y. R. 618.
Bef. Chr.
134.
317 *Cont.*

App. in
Illyr.
Scab. B.

* *Pighius* (in *An. U. C.* 619.) thinks that *Illyricum* was this year reduced to the form of a *Prætorian* province.

C H A P. VI.

Scipio Æmilianus is sent into Spain against the Numantines.

His care to discipline his soldiers during a whole year: After which, with an army of 60,000 men, he, in six months time, reduces a handful of Numantines to the utmost distress; and, in conclusion, makes himself master of the ground on which their city had stood.

Val. Max.
B. 8. c. 15.
§. 4.

Liv. Epit.
B. 56.
Y. R. 619.
Bef. Chr.

^{133.}
318 Conf.

App. in
Iber. p.
303.

AT the next election of magistrates, *Scipio Africanus* presented to the assembly his nephew *Fabius*, as a candidate for the Quæstorship. Though *Scipio* asked no office for himself, yet the people, weary of the *Numantine* war, and thinking him the best qualified of all men to bring it to a happy issue, elected him Consul, dispensing in his favour with the law, which forbad any man to be twice raised to that dignity. And he had *Hither Spain* assigned him for his province, without drawing lots with his colleague *C. Fulvius Flaccus*. But the Senate having other wars upon their hands at this time, particularly that with the slaves in *Sicily*, of which notice shall be taken hereafter, and thinking that the army in *Spain* wanted an able General more than recruits, would not grant him any new levies of *Roman* citizens. They suffered him however, from other cities, and from Kings in alliance with the Republic, to get what auxiliaries he could. He raised in all about 4000 men, of which 500 were his clients and dependents, whom being formed into one troop, he called *the Squadron of his friends*. He also by letter requested of *Micipsa*, King of *Numidia*, to send him a reinforcement into *Spain*.

These measures taken, *Scipio* (notwithstanding any thing that a certain ox had said to dissuade him, and though somebody had seen the sun in the night) embarked without delay for his province. At his arrival he found the legions ruined by sloth, discord and luxury. His first work therefore was to restore discipline in all its rigour. He drove from the camp a whole crowd of merchants, sutlers, and useless servants; and, together with them, 2000 disorderly women. He also cleared the camp of a great number of carts and beasts of burthen, employed by the Legionaries to carry their Persons, or at least those loads which the *Roman* soldiers had themselves been wont to carry. No utensils of the kitchen, except spits and boiling pots; no beds, but such as were stuffed with leaves or straw, were allowed to be used. When the General had thus banished intemperance and luxury, he inured his men to fatigue, by frequent and painful marches in bad weather, fording rivers, digging trenches, and then filling them up again; in a word, by all the labours that soldiers undergo in a difficult and perilous war.

Frontin.
Stratag. B.
4. c. 1.

But though in a few months, he brought his army under tolerable discipline, he would not venture yet to lead them to the formidable *Numantia*. He passed by the town at a good distance, and entered the territory of the *Vaccæi*, who sold provisions to the *Numantines*. While he was ravaging the country, a party of his horse, detached to cover the foragers, had like to have perished in an ambush laid by the troops of *Palantia*. His vigilance and activity rescued the party out of this danger. After which, being informed that the enemy, to cut off his retreat, waited for him upon the banks of a river, he would not attempt to return the way he came, but made a long march about, in which his men suffered extremely by the excessive heats, and for want of water. To compleat the work of hardening his soldiers for the toils and dangers of war, he resolved to pass the winter in tents, and pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of *Numantia*. It was at this time he received a reinforcement of archers, slingers and elephants, which *Micipsa* sent him from *Numidia*, under the conduct of his nephew *Jugurtha*, a young warrior, of whom there will be frequent occasion to speak in the course of this history.

THE people at *Rome* transferred the Consular Fasces to *P. Mucius Scaevola* and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, but continued *Scipio* in the command of the army in *Hispania*, with the title of Proconsul. His view from the beginning was to starve the *Numantines*, not to fight with them. When therefore his foragers had been attacked by surprize, and he with timely succours had repulsed the assailants, he would not pursue them, thinking it a sufficient advantage, that his troops had seen, what, *Florus* says, no man had expected ever to see, a *Numantine* turn his back to a *Roman*. According to *Plutarch*, the *Numantines* being reproached, at their return to the city, by the old men, for having quitted the field to an enemy they had so often vanquished, answered, *that the Romans were indeed the same sheep, but had got a new shepherd*.

Scipio having received large supplies of men from the *Spanish* cities in alliance with *Rome*, and his army now consisting of 60,000 men, he invested *Numantia*. The enemy frequently offered battle; and the *Roman* always laughed at the challenge: For he thought it would be acting a very foolish part, should he fight with desperate men, whom he was sure to conquer by starving them.

Numantia was about three miles in compass, and stood on the side of a hill, at the foot of which ran the *Durius*. The *Roman General* drew a trench six miles in circuit, quite round the town, except where the river interrupted the work. And he took such effectual methods, with chains and beams, to hinder the besieged from having any communication abroad, by means of the river, that neither by boats, nor

* By consequence this trench must be about half a mile from the town.

swimmers.

Y. R. 620.
Bef. Chr.

132.
319 Conf.

swimmers, nor divers, could they get relief or intelligence. Behind his first ditch he drew a second at no great distance, and behind this ~~he~~ built a wall eight feet thick and ten feet high, without reckoning the parapet. On this wall, throughout the whole extent of it, were raised towers, distant 120 foot one from another. *Appian* observes, that *Scipio* was the first General that ever drew a circumvallation round a town, the inhabitants of which did not decline a battle in the field. The besieged frequently sallied out, to hinder the carrying on the works, and to force the lines after they were finished. But *Scipio* had established such excellent order, for giving notice to the whole army, by signals, whenever the enemy made a movement on any side, that all their efforts proved ineffectual. *Appian* relates a strange tale of one *Rhetogenes*, a brave *Numantine*, who, in a dark night, with five friends, as many servants, and six horses, by the help of some portable bridges, got over the *Roman* lines; having slain the guards posted at those places where he made his passage. The difficulty surmounted, *Rhetogenes* and his friends sent home their servants, and, separating, went to several towns of the *Arvaci*, to implore succour. Few would so much as hear these ambassadors; none would give them any assistance: So great was the dread of the *Roman* power. Only at *Lutia*, a city about thirty seven miles from *Numantia*, the younger sort, having more spirit and generosity than discretion, urged their fellow citizens to aid the *Numantines*. The old men, who did not approve the design, gave *Scipio* private intelligence of what was in agitation. With a body of light armed troops he immediately hastened thither, appeared before the place at sun-rise, and demanded that the most considerable of the young men should be delivered up to him. It was at first answered, that they had made their escape; but he threatening to pillage the town if he were not obeyed, they gave up to him 400 of their youth, whose right hands he caused to be cut off, and then returned to his camp.

App. in
Iber. p.
309.

Flor. B. 2.
c. 18.
Aros. B. 5.
c. 6.

The *Numantines*, (when the siege had lasted six months) pressed by famine, sent five ambassadors to the Proconsul, to ask him whether, in case they surrendered, he would treat them with humanity. The chief of the embassy extolled the bravery and noble spirit of his countrymen. He added, "that the *Numantines*, though unfortunate, were guilty of no fault in fighting for their wives, their children, and the liberty of their country.—It is therefore but what justice requires from you, *Scipio*, ~~who are~~ a man of singular bravery, that you should spare the brave. We are ready to surrender, if you will grant us such conditions as are fit for men to submit to: If you will not; Give us at least an opportunity of fighting, that we may die like men." *Scipio* answered, that they must yield up their arms, their city, and themselves^b. The *Numantines*, tho' they

^b According to *Appian*, the *Numantines* *Scipio's* answer, that they fell upon the ambassadors at their return, and slew them for being

they suffered the extremest miseries that are ever suffered in a town besieged, yet would not surrender at discretion. In despair of preserving, by capitulation, both life and liberty, they warmed themselves with a sort of beer called *Celia*, sallied out at two gates, and made a furious assault upon the enemies lines. After an obstinate fight (in which many of them perished) finding it impossible to force the *Roman* entrenchments, they retired to their town in good order. *Scipio* offered them leave to bury their dead; a favour which they rejected. In conclusion, they burnt all their arms and effects, set fire to their houses, and, all dying by famine, by the sword, by poison, or by fire, left the victor, says *Fleius*, nothing of *Numantia* to triumph over but the name^c.

The Proconsul however had the walls, and, according to *Appian*, many of the houses yet to destroy; all which he levelled with the ground; without being authorized, says the same author, by a decree of the *Roman* people, as he had been for the demolition of *Carthage*: "Whether he believed it for the good of the Republic; or was actuated by rage and revenge; or rather, as many think, that he sought to raise to himself a great name^d upon the foundation of mighty mischiefs done."

Scipio having divided the territory of *Numantia* among the neighbouring *Spaniards*, and punished some cities which had befriended her during the war, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *NUMANTINUS*: A most glorious appellation! * A name which imported, that the bearer of it had, with the help of 60,000 soldiers, cooped up and starved 4000 brave men, for only refusing to be *SLAVES*; and that he had performed this exploit, in execrable violation of a peace, which those generous *Spaniards* had purchased with the grant of Life and LIBERTY to 20,000 *Romans*^e.

being the bearers of ill tidings: A very unlikely tale, and not consistent with the character of the *Numantines*.

^c *Appian* reports, that in the extremity of the famine the besieged fed upon the bodies of those that died; and afterwards that the stronger murdered the weaker, to eat them. He adds, that after many of the *Numantines* had been thus destroyed, and many had killed themselves, the remainder surrendered at discretion; of whom *Scipio* reserved fifty to grace his triumph, and sold the rest for slaves. A story not much to the honour of the victor. But the Epitome of *Livy*, (B. 59.) and *Frontinus* (*Stratag.* B. 4. c. 5. §. 23.) seem to agree with the account given in the text, from *Florus* and *Orosius*.

^d *Appian's* words are, Τὴν δὲ βίαν ἡ γέμει

διώνυμον ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις γίνεσθαι κακοῖς. Some think that διώνυμος signifies double named, and that the Historian alluded to *Scipio's* two surnames of *Africanus* and *Numantinus*. But *H. Steplens* contends that the word should be rendered famous; as in another passage of *Appian*, where he says, that *Gracchus* [who had acquired no surname from any military exploit] became διώνυμος, famous both in *Spain* and in *Rome*.

* *Pigbius* thinks that *Scipio* never assumed this ridiculous *Nom de Guerre*.

^e Mr. Rollin, in his Panegyric on *Scipio*, says, "that in him was an assemblage of all the virtues which make a soldier, a statesman, and an honest man. And what is peculiar to him, History has not taken notice of any one stain upon his excellent life; History praises him with

Y. R. 620.
Bef. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

Flor. loc.
cit.
Oros. loc.
cit.

App. in
lib. p. 311

See p. 513;

Vol. ix. p.
74.

• "out

C H A P. VII.

Tiberius Gracchus *revives the Agrarian law of Licinius Stolo.*
The violent proceedings of the Senate and the rich on this occasion.

V. R. 620.
 Bel. Chr.
 132.
 319 Conf.

WHILST Scipio was employed in the reduction of *Numantia*, there happened, at *Rome*, a COMMOTION that terribly shook the state, and introduced arms and bloodshed into the *Assemblies of the People*; the prelude to successive tragedies, of which the final catastrophe was the UTTER RUIN of ROMAN LIBERTY.

An event so memorable, as this COMMOTION, demands some previous account of the family and character of *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, whose warm and vigorous efforts, to save his country, unhappily proved the occasion of those violences, that hastened its destruction.

Plut. in
 Gracch.

The *Sempronian* family, though Plebeian, had raised itself to be among those of the greatest distinction in the commonwealth. The father of *Tiberius*, twice Consul, had obtained two triumphs, and was afterwards honoured with the Censorship. He married *Cornelia*, the daughter of the first *Africanus*, a woman of excellent understanding, renowned virtue, and great spirit. Of twelve children which he left at his decease, nine died in infancy, or in early youth. The three, that remained, were a daughter, (married to the second *Africanus*) and two sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, the latter nine years younger than his brother. *Tiberius* acquired the reputation of virtue so early, that for his merit chiefly he was chosen into the college of Augurs, as soon as he had put

“ out an exception to any of his actions ;
 “ there is no part of his whole conduct
 “ that needs an apology.”

This excellent writer and most worthy man seems to form his ideas of *Scipio* by the fine things said of him by *Cicero* ; in whom, nevertheless, he observes * the spirit of party to reign with such absolute sway, as to make him speak of *one action inexcusable (the inhuman murder of Tiberius Gracchus by Nasica)* as an exploit that filled the world with its glory.

But as to *Scipio's* unexceptionable conduct, Mr. *Rollin* seems to have overlooked a passage in *Plutarch* where the historian, speaking of the affair of *Mancinus*, tells us, “ that *Scipio*, who, of all the *Romans*, had, “ at that time, the greatest authority and “ sway, was blamed for not making use of

“ his influence to save the Consul, and get the
 “ treaty with the *Numantines* confirmed.” Doubtless, this *Hero* had then in view the glory he afterwards acquired, of utterly destroying, contrary to public faith, and the obligation of benefits to the Republic, that handful of brave men, who, by their virtue, dishonoured the *Romans*. And I cannot imagine what Christian Divines mean, by exhibiting as patterns of consummate [Pagan] virtue, men proud of being the instruments of the basest and most cruel iniquities. And if what Mr. *Rollin* says (in the † preface to his *Roman History*) be true, “ that the *finest* actions of the *Romans* were “ done from the sole motive of *vain glory*,” I do not conceive that those *finest* actions deserve even the smallest portion of praise.

* Vo'. ix. p. 51, 52.

† P. 85. 86.

on the manly gown. He made his first campaigns, with distinguish-^{Y. R. 620.} ed courage, under his brother-in-law *Scipio*, in *Africa*. After his re-^{Ref. Cæ.} turn home, he applied himself to the study of Eloquence; in which he^{130.} attained to so great perfection, as to surpass all the orators that *Rome* had, to his time, produced. "He was a man (says *Paterculus*) of
"the finest parts, the greatest innocence of life, the purest intentions; in
"a word, adorned with all the virtues of which human nature, improv-
"ed by industry, is capable." And *Cicero*^{131.} confesses, "That *Tiberius*
"Gracchus came nothing short of the virtue of his father, or of his
"grandfather *Africanus*, but in this, That he forsook the party of the
"Senate."

We have already seen the share he had in the treaty, which *Man-*^{See p. 512.} *cinus* concluded with the *Numantines*; who granted, for the sake of *Ti-*
berius, more favourable conditions than they had at first intended. Ac-
cording to *Cicero*¹, and *Paterculus*², who follows him, the severity of
the Senate, on occasion of that treaty, not only grieved, but terrified
Tiberius Gracchus, and was the cause of his alienation from the
Nobles. Some say, that his designs were suggested to him by *Dio-Phur in*
phanes, a Rhetorician of *Mitylene*, and *Blossus*, an *Italian* Philosopher.^{Gracch.} Some ascribe them to a desire of rising, in the esteem of the people,
above one *Sp. Posthumius*, an eloquent speaker, and in great credit.
Others, again, to *Tiberius's* mother *Cornelia*, who, fond of glory, and
willing to excite ambition in her son, reproached him, that she was
usually called, at *Rome*, *The mother-in-law of Scipio*, and not *The mother*
of the Gracchi. But *Caius*, in some memoirs of his, quoted by *Plu-*
tarch, wrote, that his brother was himself the author of his project,
and that he conceived it before his expedition against the *Numantines*.

¹ *Plutarch* records, as striking proofs of the great esteem *Tiberius* was in at *Rome*, the offer, which, at an Augural feast, *Appius Claudius*, then President of the Senate, (and who had been Consul and Censor) made him of his daughter in marriage; and the answer which *Appius* received from his wife, when he acquainted her, at his return home, with what he had done. As soon as he entered his house, he called out "Antistia, I have promised our daughter *Clodia* in marriage." Why in such haste (said the mother greatly astonished) have you promised her to *Tiberius Gracchus*?

² Vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus, tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantis perfecta, & naturâ & industriâ, mortalis conditio recipit.—Vell. Pat. l. 2.

³ *Ti. Gracchus* convellit statum civitatis: qua gravitate vir! qua eloquentia!

qua dignitate! nihil ut a patris, avique *Africani* præstabili insignique virtute, præterquam quod a senatu desciverat, deflexisset. Or. de Harusp. resp. c. 19.

⁴ Ad quem [tribunatum] ex invidia fœderis *Numantini* bonis iratus [*Tiberius*] accesserat (*Cicer. Brut. c. 27.*) Nam *Tiberio Graccho*, invidia *Numantini* fœderis, cui feriendo, *Quæstor C. Mancini* Consulis cum esset, interfuerat; & in eo fœdere improbando senatus severitas dolori, & timori fuit: istaque res illum fortem & clarum virum, a gravitate patrum descivere cogit. Id. de Harusp. resp. c. 20.

⁵ Immanem deditio *Mancini* civitatis movit dissensionem: quippe *T. Gracchus*, —quo *Quæstore* & auctore id fœdus scitum erat, nunc graviter ferens aliquid a se factum infirmari, hunc similis vel judicii vel pœnæ metuens discrimen, tribunus Pat. l. 2. creatus—descivit a bonis.—Vell. Pat. l. 2.

Y. R. 620.
Ref. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

App. de
Bell. Civ.
l. 1. p.
353.

For, crossing *Hetruria*, in his way to *Spain*, he observed, that there were no other husbandmen or labourers, in the country, than slaves and foreigners. And (according to *Plutarch*) the people, by writings affixed to the porticos, walls, and tombs, daily exhorted *Tiberius* to procure the restitution of the public lands to the injured poor.

From the earliest times of *Rome*, it had been the custom of the *Romans*, when they subdued any of the nations in *Italy*, to deprive them of a part of their territory. A portion of these lands was sold, and the rest given to the poorer citizens; on condition, says *Appian*, of their paying annually a tenth of the corn and a fifth of the fruits of trees, besides a certain number of great and small cattle. In process of time, the rich, by various means, got possession of the lands destined for the subsistence of the poor. This gave occasion to the law obtained by *Licinius Stolo*, about the year of *Rome* 386, forbidding any *Roman* citizen to hold more than 500 acres of land, or to have, upon his estate, more than 100 great and 500 small cattle; and requiring that a certain number of freemen, natives of the country, should be employed to cultivate the farms: Which law confirmed by oath, subjected the transgressors of it to a fine, besides the forfeiture of all their lands beyond the proportion allowed. But notwithstanding these precautions, the *Licinian* law (observed for some time to the great benefit of the public) fell at length under a total neglect. The rich and the mighty contrived to possess themselves of the lands of their poor neighbours. At first they held these acquisitions under borrowed names; afterwards, openly, in their own. To cultivate the farms, they employed foreign slaves; so that *Italy* was in danger of losing its inhabitants of free condition, (who had no encouragement to marry, no means to educate children) and of being overrun with slaves and barbarians, that had neither affection for the Republic, nor interest in her preservation.

Plut. in
Gracch.
Cicero. A.
cad. Quest.
l. 4. c. 5.

Tiberius Gracchus, now a Tribune of the people, undertook to remedy these disorders¹. He communicated his project to some of the most virtuous and respectable men in *Rome*, and had their approbation. Among these were his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, who, according to *Plutarch*, surpassed all the *Romans* of his time in prudence; *Crassus*, the Pontifex Maximus; and the Consul *Mucius Scaevola*, esteemed a wise man and an able Civilian. The same Historian reports, that, to soften the matter, *Tiberius* proposed, not only to remit the fines hitherto incurred by the transgressors of the *Licinian* law, but also, out of the public money, to pay to the present possessors the price of the lands that were to be taken from them².

¹ *Plutarch* tells us, that *Laelius*, the friend of *Scipio*, made some efforts [in his tribuneship] to cure the evils occasioned by the breach of the *Licinian* law; but dropt the design, fearing the prosecution of it would raise a sedition.

² *Appian* says nothing of this compensation; nor does *Plutarch* take notice of an article mentioned by *Appian*: That each [emancipated] son of a family might hold 250 acres of land, though the father possessed 500.

Never, says *Plutarch*, was proposed a law more mild and gentle, against iniquity and oppression: yet the rich made a mighty clamour about the hardship of being stript of their houses, their lands, their inheritances, the burial-places of their ancestors; the unspeakable confusion such innovations would produce, the estates in question [acquired by robbery] being settled upon the wives and children of the possessors. And, to raise an odium against *Gracchus*, they gave out, that ambition, not a view to the common good, had put him upon this project; and exclaimed against him, in all places, as a disturber of the public peace. The poor, on the other hand, complained of the extreme indigence to which they were reduced, and of their inability to bring up children: They enumerated the many battles where they had fought in defence of the Republic; notwithstanding which, "they were allowed no share of the public lands: nay the usurpers, to cultivate them, chose rather to employ foreigners and slaves, than citizens of *Rome*." *Gracchus's* view was not to make poor men rich, but to strengthen the Republic by an increase of useful members, upon which he thought the safety and welfare of *Italy* depended. The insurrection and war of the slaves in *Sicily*, who were not yet quelled, furnished him with sufficient argument for expatiating on the danger of filling *Italy* with slaves.

On the day when the tribes met to determine concerning the law, the Tribune, maintaining his cause, which was in itself just and noble, with an eloquence that would have set off a bad one, appeared to his adversaries terrible and irresistible. He asked the rich, whether they preferred a slave to a citizen; a man unqualified to serve in war to a soldier; an alien to a member of the Republic; and which, they thought, would be more zealous for its interest? Then, as to the misery of the poor; "The wild beasts of *Italy* have caves and dens to shelter them; but the people, who expose their lives for the defence of *Italy*, are allowed nothing but the light and air: They wander up and down with their wives and children, without house and without habitation. Our Generals mock the soldiers; when, in battle, they exhort them to fight for their sepulchres and their household Gods; for, amongst all that great number of *Romans*, there is not one who has either a domestic altar, or a sepulchre of his ancestors. They fight and die, solely to maintain the riches and luxury of others; and are stiled the Lords of the Universe, while they have not a single foot of ground in their possession."

To discourses of this tenour, delivered with great spirit and a warmth unfeigned, and heard by the people with uncommon emotion, his adversaries durst not attempt to answer. Not was it necessary; for they had, with much sollicitation, engaged *M. Octavius Cæcina*, one of the Tribunes, a grave and modest man, and, hitherto, the friend of *Tiberius*, to oppose his measures. So that, when, by order of the latter,

Y. R. 640.
B. Chr.
132.
339 Conf.
Liv. Epit.
B. 58.

Plut. in
Græch.

the law was going to be read to the people for their acceptance. *Ottavius* stood up and forbade the reading it. *Tiberius* made no farther effort to carry the law in question, but in the place of it proposed another, more severe against the rich, for it expressed, that whoever held above 500 acres of the public lands should be deprived of the overplus; and it contained no clause of compensation.

Before the day appointed for taking the suffrages of the tribes with regard to this new law, *Ottavius* and *Tiberius* had many sharp disputes in the assemblies of the people, each maintaining his opinion with much warmth and vehemence, yet not a word escaping from either, which could give the other offence.

Tiberius published an edict, suspending all magistrates from the exercise of their functions, till the law should be either passed or rejected by the people; and subjecting to large fines those who should disobey this edict. And, that the *Quæstors* might not have access to the public money, he shut up the temple of *Saturn*, where it was kept, and put his own seal upon the door. The faction of the rich appeared in public, in their dirtiest clothes, and with dejected countenances, to move compassion; in secret, they laid snares for *Tiberius*, and hired people to murder him; which he being apprised of, carried a dagger under his robe, but so that every body might see it, and thereby know that he apprehended an assassination.

OF the ten *Tribunes*, *Ottavius* alone took part with the insolent and oppressive nobles, to obstruct the reformation of their abuses of power.

"*Plutarch* imputes this moderation, and politeness of the disputants to a happiness of nature, and a good education: Yet immediately adds, that "*Tiberius*, knowing how nearly the law affected his colleague, as possessing a great deal of land, offered out of his own private fortune (which was not very great) to compensate him, (if he would desist from his opposition,) for what he should lose by the execution of the law." An offer, which, one would naturally think, could have no place in an intercourse between two men so polite, and so careful to avoid saying any thing offensive.

The same historian tells us, that when the people met to give their suffrages with regard to the law, it was found that the rich had conveyed away the urns; which caused a great confusion and tumult, threatening dangerous consequences. Whereupon two men of Consular dignity, throwing themselves at the feet of the *Tribune*, begged of him, with tears in their eyes, to desist from his undertaking. *Tiberius*, well

aware of what mischiefs might happen from the present disorder, and having a great respect for these two persons, asked them, what they would have him do. They answered, that they were not qualified to give advice in an affair of such importance; and pressed him to consult with the Senate; to which he readily agreed. But when he found that the Fathers came to no determination, because of the ascendant which the rich had in that assembly, he formed the resolution of deposing *Ottavius* from his office."

If *Plutarch* here means the urns that held the tablets for voting, he must be mistaken; for the people did not vote by tablets in enacting or abrogating laws, till the tribuneship of *Papirius Carbo* (Cic. de Legib. l. 3. c. 16.) which was not till two years after this time. And what temptation could there be to convey away the urns, if *Ottavius* was ready to interpose?

Plutarch is the only author who mentions this affair of the urns.

Tiberius,

Tiberius, in presence of an assembly of the commons, earnestly intreated him to condescend with their desires, and to grant, as a favour to the Roman people, what they had so much right to demand; and which, if obtained, would be but a small recompence for the fatigues they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves for the safety of the Republic. Finding the dissentient Tribune immovably fixed in his resolution, he then loudly declared, that he saw no way of putting an end to the important dispute between them, but by deposing the one or the other from the Tribuneship. He added, *Do you Octavius, first gather the votes of the people with regard to me: If it be agreeable to them, I am ready to resign my office, and become a private man.* *Octavius* rejecting the expedient, the other replied, *If you persist in your opposition, I will certainly move the Comitia to depose you. I give you till to-morrow to consider of what part you will take.*

Accordingly, the Tribes being assembled the next day, *Tiberius* denounced the *Restra*; and, having once more, in vain, exhorted his colleague to a compliance with the people's desire, put the question to them, Whether *Octavius* should be removed from the office of Tribune? Of the five and thirty Tribes, when seventeen had given their voices against him, *Tiberius*, who would fain have avoided these extremities, interrupted the voting: He embraced him, he conjured him, in the most pressing terms, not to expose himself, by his obstinacy, to so great a dishonour, nor to bring upon him the reproach of having degraded his colleague and his friend. *Octavius* is said to have been so far moved, that tears came into his eyes, and he continued for some time silent; but casting a look towards the rich, there present, and, probably, thinking he should be despised if he failed them, he at length answered *Tiberius*, That he might proceed, and do as he pleased.

The deposed Tribune was instantly compelled to leave the *Rostra*; the angry multitude insulted him, and, perhaps, would have gone greater lengths, if the *Grandees* (whose victim he had made himself) and even *Tiberius* had not protected him, and favoured his retreat.

No obstacle now remaining, the law passed: And it being resolved that *Triumvirs*, or three Commissioners, should be constituted for the execution of it, the people named, to that employment, *Tiberius* himself, his father-in-law *Appius Claudius*, and *Caius Gracchus*, who at this time was in *Spain*, serving under *Scipio* in the *Numantine* war. These *Triumvirs* were to examine and judge what lands belonged to the Public, as well as to make the intended distribution of them. Into the place of *Octavius* the people chose one *Mummius*, a client of *Tiberius*.

* This example, given by *T. Gracchus*, was afterwards imitated by the Tribune *A. Gabinius*, when his Colleague *L. Trebellius* opposed the passing a decree for committing to *Pompey* the conduct of the piratic war, with exorbitant powers, unknown to the laws. *Gabinus* moved to have *Trebellius* deposed from his office; and 17 of the 35 Tribes had already voted against him, when he withdrew his opposition. The

Y. R. 620.

Bel. Chr.

929 Conf.

Plut. in

Gracch.

* 114 d

Arbuthnot.

Plut. Loc.

Cit.

The Senate, highly exasperated by these successes of the Tribune, put upon him all the affronts in their power. They refused him, as Tribune, a tent; a favour usually granted to those who executed much lighter commissions for the public. And (at the instigation of *Scipio Nasica*) they would allow him, for his expences, no more than nine *æboli** a day.

Attalus Philometor, King of *Pergamus*, a madman, dying at this time, left the *Roman* people heir of all his goods. *Tiberius* laid hold of this occasion to propose a law, importing, that the King's treasure should be divided among the poorest of the citizens to enable them to stock their new farms. As to the cities and territories of *Pergamus*, the Tribune declared, that to dispose of them did not belong to the Senate; but was the prerogative of the people.

This was a mortifying stroke to the Conscript Fathers. One of them, named *Pompeius*, rising up in the assembly, said, He was *Tiberius*'s neighbour, and knew, for certain, that the Deputy from *Pergamus* had brought *Attalus*'s diadem and purple robe, and privately given them to the Tribune, as to a man who would soon be King in *Rome*. *Metellus* reproached *Tiberius* with suffering himself to be lighted home, by poor citizens, when he supped abroad; whereas his father used modestly to have the torches put out, on such occasions, that it might not be known he kept ill hours. These were idle discourses. Of all the actions of *Tiberius*, that which had given his enemies the greatest advantage against him, and is said to have displeased many of his own party, was his deposing *Octavius*†. The Tribune therefore thought it proper to vindicate this part of his conduct in a set speech to the people.

The chief heads of his justification were these: "A Tribune is indeed a sacred and inviolable magistrate, because he is consecrated to the protection of the people and the support of their interest. But if, forgetting the design of his institution, he injures the people, instead of protecting them; if he weakens their power, and hinders them from giving their suffrages, he then forfeits the honours and privileges conferred upon him; because he acts contrary to the end for which he received them. Must a Tribune be suffered to demolish the Capitol and burn our arsenals? And yet, if he did these things, he would still be a Tribune; whereas he ceases to be such, when he destroys and overturns the power of the people.—The regal dignity, comprehending the authority of all other magistrates, was made sacred by the most august ceremonies of religion; nevertheless, the *Roman* people, to punish the lust and violence of a single man, not only ex-

* By virtue of this heirship the *Romans* seized the kingdom of *Pergamus*, as a part of *Attalus*'s goods. *Mitridates* of *Pontus*, in a letter to *Arfaces*, King of the *Partians*,

calls the will an impious and forged will. Sallust. Fragm. l. 4.

† *Cicero* imputes the ruin of *Tiberius* to this alone. Cic. de Leg. l. 3. c. 10.

“pelled the King, but suppressed that sovereign power, under which
 “*Rome* was founded. What is more sacred and venerable in *Rome*,
 “than the *Vestal*? Yet if any *Vestal* transgress, she is buried alive,
 “without mercy; because, by her impiety, she loses the sacred cha-
 “racter which she acquired by being dedicated to the Gods. In like
 “manner, a Tribune, when he sins against the people, forfeits that in-
 “violable character with which he was vested solely on their account. If
 “the majority of the Tribes have a power to create a Tribune, it surely
 “can never be a question, whether all the Tribes have a power to depose
 “him. And, that a Tribune may lose his sacred character, even be-
 “fore the expiration of his year, is evident from the example of those,
 “who, at their own request, have been permitted to divest themselves
 “of it.”

Y. R. 620.
 Def. Ch.
 192.
 319 Conf.

The friends of *Tiberius* judging, from the menaces and cabals of the
 great, that his life would be in danger, as soon as he should become a
 private man, put him upon the project of getting himself continued in
 the tribuneship for another year. To dispose the people to favour his
 pretensions, he gave them a prospect of several new laws, much to
 their advantage. One was for diminishing the number of years the
 soldiers were obliged to serve. Another established the right of ap-
 peal to the people from the judgments of all the magistrates. By a
 third he proposed that the judges in civil causes should be one half
 Knights and not all Senators, as hitherto. *Velleius Paterculus* adds, that
Gracchus promised the freedom of *Rome* to all the *Italians*.

Plut. in
 Gracch.

Appian relates, that on the day of election, when the two first Tribes
 had given their votes for *Tiberius*, the partizans of the rich made a
 mighty uproar, crying out, it was against law for the same person to be
 Tribune two years together. These clamours so terrified *Rubrius*
Varro, who presided in the *Comitia*, that he would have resigned his
 place to *Mummius* (the successor of *Octavius*;) but the other Tribunes
 opposed it, alledging that since *Varro* had resigned, it ought to be
 determined by lot, who should be President in his room. The con-
 tention growing high, and *Tiberius* finding his party the weaker, put off
 the election to the next day.

De Bell.
 Civ. l. 1.
 p. 358.

Early in the morning, when he was about to repair to the Capitol,
 he is reported to have had some unlucky omens, which made him
 doubt whether he should go or not: But several messengers coming to
 him from his friends, who pressed him to hasten to the assembly, where,

* According to *Dio Cass. ap. Vales. p. 622.* *Tiberius* proposed to get his father-in-law, *Appius Claudius*, chosen to the Consulship, and his brother, *Caius Gracchus*, to the Tribuneship.

* *Plutarch* makes no mention of this contest among the Tribunes for the Presi-

dentship, but says that *Tiberius* and his party, finding themselves the weaker, because all the people were not present, [at being but vest-time] began to quarrel with the other Tribunes, in order to gain time; and that *Tiberius* at length adjourned the assembly.

they

Y. R. 640.
Def. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

Plut. in
Gracch.

they assured him, he would have the majority, he went without further hesitation. The people, the moment they saw him, broke out into shouts of joy and applause. Soon after he had got to his place, a Senator, his friend, passing with much difficulty through the croud, gave him notice, That the great and rich of the Senate (then assembled in a temple hard by) had used all their efforts to draw the Consul into their party; that, not succeeding, they had resolved, without his assistance, to murder the Tribune; and that, for this purpose, they had drawn together a great number of their friends and slaves, all armed. *Tiberius* having communicated this advice to those that were nearest him, they girded up their gowns, and prepared to defend him in the best manner they could. They had no arms, but what they could hastily provide themselves with, by breaking the long staves of Apparitors or Serjeants into short truncheons. Those of the multitude who were at a distance, astonished at this motion, called out to know the reason of it. *Tiberius*, not being able to speak loud enough to be heard, touched his head with his hand, in order to make them conceive that his life was in danger. Instantly some of his enemies ran to the Senate, and reported, that the Tribune openly demanded a Crown; in proof of which, they alledged, that he had put his hand to his head. On these important tidings, *Scipio Nasica*, who possessed much of the public lands, and was extremely unwilling to part with them, addressing himself to the Consul, *Mucius Scaevola*, urged him to give immediate assistance to the state, and destroy the tyrant. *Scaevola* answered with great calmness, that he would not be the first author of a tumult, nor would he put any citizen to death, before legal condemnation. Hereupon *Nasica*, flaming with wrath, turned to the Senators, and said, *Since the chief Magistrate betrays and abandons the Republic, let those, who have any regard for the laws, follow me.* At the same time he gathered up his robe, and, with the Senate at his heels, together with that multitude of clients and slaves, who, armed with clubs, had held themselves ready for action, ran furious to the Capitol. Few among the people had the boldness to withstand the venerable rage of the Conscript Fathers; who, snatching up the feet and other pieces of benches, broken by the croud in their hasty flight, and dealing blows to the right and left, pushed on towards *Tiberius*. Those of his friends who had ranged themselves before him being partly slain, and the rest scattered, he himself fled; and, when somebody laid hold of his gown, left it in his hand, and continued to run; but, in his hurry, he stumbled, and fell upon others who had fallen before him. As he was recovering himself, *P. Satureius*, one of his colleagues, gave him a mighty blow on the head with the foot of a bench; and a second blow, which, probably, dispatched him, he received from a man named *L. Rufus*, who afterwards gloried in the action. Above 300 of *Tiberius's* friends and adherents died with him in this tumult;

murder, and what is observable, not one of them was killed with a sword, but all with daggers or clubs. The murderers threw the dead bodies into the Tiber, *Tiberius Gracchus*, according to *Plutarch*, earnestly begged permission to bury his brother, but was refused: And the Historian gives this as a proof, that the nobles acted more from rage and personal hatred to *Tiberius*, than from any of their pretended motives. Nor was the fury of the faction yet assuaged: They made search after his friends: Those of them whom they could not apprehend they banished, and those who fell into their hands they put to death, without so much as the form of a legal process.

All the public dissensions, which had hitherto arisen in *Rome* since the birth of the Republic, had been terminated by mutual concessions, and without effusion of blood; the people respecting the Senate, and the Senate fearing the people: But, upon this last occasion, the Conscrip Fathers took the fatal resolution of having recourse to arms and slaughter; and, to end the dispute, assassinated, before the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, a magistrate, whose person, by the laws, was sacred and inviolable.

When the people were recovered from their fright, the Senate, having cause to dread their anger, quietly suffered a new Commissioner, for the execution of the *Agrarian* law, to be elected in the room of *Tiberius*; and the choice to fall on *P. Crassius*, who had given his daughter in marriage to *Gaius Gracchus*: A temporizing of the Fathers, not sufficient to appease the indignation of the multitude for the cruel violence done to their protector. *Scipio Nasica*, principal author of the late massacre, was the chief object of their resentment. The poorer citizens, whenever they met him in the public streets, reproached him with murder and sacrilege, and threatened to bring him to a trial. Fearing therefore for his life, the Senate commissioned him to go into *Asia*, on pretended business, the disguise of a real banishment. And there, after a short time, oppressed with vexation and despair, he died.

CONCERNING the merits of this famous cause, various are the opinions of those who have written on the subject.

APPIAN, after relating the tragical death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, concludes with words to this effect. Thus Gracchus—pursuing with too much violence the best designs for his Country's good, was, while a Tribune, slain in the Capitol.

PLUTARCH approves of *Tiberius's* *Agrarian* law, but condemns, as illegal and unjust, his deposing *Othavius*, in order to get the law enacted.

According to CICERO, and his worshippers, both ancient and modern, *Tiberius's* cause was unjust: He was a seditious man, and the criminal author of that tumult in which he lost his life.

As *Gaius Gracchus* is said to have been sent home upon that occasion. As *Gaius Gracchus* is said to have been sent home upon that occasion. As *Gaius Gracchus* is said to have been sent home upon that occasion.

I presume not to think myself a competent judge of the matter. But as I have not yet been able to perceive any solid foundation for charging *Tiberius* with sedition, I shall here offer, under leave of the Reader, what occurs to me, as of council for the accused.

IT is beyond dispute, that the nobles had, contrary to law, possessed themselves of the lands in question. The author of certain Political * Discourses, lately published, though he takes part against *Tiberius*, does, in the fullest and strongest terms, confess the injustice done to the people.

"The provocation given by the nobles was indeed very great, and their oppressions shocking; as They were, in the face and defiance of all law and compassion, possessed of all that portion of the conquered lands, which was appointed for the subsistence of the poor plebeians, who had earned them with their swords. The usurpers were rioting in overgrown wealth, pomp and luxury; whilst the poor *Romans*, who daily exposed their lives for the safety and aggrandizing of these their oppressors, by being deprived of their property, wanted bread."

This author seems to have overlooked one article, in which the provocation given by the nobles was no less shocking than in those he has mentioned. Not content with robbing the people of their lands, they would not suffer them to earn their bread by their labour, in cultivating those lands. To make the most of their immense estates, the rich had peopled *Italy* with foreign slaves, men useless in war, and, by their numbers, dangerous in peace. So that the poor natives having no encouragement to marry, because no means to educate children, there must, in a few years, be such a diminution of the people, as would make it difficult to find *Italian* soldiers for the armies. Add to this the temptation, which a people, so oppressed and insulted, were brought under, to sell both their own and their country's liberty. Is it any wonder, that men, thus robbed and beggared by the nobles, should sell the nobles as soon as they could get money for them? In the second epistle (supposed to be from *Sallust*) to *Cæsar*, concerning the regulation of the Commonwealth, the writer ascribes the venality of the people to the wrongs they suffered.—"Men of the lowest rank, whether occupying their farms at home, or serving in the wars, were amply satisfied themselves, and gave ample satisfaction to their country, so long as they possessed what was sufficient to subsist them. But when, being thrust out of possession of their lands by a gradual usurpation, they, through indigence and idleness [having nothing to do] could no longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and to put their own liberty and the Commonwealth to sale."

BUT

"Sed, ubi eos paulatim expulsos agris, inertia atque inopia incertas domos habere subegit: cœpere alienas opes pœere, libertatem suam cum republica venalem habere." I insert these words of the original, because the ingenious translator

of the fragments of *Sallust* has, as I conceive, entirely perverted, through inattention, the meaning of the author in this passage. His translation runs thus: "But when once they degenerated from these courses, when, stripped of their li-

berances

BUT though it be granted that the people had been illegally dispossessed of their lands, was it just, and, if just, expedient, to reclaim them at this time?

Y. R. 620.
B. 6. Ch. 1.
132.
319 Cont.

I know not whether prescription would, by any legislature, be allowed as a good plea for detaining a possession unquestionably usurped. *Appian* speaks of prescription and long possession in *Litinius Sula's* time; yet this objection did not hinder the execution of his *Agrarian* law. Nor does it appear, that the nobles of *Rome* had any ground to offer the plea of prescription, when *Tiberius Gracchus* was Tribune. From a passage in the elder *Cato's* speech to the Senate, in behalf of the *Rhodians*, one may fairly conclude, that the *LICINIAN LAW*, concerning estates, was at that time observed; or, at least, not grossly violated with impunity. "We all wish, says *Cato*, to have more than 500 acres of land: Yet we are not punished for wishing." And this was but 34 years before *Tiberius's* tribuneship. So that when *Cicero* speaks of possession for ages past, he seems to have no more foundation of truth, than when he calls *Nasica*, and his band of assassins, *the Republic*. The nobles had not the wealth to purchase, nor the power, by means of wealth, to usurp those large tracts of country, which they peopled with slaves; till, by the late conquests of *Macedon* and the *Carthaginian* dominions, there came a flow of riches to *Rome*. And agreeable to this is what *Sallust* says (in his history of the *Jugurthine* war) of the late birth of that distinction of the people and Senate into opposite factions. He makes it commence from the destruction of *Carthage* [about 12 years before *Tiberius's* tribuneship] and adds, that the faction of the nobles prevailing, "The commonalty were oppressed with penury and with serving in the armies, where all the plunder of the foe was purloined by the Generals, and a few grandees. Nay the parents and little children of these very soldiers were, at the same time, driven out of their rightful settlements, if they chanced but to border upon any man of sway." And this being the case, the expediency of applying, without delay, the proper remedy to an evil so dreadful, and that was every day increasing and taking deeper root, can require no words to evince it.

A. Gell.
B. 7. c. 3.

Transl. of
Sall. by Mr.
Gordon,
p. 199.

I conclude therefore, both as to the right of the people's claim, and as to the reasonableness of it at this time, "That there could be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more conducing to mutual peace amongst fellow-citizens, and to the equality so necessary in a free state, where the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or a few, tend directly to the enthralling of all, than the ascertaining the

Pol. Disc.
p. 80.

"heritances through sloth and poverty, they had no longer any fixed abode, &c." autem habuit, amittit? Cic. de Offic. l. 2. c. 22.
"Quam autem habet equitatem, ut agrum multis annis, aut etiam seculis ante possessum, qui nullum habuit, habeat, qui Ab ipsa republica est interfectus [*Tiberius Gracchus*]. Cic. in Brut. c. 27.

Y y y 2

"Agrarian

Y. R. 620. "Agrarian law, and restoring the *ager publicus* to the *indivisi* and *incommutabilis*
 B. Chr. "proprietors."

319 Conf. It will not, I suppose, be questioned, whether it belonged to *Tiberius*, a Tribune of the people, a defender of their rights, to attempt the cure of a disorder directly tending to the ruin of public liberty.

But did he proceed in a legal and justifiable method of curing the dangerous disease? Yes, it was by *acts of the legislative authority* that he sought to restore the *broken laws to their former force*, and cut up *daring oppression by the roots*. He employed no force, no bribes. These were not then in use; and, if he had employed bribes, the author of the Discourses assures us, that "what sounds like corruption may not be corruption; and it is not so much the act, as the characters of men that constitute it." The same, I suppose, might be said of force: What sounds like force may not be force, &c. But they are both out of the present question.

Pol. Disc.
 p. 27.

* See Pol.
 Disc. on
 this head,
 p. 201.

The deposing of *Octavius* was an act of *that authority*, upon which there can be no controul. *Cicero* justifies the like design, in a case, where the whole Senate were against the project, for the sake of which a Tribune was going to be deposed, at the motion of one of his colleagues; I mean, the project of vesting *Pompey* with an unnecessary, and most enormous power, for conducting a war against the pirates.*

I can-

* That *Cicero's* authority, with regard to party-questions, ought to be of no weight with us (unless where he makes concessions to the advantage of the opposite party) is abundantly manifest from many passages in his writings; but never does he expose his partiality more, than on some occasions, when he mentions the *Gracchi*.

In his oration for *Milo*, he, speaks of *Tiberius's* deposing his Colleague *Octavius*, as a seditious act, so dangerous to the State, that the persons, who slew him for it, acquired thereby an incredible deal of glory. *Non Sp. Maelium, &c. non Ti. Gracchum, qui Collegæ Magistratum per seditionem abrogavit: quorum interfectores implerunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria.* *Pro Milo*, c. 27.

The laws, which *Tiberius* (a person of undisputed integrity at that time) proposed, being, by their nature, salutary Remedies for the Evils of the State; remedies against which there was no plausible objection, but the indisposition of the patient to make use of them, the Tribune had unquestionably the appearance, at least, of aiming at a very great public good, in deposing his

Colleague. Yet, according to *Cicero*, he was deservedly slain for that act, and his murderers were heroes of the first class.

The unprecedented commission, desired for *Pompey*, had a manifest tendency to destroy all the remains of liberty and equality in the Republic: Yet, (according to the same *Cicero*) *Gabinus* (whom he sometimes inveighs against as one of the most consummate knaves of his time) was a brave and excellent Patriot, when, to carry that point, he undertook to depose his only dissenting Colleague, *Trebellius*, and (as the Orator expresses it) would not suffer the opposition of a single man to prevail against the will and voice of the WHOLE STATE. And it is worthy to be observed that this WHOLE STATE does not include the SENATE; for the SENATE were against the *Gabinian Law*; and *Trebellius* had promised them, that he would die, rather than suffer it to pass. *Vir fortis Aulus Gabinus, in re optima fecit, omnia neque, cum salutem populo Romano, atque omnibus gentibus anem, diuturnam agnitionis, turpitudinis, et servitutis afferret, passus est, plus unius Collegæ sui, quam universæ civitatis,*

I cannot therefore but wonder at the following passages in the Dis-
courses above quoted:

533.

M. R. 630.
B. Chr.

"I dread 319 Conf.

vitatis, vocem valere et voluntatem. Cic.
pro Cornelia.

Africanus's note upon this passage is as follows.

Manifestum est de ea lege Ciceronem nunc dicere, quâ Cn. Pompeius bellum adversus piratas datum est. L. autem Trebellius Tribunus Plebis quem non nominat: quo perseverante intercedere (nam Senatui promiserat, moriturum se ante quam illa lex ferretur) intro vocare tribus Gabinus copit, ut Trebellius Magistratum abrogaret, sicut quondam Tib. Gracchus Tribunus M. Octavio Collegæ suo Magistratum abrogavit. Et aliquandiu Trebellius eâ re non perterritus aderat, peritabatque in intercessione, quod omnia magis, quam perseveratum esse Gabinium, arbitrabatur. Sed postquam X. et VII. tribus rogationem acciperunt, et una mens esset Populi, qui supererat, ut jussu conficeret, remisit intercessionem Trebellius; atque ita legem Gabinus de piratis persequendis pertulit.

After this instance of Cicero's Plowden-justice, 'tis pleasant to observe the seriousness with which M. Rollin, on the present occasion, produces a sentence of Cicero, as if it was oracular.

"All that Tiberius had done hitherto (says M. Rollin) had at least the appearance of justice. But by an unprecedented, unheard of enterprise, to depose a Magistrate, whose person was sacred and inviolable, and this merely because he had made use of a privilege annexed to his office, was an action which immediately shocks the mind of every man. It is very obvious that Tiberius, thereby, entirely enervated the authority of the Tribuneship; and deprived the Commonwealth of a resource infinitely useful in times of trouble and division. For, as CICERO observes, What College is so desperately mad, that, of ten persons who compose it, not one is in his right senses? [Quod enim est tam desperatum Collegium, in quo nemo e decem sana mente sit?] Now the opposition of a single Tribune was sufficient to frustrate the evil intentions of the other nine. This Right of Opposition therefore was the

"Safeguard of the Republic, and Tiberius, by annihilating it, gave a mortal wound to the State."

It would be affronting the Reader to expose, by a long comment, the weakness of what is here said. But it should be observed,

1. That Octavius cannot properly be said to have been deposed, merely for making use of a privilege annexed to his office, but for traitorously abusing that privilege. It is obvious to every one, that there is no Magistrate, who may not so use the privileges annexed to his office, as to make it necessary to depose him.

2. That by the words, enervating the authority of the Tribuneship, our reverend author cannot mean enervating the authority of the College of Tribunes; for that was rather strengthened and augmented by the act of deposing Octavius. Nor can our author, by the words annihilating the Right of Opposition, mean any thing more, than that the People, at the motion of Tiberius, made a solemn declaration (enforced by an example) against the indefeasibleness of a Tribune's right to hold his office a whole year. For that the right of a Tribune, (while a Tribune) to oppose and obstruct his Collegues measures, still remained, and was occasionally used with effect, we have not only the example, above-mentioned, of Trebellius, but a notable instance in the affair of Jugurtha, when the Tribune Dabius had the matchless impudence to make himself a screen to the corrupt nobles, who had sold the troops and the honour of their country to the African King. Barbatus made use of the privilege annexed to his office to hinder the King from declaring the persons, with whom he had trafficked; though the whole assembly of the People expressed their earnest desires of a discovery. And by this instance we see in what manner we are to understand Cicero, when he speaks of a single Tribune's Right of Opposition to the measure of his Collegues united, as useful to the Republic. It was very useful to the Aristocratical Faction: For it would not often happen, that the College of Tribunes should be so universally benevolent, that not one of

Y. R. 620. "I dread all such reformatations as are only to be effected by the arbitrary will and unaccountable humour of one man, by a power, too
 Ref. Chr. "not delegated, but taken. I would rather see many abuses subsist,
 319 Conf. "than a *Cromwell*, a *Pisistratus*, a *Cæsar*, or (if you will) a *Græcebus*,
 P. 79. "assuming lawless power to redress them.

P. 78. "Is it not more eligible to suffer certain diseases in the body politic, even
 "certain great diseases, than to attempt to remove them by an expedient,
 "much more likely to destroy than to reform it; or which, if it reform
 "one abuse, yet tends to introduce the most horrible of all evils and
 "abuses, even tyranny and servitude? Now what is it that introduces
 "this greatest of all corruptions and calamities, but the power of one
 "man to do what he pleases? And was not *Tiberius Græcebus* that
 "man?"

I answer, No; he was not that man. He had not the power to do all the good he pleased; and it does not appear that he had the power to do any public evil whatsoever. If he assumed the supreme power in effect; if he was King for some months, as *Cicero* pretends, yet it is plain, from the history of his tribuneship, that he had no subjects to fight for him; and his supreme power was not a coercive one.

P. 79.
 De Amic.
 c. 12.

Pol. Dif.
 p. 30.

Doubtless it required great authority to effect so great good as *Tiberius* had in view: "Because the evil was far spread; all the great men in the Commonwealth were engaged in pride and interest to support it, and to oppose every remedy: since what removed That, must reduce Them; and terribly shorten their property, their figure and authority."

Yet *Tiberius*, to cure this far spread evil, assumed no lawless power. Except the legal power annexed to his office of Tribune, he had no power but what his eminent virtue, and manifest zeal for the public good, acquired him over the minds of the people. This indeed was great.

the ten could be corrupted. Now the opposition of a single Tribune was sufficient to frustrate the Good Intentions of the other Nine.

It may not be improper, while I am justifying the conduct of *Tiberius*, to take notice of the clamour raised by the nobles, when he stood for a second Tribuneship. Had *Tiberius* been re-elected to that office, it would have been just and constitutional, though it be granted that a law was submitted against such re-election. The Romans, without repealing their laws, frequently dispensed with them in the election of magistrates. They had done it twice, within a few years, in favour of *Scipio* the younger. They had a natural and indefeasible right so to do; and the Senators themselves approved of such dispensing with the laws, when they thought it for

See p. 527.

the good of the State, or when it would serve any purpose of their own ambition. When, in the year of Rome 397, the *Comitia*, through the influence of the Senate, were chusing two Patricians to the Consulship, in violation of the *Licinian* law, which required, that there should be always one plebeian Consul; and when the Tribunes, for that reason, opposed the proceeding, the Interrex, who presided in the assembly, answered, That, by a law of the twelve Tables, whatever the people decreed last, was law; and the votes of the people were their decree. Ut quodcumque postremum populus jussisset, id jus ratumque esset, justum populi esset suffragia esse. Liv. B. 7. c. 17. The Tribunes acquiesced, and the two Patricians were declared Consuls.

But,

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But, surely, no power can be more lawful, more salutary to a State, or less to be dreaded. "A virtuous man can never endanger liberty nor hurt society. Morality, with sense, is the only true standard of popularity, and the only just recommendation to it."

Y. R. 610.
Bel. Chr.
132.
319 Conf.

Now, that *Tiberius* was a *virtuous man*, and had *morality with sense*, we have the testimony of the warmest advocates for the *Aristocratical* faction. Both *Cicero* and *Patriculus* extol the talents and virtue of this Tribune; nor has either the one or the other of those writers any thing to object to him, but that he fell off from the *honest party*, he fell off from the *Senate* [*describit a bonis, describit a senatu*.] That is, he quitted the faction of the oppressors of their country, men determined to proceed in a course that was *contrary to all law and compassion, and directly tended to enslave Rome*.

P. 11.

Cic. de
Harrsp.
Resp. c. 19.
Vel. Pat.
1. 2.

And it seems, it was through want of wisdom that *Tiberius* persisted in the thought of humbling this imperious, oppressive faction. "*Laelius*, (says the writer of the *Political Discourses*) that accomplished *Roman*, the celebrated friend of the great *Scipio Africanus*, as virtuous and public-spirited a man as either of the *Gracchi*, and, I think, more wise, was sensibly touched with the same grievances, which so much piqued Them, and, whilst he was a Tribune of the people, conceived a design to cure them; but gave it over upon a view of its extreme difficulty and peril. Had he seen any prospect of succeeding, by methods that were not desperate and threatening to the Commonwealth, it is likely he would have pursued his intention. Surely the temptation was great to an honest and humane mind, to make the

Pol. Dis.
p. 60.

To what has been already mentioned (p. 521.) in proof of the high esteem, in which *Tiberius* was held, for sound judgment and integrity of heart, may be added the story concerning his intimate friend, *Blossius* of *Cumæ*, as related by *Plutarch*.

After the death of the Tribune, *Blossius*, who had been one of his agents, was seized, carried before the Consuls and examined. He readily confessed that he had done whatever *Tiberius* had directed him to do. — But (says *Nasica*) what if he had ordered you to set fire to the *Capitol*? *Blossius* answered; *Tiberius* was not capable of giving me such an order. All present persisting press him with the same question, he at length boldly said; If *Tiberius* had commanded me to set fire to the *Capitol*, I should have thought it my duty to obey him; being firmly persuaded, that he would not have given me that command but for the good of the People.

Cicero, in his discourse *de Amicitia*, makes *Laelius* relate the same story, with some difference of circumstances, representing *Blos-*

sus, not as judicially examined by the Consuls, but as privately interrogated by *Laelius*, whose protection he was come to ask. *Laelius*, upon the mention of *Blossius*'s answer (*Paruifsem*) cries out, *What a wicked answer!* [*Videtur quam nefaria vox.*] Yet if *Blossius* had expressed the like implicit confidence in the wisdom and virtue of *Scipio Aemilianus*, it is possible, that *Cicero* would not have inferred any thing from it to the disadvantage of *Blossius*, and would have inferred much to the advantage of *Scipio*.

* When *Cicero* [*de Harrsp. Resp. c. 20.*] imputes *Tiberius*'s forsaking the *honest party* to his resentment against the Senate, for their breaking the *Numantine* league, which had been negotiated by him; it seems just as candid and pertinent, as it would have been in *Catiline*, to impute the Consul's zeal, against him and his machinations, to personal hatred; because the conspirator had been *Cicero*'s competitor for the consulship.

rich

Y. R. 620. " "
B. 1. Ch. " "
133. " "
319 Conf. " "

rich and wanton restore the bread, which they had robbed from the poor and innocent, to cut up daring oppression by the roots, to restore the baffled laws to their former force, and to establish a just and equal administration in a free Commonwealth: But he would not attempt what he foresaw no man could accomplish without making himself master of all the rest; and *particular acts of injustice*, perhaps, seemed to him more tolerable than the tyranny, that is, the power, of one over all. The *Gracchi* actually assumed and exercised that power, which, had not they been destroyed, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed the Republic."

Liberty and the Republic are cant-words, where the bulk of a people have neither property, nor the privilege of living by their labour. Did our laws allow of any slavery in this island; and should the landed gentlemen, the proprietors of large estates, in order to make the most of them, take them out of the hands of their tenants, and import *Negroes* to cultivate the farms; so that the *British* husbandmen and labourers, far from having any encouragement to marry, had no means to subsist: Would an universal practice of this sort be called *particular acts of injustice*? And could no public-spirited, popular man attempt a cure of this evil, without being seditious, because the evil was so spread, and he knew, that *the great and the rich were engaged in pride and interest to support it, and to oppose every remedy*? And the case in question was much stronger than what is here put; the lands, which the poor *Romans* were not suffered to cultivate, being of right their own, and detained from them by daring usurpers and oppressors.

But, according to the writer of the Political Discourses, the future evils to be apprehended from the cure of the present, were greater than the present; because this cure *no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest*: And so *Laelius* would not attempt it, because he would by no means be master of all the rest; the present evils, perhaps, seeming to him more tolerable, than his having power over all. I can hardly believe that *Laelius* was diverted, by this consideration, from attempting, when Tribune, to succour and set free, by wholesome laws, the distressed and enslaved plebeians. Is it not much more probable, that fear for his own safety, his fear of the resentment of the rich oppressors, ~~and~~ the better of his patriot inclinations? And perhaps his connexion with that same *Scipio Africanus*, who was so much a party-man, and had so little virtue, as to approve of his cousin's introducing armed slaves into an assembly of the legislature and murdering a Tribune, had no small influence in determining the conduct of the public-spirited man, *more wise than either of the Gracchi*.

I might here ask, how came *Laelius* to foresee so clearly, that the reformations in question no man could accomplish, without making himself master of all the rest? According to *Plutarch*, the men of the highest

highest reputation at Rome, for virtue and sound judgment, did not foresee this terrible consequence. Among these were *Mucius Scaevola*, an eminent Civilian, and then Consul; *Appius Claudius*, President of the Senate; and *Crassus* [soon after] *Pontifex Maximus*. We do not find, that *Licinius Stolo* (a man not so virtuous as *Tiberius Gracchus*, not so pure in his motives, nor so justifiable in his proceedings) either aimed at the tyranny, or was thought to aim at it; though his adversaries might, perhaps, in passion throw out words of that import. He achieved his enterprize, and to the advantage of the public. His laws produced that union at home, which made the Romans so successful in their wars abroad; an union, that was never totally broke, till, by the gradual, but at length outrageous violation of his *Agrarian law*, oppression became intolerable.

To the question, put by our author, "What is it that introduces this
"greatest of all corruptions and calamities [tyranny and servitude] but
"the power of *one man* to do what he pleases?" I answer, (in his own
manner) The power of *a few* to do what *they* please. The rich noble,
had usurped this power. And *Gracchus's* attempt, therefore, was to
overturn a power which, if not overturned, would introduce the greatest
of all corruptions and calamities, tyranny and servitude. "In a free
"state—the overgrown riches, and consequently power of one, or a
"few, tend directly to the enthralling of all;" — and "there could
"therefore be nothing more just, nothing more equitable, or more con-
"ducive to mutual peace among fellow citizens, and to the equality so
"necessary in a free state—than the ascertaining the *Agrarian law*, and
"restoring the usurped lands to the injured and necessitous proprietors.
BUT, though "the professions of the *Gracchi* were plausible; and
"the open and daring abuses of the nobility furnished them with fair
pretences,—Who knows their intentions?"

We commonly judge of men's intentions by their known characters,
their past conduct, the nature of their new undertakings, and the means they
employ to accomplish them. Now, in all these respects, *Tiberius*, as we
have seen, stands in the fairest light. I am not speaking of *Cato*. If the
latter, from an eager desire to revenge the murder of a brother, was car-
ried to some excesses, this affects not the present question. *Tiberius*, to
"THE STATE, did some things that were out of the ordinary meth-
ods, but nothing unjustifiable, or unconstitutional. And to say, that, by
procuring such benefits to the people as he proposed, he would have ac-
quired that tyranny over them, from which the benefits themselves were
a natural preservative, would not be very logical. His purpose was not

* *Cicero*, (in *Orat. pro Planc. c. 36.*) would persuade us, that *Scaevola* changed his opinion, and that he [who did not think, that his office of Consul authorised him to put any citizen to death, before le-
gal condemnation, yet] that *Tiberius* was killed, defended, as a just action, a private man's taking arms for that end. But are we to believe every thing, that *Cicero* relates of party-matters?

V. R. 620. to enrich legionary soldiers under his command and in his devotion;
 B. f. Chr. but to rescue the poor Romans from misery and oppression, raise them
 132.
 319 Conf. above all temptation to sell what yet remained of their liberty, and rein-
 state them in the possession of what they had lost of it. In a word, the
 reformations he undertook were in their own nature (as our author speaks)
conducting to that equality so necessary in a free state.

I could wish, that a writer, who makes this concession, had told us, how that equality, so necessary in a free state, could have been preserved, or rather restored, in *Rome*, without such reformation as *Tiberius* had in view; and, if such reformations were needful for restoring such necessary equality, by what other means they could have been brought about, than by the efforts and influence of one or a few such men as *Tiberius Gracchus* (many such were never to be found living, at the same time, in any one nation of the world:). Or whether we must adhere to this maxim, That it is more eligible, to have far spread evils, abuses *directly tending to enslave a people*, subsist, than to incur the danger of slavery, by suffering one, or a few, virtuous, public-spirited men to live, if they happen to be possessed of so much authority as is necessary to accomplish the cure of those evils and abuses.

It is asserted in *the Discourses* (as we have seen) that “the *Gracchi* “*assumed that power*, which, if they had not been destroyed, would “in all likelihood have destroyed the Republic.” I have already observed, that there appears no proof of *Tiberius’s* assuming any power: nor can I see that the power, he had, would, in all likelihood, have destroyed the Republic, if he himself had not been destroyed. But this, I imagine, every body must see, that the power assumed, by the Senate, to destroy *Tiberius*, did, in all certainty, destroy the Commonwealth.

And thus much the learned writer of the Life of *Cicero* has found himself obliged to allow. For though he treats both the *Gracchi* as seditious, yet he imputes the destruction of *Roman* liberty, not to their sedition, but to the measures taken by the Senate to suppress it.

Dr. Mudd.
 P. 1. 1.
 Hist. of the
 Life of Cic.
 p. 38.

“It must seem strange to observe, how those two illustrious brothers, who, of all men, were the dearest to the *Roman* people, yet upon the first resort to arms [by the nobles,] were severally deserted by the multitude, in the very height of their authority, and suffered “to be cruelly massacred in the face of the whole city: Which shews, “what little stress is to be laid on the assistance of the populace, when “the dispute comes to blows; and that sedition, though it may often “shake, yet will never destroy a free State, while it continues unarmed “and unsupported by a military force. But *this vigorous conduct* of the “Senate, though it seemed necessary to the present quiet of the city, yet soon

“Not more necessary, I presume, to the wards, *Marius’s* massacres and *Sylla’s* pro-
 present quiet of the city, than were, after- scriptions, to the like quiet.

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" *after proved fatal to it*; as it taught all the ambitious, by a most sensible
 " experiment, that there was no way of supporting an usurped authority,
 " but by force: So that from this time, as we shall find in the following
 " story, all those who aspired to extraordinary powers, and a domi-
 " nion in the Republic, seldom troubled themselves with what the Senate
 " or people were voting at *Rome*, but came attended by armies to en-
 " force their pretensions, which were always decided by the longest sword.

Y. R. 620.
 Ref. Chr.
 132.
 319 Conf.

" The popularity of the *Gracchi* was founded on the real affections
 " of the people, gained by many extraordinary privileges and substantial
 " benefits conferred upon them: But when force was found necessary
 " to controul the authority of the Senate, and to support that interest,
 " which was falsely called popular, instead of courting the multitude by
 " real services and beneficial laws, *it was found a much shorter way, to*
 " *corrupt them by money*; a method wholly unknown in the times of the
 " *Gracchi*, by which the men of power had always a number of mer-
 " cenaries at their devotion, ready to fill the forum at any warning, who
 " by clamour and violence carried all before them in the public assem-
 " blies, and came prepared to ratify whatever was proposed to them: this
 " kept up the form of a legal proceeding; while by the terror of arms,
 " and a superior force, the great could easily support, and carry into
 " execution, whatever votes they had once procured in their favour by
 " faction and BRIBERY."

To this I shall only add, that it seems hard to conceive, how that
 BRIBERY, so fatal in its consequences, could possibly have been pre-
 vented, but by such regulations, as *Tiberius Gracchus* proposed: Regu-
 lations, which had they taken place, the ambitious would not have had
 the power they afterwards possessed, of *corrupting*; nor the people,
 through indigence, have been tempted to barter their liberty for gold.
Tiberius doubtless foresaw, that the Commonwealth must perish, unless
 some effectual measures were taken to crush the monstrous heads of that
 oligarchy which already began to shew itself, and which, if not destroyed,
 would infallibly produce another monster, more hideous, if possible, *Mo-
 narchic Despotism*. The generous Tribune hazarded and lost his life in the
 pursuit of so glorious an enterprize; and, if his character, his views, his
 conduct be impartially considered, I cannot imagine, but he must appear
 the most accomplished Patriot that ever *Rome* produced.

C H A P. VIII.

A brief relation of the servile war in Sicily.

After some years the slaves are quelled.

*Aristonicus, having seated himself in the throne of Pergamus, is dispossessed
 by the Romans.*

THE Consular Fasces were transferred to *P. Popillius Lænas* and
P. Rupilius. Rome had now no war abroad to sustain, but
 Z z z z

Y. R. 621
 Ref. Chr.
 133.
 against 320 y.

Y. R. 621
Ecl. Chr.
131.
320 Conf.

Diod. Sicul.
in l. 13.
B. 34.
Florin. B.
3. c. 19.

against the revolted slaves in Sicily; a war which had already lasted some years, and was kindled upon the following occasion. The best estates in that country were in the hands of some rich men of the natives, and of the Roman knights (those opulent publicans) who, finding their account more in employing slaves, than husbandmen of free condition, to cultivate the farms, had transported such multitudes of slaves thither, that the island swarmed with them. The ill treatment these wretches suffered from their masters, who scarce allowed them necessary food or raiment, put them upon seeking, by rapine, what was needful for the support of life. They frequently went out in gangs, plundered villages, and exercised all kinds of violence. The several Prætors, successively sent from Rome into the island, had, out of fear of the masters to whom the slaves belonged, neglected doing any thing effectual to remedy these disorders: For the Roman knights were a powerful body, whom it was dangerous to disoblige. Impunity naturally increased the mischief; the slaves grew daily more licentious; and their going out in bands, to rob, gave them an opportunity of forming plots to deliver themselves from the yoke of servitude.

It happened that one *Antigenes*, a Sicilian, had a Syrian slave, named *Eunus*; a man of spirit, and who had a particular talent for imposing on the multitude. He pretended to have, by dreams and sensible apparitions, intercourse with the Gods. By breathing flames out of his mouth, and a variety of other juggling tricks, he got at length into such vogue, as to pass for an oracle. Whole crouds came to him, to be told their fortunes. As to himself, he constantly published that his destiny was to be a King. His master, diverted with this whim, used frequently, when at table, to question him concerning his future royalty, and the manner in which he would treat each of the guests then present. According to his different answers, some insulted him, others sent him meat from the table, craving his future protection, when he should be upon his throne. The jest proved serious in the event, as we shall presently see, and *Eunus* did not forget the different treatment he had met with from his master's guests.

Among those who repaired to this prophet for advice, there came at length the slaves of one *Damophilus* of Enna, a man of a brutal character, and who had a wife no less inhuman. Cruelly treated by both, the slaves had formed a plot to murder both. However, before they proceeded to action, they thought it adviseable to ask the oracle of the country. Whether the Gods would prosper them in an enterprize they were meditating? *Eunus* answered, That whatever were their project, it was agreeable to the Gods, and would infallibly succeed, provided they did not defer the execution. The slaves, thereupon, to the number of 400, armed with forks and scythes, and other rustic weapons, assembled themselves in all haste, put *Eunus* at their head, and straight marched to Enna; where, being joined by the slaves of the town, they massacred

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massacred the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, and plundered the houses. As for *Damophilus*, *Eunus*, to try him in form, erected, in the public theatre, a court of judicature, where he himself presided. Some of those slaves, whom the prisoner had treated barbarously, made themselves the accusers; and the multitude was judge. *Damophilus* pleaded earnestly for himself, and moved many to compassion; but *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two slaves, more spirited with revenge, and more audacious than the rest, approaching the accused, one of them, without farther ceremony, ran him through with a sword, and the other cut off his head with an ax. And now *Eunus* was elected King, not for his valour or skill in martial affairs, but on account of his pretended inspirations. He began his reign by putting to death all the prisoners, except such as could make arms, and those of his master's acquaintance who had used him civilly. He also gave up *Damophilus's* wife, *Magallis*, into the hands of her women slaves, who, when they had whipped and otherways tormented her as much as they pleased, threw her head-long down a precipice: But as for her daughter, who had always disapproved the barbarity of her parents, and shewed great compassion to the slaves, they treated her with all imaginable respect and tenderness, and conveyed her safely to *Catana*, where they delivered her into the care of some of her relations. *Eunus* with his own hands slew *Perio* and *Antigenes*, the two masters he had successively served. After which putting the regal circle on his head, and assuming the other ornaments of sovereignty, he took the name of *Antiochus*, and called his followers *Syrians*. His next affair was to establish a form of government among his subjects. He chose out some of the ablest men to be his council, and gave the command of his troops to an *Assyrian*, an old soldier, who by his bravery and experience was qualified to command a better army. In three days, his followers increasing to more than 6000 men, he commenced his military expeditions. It was in the year of Rome 615, that this tumult began, *Didius* being then Prætor of *Sicily*. In 616, *Manilius*, who succeeded him, was defeated by the rebels, and his camp plundered. The like misfortune happened to *P. Cornutus Lentulus* in 617; and in 618, when *Calpurnius Piso* was Prætor, *Eunus* had still the advantage over the *Romans*. Three Prætors, thus vanquished successively by the slaves, struck a terror throughout the whole island. *Eunus's* army grew daily more numerous. *Cleon*, a *Gibonian* slave, had taken it into his head to imitate him; and, having got together 5000 slaves, had pillaged *Agrigentum*, and the territory about it. It was hoped at first, that these two leaders would be competitors for dominion, and destroy one another; but, contrary to all men's expectations, they joined forces, and *Cleon* served as General under *Eunus*.

The *Roman* affairs were in this bad situation, when the Prætor *Plautius Hypsæus*, in the year 619, came into *Sicily*, to restore them. Far from succeeding, he suffered a total defeat by the rebels; whose army,

V. R. 621. after this victory, augmented to near 200,000 men, they ravaged the whole country, and took many cities.

^{151.}
320 Conf. The example of the slaves in *Sicily* infected those in *Italy* and *Greece*, and occasioned insurrections there. These, however, were easily quelled.

To reduce King *Antiochus* and his *Syrians*, the Senate, in the year 619, thought it expedient to send a Consular army, under the command of *Fulvius*, the colleague of *Scipio*. What fortune *Fulvius* had, the Historians have not told us. His successor, *Calpurnius Piso*, one of the Consuls for the year 620, having first restored discipline, that was much relaxed among the troops, overthrew the slaves before *Messana*, to which they had laid siege: Eight thousand of them perished in the action, and the prisoners were all crucified. Notwithstanding this victory, the war continued, till *Rupilius*, one of the Consuls of the present year 621, had the command of the Roman forces. After his arrival in the island, he successively laid siege to *Tauromenium* and *Enna*, the strongest places in the possession of the slaves. Both were betrayed into his hands. Twenty thousand of the rebels are said to have been cut off. *Eunus*, with 600 of his guards, escaped from *Enna*, and took refuge in a steep rocky place. Being there invested by the Romans, and having no hope to escape, the 600 slew one another, to avoid a more painful death. King *Eunus* hid himself in a cave, whence he was quickly dragged out, together with his cook, his baker, the man that used to rub him when he bathed, and a buffoon, whose business had been to divert him at his meals. *Rupilius* sent him in chains to *Murgentia*; where, consumed with vermin, he miserably ended his days in prison.

THIS rebellion was no sooner suppressed, than the Republic entered upon a new war in *Asia*, to make good her claim to the country of *Pergamus*; a claim founded, as we have before observed, on the testament of *Attalus Philometor*. *Aristonicus*, a bastard brother of *Attalus*, assisted by the *Thracians* from the other side of the *Bosphorus*, as likewise by a strong party of the *Pergamenians*, had got possession of the throne; and, to dispossess him, it was thought, at *Rome*, that no less than a Consular army would be requisite. But now a warm dispute arose between the Consuls, *P. Licinius Crassus* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, for the honour of commanding in this expedition. *Crassus*, in virtue of his authority as *Pontifex Maximus*, subjected his colleague, who was *Flamen*, or priest of *Mars*, to a fine, in case he left his priestly functions. On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended, that a *Supreme Pontif* was, by his office, incapable of commanding an army out of *Italy*: And indeed there had been hitherto no example of it. The decision of the affair devolved at length upon the people; and then a third party appeared in favour of *Scipio Africanus*, lately arrived from *Spain*. *Crassus* carried his point. *Scipio* had for him the votes of only two tribes; and these were, perhaps, more than he had reason to expect, considering he was

Liv. Epit.
B. 59.

Cic. Ph. lip.
21. 8.

was

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was now but a private man, and the people, in general, not well affected to him: For it was publicly known, that, when at *Numantia* he received the news of *Tiberius's* death, he repeated a line out of *Homer* to this effect: 543
Y. R. 67
B. C. 133
C. 133

So perish all who imitate his crimes.

He soon confirmed the multitude in their dislike to him. *C. Papirius Carbo*, a bold man and a great orator, but of no character for virtue, was at this time in the tribuneship, and warmly espoused the cause of the people against the nobles. One day, in a public assembly, he called to *Scipio*, and asked him, What he thought of the death of *Tiberius*? meaning probably, by this question, to draw an answer from him that would hurt his credit, either with the Senate or the people. *Scipio*, without hesitation, declared, that, in his opinion, *Tiberius was justly slain*. And, when the multitude let him know their displeasure by a loud cry, he boldly returned, "Cease your noise: Do you think, by your clamour, to frighten me, who am used, unterrified, to hear the shouts of embattled enemies?" Cic. pro
Milon. c.
1. & de
Orat. l.
2. c. 25
Vall. p. 1
B. 1.

THE law, formerly mentioned *, enacting, that the people should vote by tablets, in making and repealing laws, was now obtained by this *Carbo*. He offered another, importing, that the same person might be re-elected to the tribuneship, as often as the people pleased. The party of the nobles, in opposing this, employed their whole credit; and the eloquence of *Scipio* and his friend *Laelius*, thus assisted, prevailed against that of *C. Gracchus* and *Carbo*. Vall. M.
B. 6.
S. 11.

This year the Comitia, for the first time, chose both the Censors out of the plebeian order: They were *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* and *Q. Pompeius*. That the Roman people might increase and multiply, *Metellus* published a Censorial edict, recommending marriage; and, on that subject, made a speech, of which *A. Gellius* has preserved two fragments, but ascribes them to *Metellus Numidicus*. Liv. 1. 10.
L. 59.
A. Gell. 1.
1. c. 6.

"If, *Romans*, the race of men could be preserved without wives, we should all spare ourselves the trouble of them: but since nature has so ordered it, that there is no living comfortably with them, nor living at all without them, we ought to have more regard to the welfare and perpetuity of the Republic, than to the ease of a life that is of so short duration."

Speaking of the corruption of manners, "The immortal Gods are powerful; but we have no right to expect, they should be more indulgent to us than are our parents. Now, if we persist in evil courses, our parents disinherit us. What then have we to hope from the Gods, if we do not put an end to our extravagancies? Those

* Ως ἀνύλοις καὶ ἄλλοις ὅτις τοιαῦτα γε φέροι. *Odys. L. 1. l. 47.* "only,

Y. R. 622. "only, who are not enemies to themselves, have a title to their favour.
Bel. Chr. "It is the part of the Gods to reward virtue, not to give it."

130.
321 Conf. WE left the Consul *Craſſus* juſt appointed to conduct an expedition into the *Eaſt*. He entered the territories of *Pergamus* at the head of a powerful army, ſtrengthened by auxiliaries from *Mitbridates* King of *Pontus* (father of the famous King of that name) and from the Kings of *Cappadocia*, *Bitkynia*, and *Paphlagonia*. According to *Juſtin*, the Roman General was more intent on plundering the country, than gaining a victory. Towards the end of the year, being on a march, he was attacked by the enemy, his whole army routed, and he himſelf taken priſoner: Yet he avoided the diſgrace of ſlavery, being killed by a *Thracian* ſoldier, whom he purpoſely provoked by thruſting a rod into his eye ^b.

In the appointment of Conſuls for the new year, the choice fell upon *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna*; the latter (if we may believe *Valerius Maximus*) not a Roman citizen at the time of his election. *Perperna* being commiſſioned to proſecute the war againſt the King of *Pergamus*, vanquiſhed him in the field, and afterwards took him priſoner in *Siratonice*, where he had ſhut himſelf up. The Conſul put the treaſures of *Attalus*, together with *Ariſtonicus*, on board the fleet, to be conveyed to *Rome*; but, dying ſoon after in *Aſia*, left to his ſucceſſor the honour of leading the captive in triumph.

ATINIUS LABEO, one of the Tribunes of this year, to revenge himſelf on the Cenſor *Metellus Macedonicus*, who (according to *Pliny*) had expelled him the Senate, made a moſt outrageous attempt upon his life. As the Cenſor was returning home from the *Campus Martius* at noon-day, the ſtreets of *Rome* empty of people, the Tribune cauſed him to be ſeized, and was dragging him away, to throw him headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, when another of the Tribunes, at the requeſt of *Metellus's* ſons, came and reſcued him. *Atinius* nevertheleſs conſecrated to *Ceres* the eſtate of *Metellus*, and thereby reduced him to live upon the bounty of others.

The ſame *Atinius* got a law paſſed, that the Tribunes of the people ſhould be Senators, which they were not before this time, though they had a right of convening the Senate ^c. *M. Aquil-*

^b *Strabo* reports that *Craſſus* was ſlain in battle.

^c Nam et tribunis plebis ſenatus habendi jus erat, quamquam SENATORES non eſſent, ante *Atinium* Plebeſciturum.

What is meant here by the word SENATORES I cannot pretend to ſay. According to the learned writer of the *History of the life of Cæſar* ^{*}, it ſhould mean complete Senators, like thoſe that were enrolled in the Cenſorial liſt. For he ſuppoſes, that the *Quæſtorſhip* was the firſt ſtep in the le-

gal aſcent and gradation of public honours, and the office of Tribune or *Bædile* the next, and that the *Quæſtorſhip* gave an immediate right to the Senate, and, after the expiration of the office, an actual admiſſion into it during life. He adds: "And though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, none were held to be complete Senators till they were enrolled at the next *Lustrum*, in the liſt of the Cenſors, yet that was only matter of form, and what could not be denied to them, unleſs for the charge " and

* Dr. Midd.
Life of Cæſ.
v. i. p. 57.
and 72.

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M. Aquilius, raised to the Consulship with *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, finished the reduction of *Pergamus*, by the basest methods. He poisoned the springs from which the towns that held out against him were supplied with water. Yet the *Romans* not only continued him in the government of *Pergamus* three years after the expiration of his Consulship, but suffered him, when he came home, to triumph for his exploits.

Before his return, the Senate nominated ten Commissioners, of whom *Aquilius* was chief, to reduce the kingdom into the form of a province; and, by way of recompence for the services of *Antiochus*, King of *Cappadocia*, who lost his life in the war, bestowed on his children *Lycania* and *Cilicia*: and *Appian* says, that *Aquilius* sold the *Greater Phrygia* to *Mithridates* for a sum of money, but that the Senate afterwards annulled the bargain. Be that as it will, it was not long before the Republic claimed, as her own, *Ionis*, *Eolis*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Doris*, *Lycania*, *Pisidia*, and the two *Phrygia's*; and the whole, including *Perga-*

“ and notoriety of some crime, for which
“ every other Senator was equally liable to
“ be degraded. *These Quæstors*, therefore,
“ chosen annually by the people, were
“ the regular and ordinary supply of the va-
“ cancies of the Senate, which consisted at
“ this time of about five hundred: by
“ which excellent institution, the way to
“ the highest order in the State was laid
“ open to the virtue and industry of every
“ private citizen; and the dignity of this
“ sovereign council maintained by a suc-
“ cession of members, whose distinguished
“ merit had first recommended them to
“ the notice and favour of their country-
“ men.”

The learned writer, in support of what is here said, gives, in the margin, the following passages from *Cicero*: *Quæstura primus gradus honoris*—[in *Vorr. Act. 1. 4.*] *Populum Romanum, cuius honoribus in amplissimo concilio, et in altissimo gradu dignitatis, atque in hac omnium terrarum ære collocati sumus.* [Post red. ad Sen. 1.] *Ita magistratus annuos creaverunt, ut concilium senatus reip. proponerent sempiternum; deligerentur autem in id concilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industria ac virtuti pateret, Pro Sext. 65.*

That from *Sylla's* Dictatorship to the time of *Cicero's* Quæstorship (a short period of six or seven years) the *Quæstors* were the regular and ordinary supply of the va-

cancies of the Senate (though, perhaps, it cannot be proved) may well easily be imagined; because the *Quæstors*, chosen annually, were then twenty in number. But it plainly appears from the words immediately preceding those which are quoted from *Cic. pro Sext.* that the passage refers to the times before *Sylla*, and even to the earliest times of the Republic. *Magistratus nostris, cum regum potestatem non tulissent, non magistratus annuos creaverunt, &c.* Now the number of *Quæstors*, annually chosen, was, to the year of *Rome* 333, only two; from that time to 388, but four; and thence to *Sylla's* dictatorship, (in 672.) did not exceed eight; which last and largest number, if sufficient to supply the vacancies of a Senate consisting of 300 members (many of whom serving in the wars, some must be supposed to perish in battle) yet certainly could not be sufficient to furnish annually ten new Tribunes and four new *Aediles*. Of these fourteen magistrates, who are all supposed, by the learned historian, to have places in the Senate, six must every year, taking one year with another, obtain their magistracies, and rise to the Senate, without passing through the office of *Quæstor*.

That in all the ages of the Republic the *magistrates, chosen annually*, were the ordinary supply of the vacancies in the Senate, seems highly probable from the passages quoted by the learned historian, and from many others. See *Cic. pro Rab. c. 7. U pro Cluent. c. 56.*

mus, was called the Province of *Asia*. From this conquest arose that perpetual commerce of *Rome* with the *Asiatics*; and hence that excess of luxury, and that refinement in vice, which compleated the corruption of *Roman* manners.

C H A P. IX.

The measures taken by the Senate to hinder the execution of the Agrarian law.

The death of Scipio Africanus.

Caius Gracchus executes the office of Quæstor with applause. He is raised to the Tribuneship. He procures several laws in favour of the people.

The Romans possess themselves of Majorca and Minorca; and subdue a Nation of the Transalpine Gauls.

Y. R. 624.
Bct. Chr.
128.
323 Conf.

OF the three Commissioners, for resuming and dividing the public lands, *P. Crassus* and *Appius Claudius* were now dead. In the place of these, the people elected *Papirius Carbo* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, men of no probity, and of very turbulent dispositions. *Appian* tells us, that when the Triumvirs attempted to put in execution the *Agrarian* law, numberless disputes arose concerning the boundaries of estates, and the titles of the possessors; that many of the *Italians*, finding themselves aggrieved by the judgments given in these causes, had recourse to *Scipio Africanus*, and begged his protection; and that *Scipio*, though he durst not act any thing directly against the law of *Tiberius*, yet engaged the Senate to take from the Triumvirs, as biased and partial judges, the cognizance of those disputes. The Fathers assigned it to the Consul *Sempronius Tuditanus*: But he, perceiving how difficult a province he should have to manage, left the city very soon, pretending that his presence was necessary in *Iapidia*, a canton of *Illyricum*, whither he had before been commissioned to go, on account of a rebellion in that country.

By his absence all those law-suits remained undecided; and consequently the functions of the Triumvirs were suspended: A disappointment to the people, which exceedingly provoked them against *Scipio*, the author of it. They reproached him, that, though contrary to the laws, they had twice raised him to the Consulship, he was not ashamed of appearing among their greatest enemies.

See in
Scipion.

Id. ib.

Ann. 623.

It is thought, and with good reason, that *Scipio* aspired to the Dictatorship, and that the Conscript Fathers intended to raise him to that supreme dignity, in order to settle the State; [in other words, to crush, by the weight of an absolute and uncontrollable power, all those men, good and bad, who espoused the cause of the injured people, against their oppressors.] He was, at this time, so great a favourite with the Senate, that one day

day the whole body of them, followed by a croud of *Latines* and other *Italians*, conducted him home from the Senate-house.

Next morning he was found dead in his bed, "*without any appearance of a wound*, says *Appian*: Whether it were that *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, in concert with her daughter *Sempronia*, the wife of *Scipio* (who, because she was barren and not handsome, did not love her, and who was not beloved by her) had *poisoned him*, lest he should get the *Agrarian* law repealed: Or whether it were, as some think, that *he killed himself*, because he found, he could not accomplish what he had undertaken. There are others (adds the same Historian) who say, that his slaves, being put to the torture, confessed, That certain *persons unknown*, who were admitted into the house by a back door, had *strangled him*; and that, as for themselves, they had not dared to discover this murder, because they knew that the People, hating *Scipio*, rejoiced at his death."

Cicero, in one part of his writings, introduces the orator *Crepellus* accusing *Carbo* of being an accomplice in the murder: And, in another part, presents *Laelius* as at a loss to say what death *Scipio* died.

Plutarch tells us, "That it was thought there appeared, on the dead body, some marks of blows and violence: That most people openly accused *Lulvius*, *Scipio's* declared enemy, and who, the day before, had, from the *Rostra*, broke out into bitter railings against him: That there was some suspicion even of *Caius Gracchus*: And that the People, for fear he should be found guilty, would not suffer any enquiry into the matter."

"No inquisition was made (says *Velleius Paterculus*) concerning the death of so great a man; and he, by whose exploits *Rome* had raised her head above all the world, was carried to his funeral with his head covered. Whether he died a natural death, as many au-

THORS

The writer of the *Lives of Illustrious Men* will have it, that *Scipio's* head was covered, to hinder the livid spot in his face from being seen. But if, as we learn from *Cicero* (*pro Murel.* c. 36.) and *Valerius Maximus*, (L. 7. c. 5. §. 1.) *Fabius* and *Tubero*, the nephews of *Scipio*, had the care of his funeral, it is hard to account for their causing his head to be covered, unless it were a trick, to hinder people from seeing that there were no marks of violence upon it, and consequently no ground for the calumnies industriously propagated.

From the variety of reports about the violence done to *Scipio*, and about the authors of it, it seems most probable, that prejudice and party-spirit invented the whole, and that *he died a natural death*; which

according to *Velleius Paterculus*, was the opinion of many authors.

The writer of the *Political Discourses*, prefixed to the new translation of *Sallust*, tells us, (p. 19.) that "*Cornelius Gracchus*—obeyed a scandalous neutrality and silence upon an enquiry into the death of *Scipio*, his brother-in-law." But, surely *Cornelius* was the last man, from whom it could be reasonably expected, that he should give himself much trouble to discover, whether *Scipio* was poisoned or not; a man who had publicly declared his approbation of the murder of his brother-in-law, *Cornelius's* own brother, *Tiberius*. And, as to *Cornelius's* clearing himself from suspicion, he would have aimed against the display of his own character, had he supposed, that any body

Y. R. 624. "THORS HAVE DELIVERED, or by treachery, as some have reported,
 Det. Chi. " [seu fatalem, ut plures, seu constatem infidiis, ut aliqui prodigere me-
 128. moriæ, mortem obiti, &c.] certain it is, that the glory of his life was
 373 Conf. " never surpassed but by that of his grandfather, the first *Africanus*. The
 " second finished his days in the 56th year of his age."

He was doubtless a man of letters, wit, and politeness; a fine gentleman; not only free from avarice, but noble and generous in money—could sincerely believe him capable of assassinating a man in his sleep.

I cannot but observe here, how easily *M. Rollin* (prepossessed against the popular cause and its patrons) not only gives up *Caius Gracchus*, and his sister *Sempronia*, as concerned in the assassination of her husband, *Scipio*, but involves likewise *Cornelia* in the guilt.

"It is not to be doubted (says *M. Rollin*)
 " but this murder was committed by the
 " faction of the *Gracchi*; and it is hard not
 " to believe, that *Caius* had a hand in it,
 " seeing all those with whom he had the
 " closest connexion were suspected. *Plutarch*
 " says expressly, that *Fulvius* was suspected.

"*Pompey* thought, that *Carbo* was certainly
 " guilty. *Sempronia*, sister of the *Gracchi*
 " and wife of *Scipio* is charged [i. e. reported
 " to have been suspected] " in the *Epitome* of
 " *Livy* and by *Orosius*; and *Appian* makes
 " her mother *Cornelia* an accomplice with
 " her in the murder." [i. e. *Appian* speaks
 " of such a rumour, but at the same time tells
 " us, that some were of opinion, that *Scipio*
 " killed himself.]

"From the testimonies of these different
 " authors it results, that *Sempronia*, readily
 " hearkening to the suggestions of *Cornelia* and
 " the *Triumvirs*, either poisoned her husband,
 " or brought into the House by night, assassins,
 " who strangled him."

It will appear the more extraordinary that
M. Rollin should by such testimonies be per-
 suaded, beyond all doubt, of the guilt of
Cornelia, if we turn to what he says of her,
 in other parts of his *Roman* history. [*Plutarch*
 is his voucher.]

Vol. ix. p. 6. " *Cornelia*, after the death of her husband,
 " (who left her 12 children) applied herself
 " to the care of her family with a wisdom
 " and prudence that acquired her great es-
 " teem. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ptolemy* king
 " of *Egypt* (it must have been *Ptolemy Phys-
 " con*) would have shared his crown with her,
 " and sent to ask her in marriage; but she
 " refused him. Certainly he would have
 " been a husband very unworthy of so ac-
 " complished a spouse."

She lost all her children; except one daughter, *Sempronia*, whom she married to *Scipio Africanus*; and two sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, whom she educated with so much care, that tho' they were generally known to be young men of excellent natural parts and dispositions, yet it was thought, that they owed still more to education than to nature.

"The body of * *Caius*—was carried to
 " *Misenum*, whither *Cornelia* had retired
 " after the death of *Tiberius*. She there
 " passed the remainder of her days, in a
 " country house, without changing any
 " thing in her manner of living. Her ex-
 " traordinary merit drew constantly a good
 " deal of company about her, men of let-
 " ters, and men of the first rank in the com-
 " monwealth. She charmed all her visitors
 " when she related the particulars of her
 " father's life, and described his manner of
 " living. But they were filled with admi-
 " ration, when, without shedding a tear,
 " or shewing any sign of grief, she gave the
 " history of all that her sons had done and
 " suffered, as if she had been speaking of
 " persons indifferent to her. When she
 " mentioned the *Sanctuaries* where they had
 " been slain, she used to say, *They were Tem-
 " ples worthy of the Gracchi*. This firmness of
 " soul seemed so extraordinary to some,
 " that they imagined her understanding im-
 " paired by years, and the weight of her
 " adversities. Senseless judges! (says *Plu-
 " tarch*) ignorant, how much an excellent
 " natural temper, and a good education,
 " can exalt the soul above fortune, and en-
 " able it to triumph over sorrow."

This accomplished lady, this excellent mother,
 so admirably skilled in the art of educating
 children, this elevated soul, so universally
 esteemed and revered to the end of her life,
 is the person of whom *Mr. Rollin* entertains
 no doubt, That she prompted and persuaded her
 daughter either to poison her husband, or to in-
 troduce assassins, by night, into the house, to
 strangle him.

affairs;

affairs; and, though his exploits in war are not very striking, a brave and able Commander. As for *Cicero's* extravagant praises of him, they may well be considered as the language of one party-zealot extolling another of the same party. There needs no better proof of *Cicero's* being determined, at any rate, to make him a hero of the first class, than his representing the war with the *Numantines*, as a contest whether *Rome's* victory over the *Cimbri* or not; and his comparing *Scipio's* victory over them with *M.*

SEMPRONIUS the Consul was defeated in his first battle with the *Iapidians*; but, in a second, he obtained to complete a victory, as to be rewarded with a triumph.

THE YEAR 625, (*Cn. Octavius* and *T. Annius Lysius* Consuls) proved a year of tranquillity, both at home and abroad; nor was the following Consulate of *L. Cassius Longinus* and *L. Cornelius Cinn* remarkable for any thing but the complaisance of the *Romans* for a people in their alliance. The Senate had ordered *Phocæa*, a city of *Asia*, to be raised; because the inhabitants had given assistance to *Aristomachus*. These, in their distress, had recourse to the mediation of the *Massilienses*¹, who came originally from *Phocæa*, and still preserved the language, and the form of government their ancestors brought from thence: And as the *Massilienses* had signalized their invariable attachment to *Rome* in doubtful times, as well as in those of her greatest prosperity, they had credit enough with the Senate, to get the sentence against the *Phocæans* reversed.

The next year, when the Consular Falces were transferred to *M. Fulvius Lepidus* and *L. Aurelius Orestes*, *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Quæstor, and appointed to serve under *Aurelius*, who had commission to pass with an army into *Sardinia*, on account of a rebellion in that island.

Caius, whilst a candidate for the Quæstorship, dreamt one night, that his brother *Tiberius* appeared to him, and said, *You may linger, Caius, and recoil, as much as you please; but you must die the same death with me; there is no avoiding it*². *Cicero* firmly believes that *Caius's* dream was a revelation of what was to happen to him; and *Plutarch* urges the same dream, as a proof that he entered into public life, rather by fatality than choice.

¹ Sic cum *Calaberis*, cum *Cimbriis* bellum, ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret. *Cic.* de Off. 1. 12. See *Orat. pro Manil. c. 20.* & *pro Maren. c. 28.*

² The people of *Massilia*.

³ *Plutarch* reports, that *Caius*, soon after the death of his brother, began to absent himself from the assemblies of the People, and to live a private life, as a man entirely discouraged from meddling with public affairs. This retreat however (if it can at all be reconciled with the commission of *Triumvir*) did not last long. For the very next year (as we have seen) he was busy in assisting *Carbo* to get his law passed concerning the

re-election of *Tribunes*. And, that in a public pleading he defended a friend of his, named *Vittus*, with an eloquence that astonished and transported the People, we have the authority of the same historian. As we shall presently find that *Caius*, in the year before his last *Tribunate*, and when he was but 20 years of age, had made 12 campaigns, it is evident he could not have spent a great deal of time in retirement.

⁴ Quam vellet constiterat, tamen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interiret, esse periculum—quo somnio quid invicem poterat certius?

⁵ The

Y. R. 650. T. *Quintilius Flamininus*.) His mother *Cornelia* is said to have employed all the arts of persuasion, as well as the most earnest intreaties, but in vain, to divert him from courting an office that had proved so fatal to his brother. The great and the rich had formed a powerful combination to dis-appoint him. But on the other hand, the People to favour his election, had, from all parts of *Italy*, flocked in such numbers to the city, that the Forum could not contain the multitude; so that many of them, getting upon the tops of the houses, had from thence given him their suffrages.

Caius Gracchus, bred to letters from his childhood, had, with solid and shining parts, unwearied application: his diction was copious, his expression full of dignity, his thoughts just, and the whole composition of his discourse grave and elevated. He is said to have been the first of the Roman orators that, in speaking, moved about in the *Rostra*, and used vehemence of action: and such care he took with regard to the modulation of his voice in his public harangues, as to have always behind him a musician, who, when he raised it too high, or sunk it too low, brought it, by means of a flagelet, to the proper pitch.

The murder of Tiberius—his body dragged from the Capitol through the streets and thrown into the Tiber,—his friends condemned to death by the nobles, without trial, or form of justice,—his own forlorn and distressful condition;—on these topics the eloquence of *Caius* had a peculiar force to move his hearers.—*Ab wretch! Whither turn myself? Where hide me?*—*The Capitol a refuge? There bleeds Tiberius, a BROTHER,—Fly HOME then? Disconsolate to behold a MOTHER, greatly miserable and despairing.* [*Quo me miser conferam? Quo vertam?—In CAPITOLIUM-ne? At FRATRIS sanguine redundat.—An DOMUM? MATREM-ne ut miseram, lamentantemque videam et abjectam?*] *Cicero* tells us, that when *Caius* uttered these words, such a power there was in his look, his action, the tone of his voice, that he drew tears even from his enemies^k.

Soon after his entering upon the tribuneship, he published two edicts. The first declared, that a magistrate deposed by the People, should be for ever incapable of any office in the state. This was levelled against *Ostavius*, deposed at the motion of *Tiberius*; but *Plutarch* informs us, that *Caius*, at the request of his mother *Cornelia*, to whom *Ostavius* was related, consented to the revocation of this edict. The other, which passed into a law, ordained, that no Roman citizen should be capitally tried, without an express order from the People^l.

Caius's next step was to get the *Agrarian* law of *Tiberius* enforced: But he added, a clause to it, charging the lands to be divided, with a

^k Quæ sic ab illo adesse constabat, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lacrimas tenere non possent. De Orat. L. 3. c. 56.

^l According to *Plutarch*, the law was to this effect, That any magistrate, who banished a Roman citizen, without a previous trial, should be brought into judgment before

the people: He adds, that this law was designed chiefly against *Pepilius*, who, when Prætor, had banished the friends of *Tiberius*, without observing the usual forms of justice; and that *Pepilius*, not daring to stand a prosecution, left *Italy*.

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certain annual tribute, payable into the treasury. After which he proposed and carried several other laws in favour of the commons.

Y. R. 630.
Bet. Chr.
113.
119 Conf.

One to forbid the enlisting any Roman citizen for the war, before the age of seventeen.

Another for cloathing the soldiers at the public expence, without retrenching any thing of their pay on that account.

A third, that in creating magistrates, the order, in which the Centuries should vote, should be determined by lot, and not by their Census, as formerly.

De Rep.
Ord. Ep. 1.
in Aug.
Sallust.
App. de
Bell.
Civ. l. 1.
p. 362.
Cic. 3. in
Ven. c. 6.
Flor. 3. 15.
Fest.

A fourth for a monthly distribution of corn to the People, at the expence of the treasury^a, as some authors say. Others write, that this fourth law was for lowering the price of corn: Be that as it will, the Tribune got the revenues of Attalus's late kingdom appropriated for supplying the corn; and, to hold it, built storehouses, which were afterwards called *the granaries of Sempronius*.

A fifth, for making high-ways: a work to which he applied himself with the greatest pleasure and diligence; carrying on these roads in a straight line, levelling the ground, and building bridges, where water courses or other hollows made it necessary; erecting mile stones^b, and on both sides of the road placing other stones, for the convenience of travellers in mounting their horses; for stirrups were not then in use.

Plot in
Gracch.

Caius in person directed the execution of these enterprizes, and had many other affairs upon his hands; yet was not oppressed or embarrassed with their weight or number. In his various intercourse with ambassadors, officers, soldiers, men of letters, architects, and workmen, he constantly preserved his gravity, dignity, and politeness, suiting himself to the rank and characters of the persons with whom he conversed; insomuch that even his enemies could not help admiring his superior talents.

WHILE the Tribune was thus busied in useful works of peace, the Consul Metellus conducted a war in the islands called *Baleares*^c. The inhabitants, says Strabo, were, generally speaking, of a peaceable disposition; but some of them having associated themselves with pirates, the Romans made this a pretext for invading and subduing the whole nation. It was effected without great difficulty, their chief offensive weapon being a sling. In the use of this, they are said to have been expert beyond any people in the world; being accustomed, when children, to earn their breakfast by their dexterity. The mother, for a mark, let up a piece of bread; and the hungry boy, placed at a certain distance, was obliged, with a stone from his sling, to hit the mark, before he was allowed to eat it.

Strabo B.
3. p. 167.
Flor. B.
3. c. 8.
Diod. Sic.
B. 5. c. 1.

Metellus built some towns in the conquered islands; and having trans-

^a Cicero, though he approves of moderate largesses to the People, condemns this of Caius as excessive, draining the treasury, and encouraging the poor in idleness. De Offic. L. 2. c. 21. et pro Sext. c. 48.

^b Hence the expressions in Latin authors; *tertio, quarto ab urbe lapide*, to signify three, four miles from the town.

^c Majorca and Minorca.

Y. R. 630. planted thither 3000 Romans from the Spanish colonies, returned to Rome, had a triumph, and took the surname of *Balearicus*.
 Ref. Chr. 122.
 329 Conf. In the mean time *Sextius Calvinus*, one of the Consuls of the last year, and now Proconsul, carried on the war, which his predecessor *Fulvius* had begun against the *Saluvii*, commanded in the field by their King *Teutomatius*. *Sextius* obtained a complete victory, and totally subdued the nation: After which he built a town in a place that abounded with excellent waters, both hot and cold; and, from his own name, called it *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix* [in *Provence*.] And here he established the first Roman colony that ever passed into *Transalpine Gaul*.
 Div. Epit. B. 61.

C H A P. X.

*Caius Gracchus is elected a second time to the Tribuneship.
 The politic management of the Senate to ruin his credit with the People.
 His party desert him. His death.*

App. de
 Bell.
 Civ. B. 1.
 p. 362.
 Plut. in
 Gracch.

A DECREE having been lately made by the Comitia, That if a Tribune wanted time to complete any useful undertaking, particular regard should be had to him at the next elections, *Caius Gracchus*, without any solicitation on his part, was rechosen to that office. Some few days before the meeting of the Centuries to name new Consuls, he told the People, in a speech from the *Rostra*, that he had one favour to ask of them, which, if he obtained it, he should look upon as a full recompence for all his services; nevertheless, that he should not complain, if it were refused. As he did not mention the thing desired, many persons imagined at first, that he intended to ask the Consulship, with permission to hold it, together with his office of Tribune. But, upon the day of election, he came into the assembly, leading by the hand *C. Fannius Strabo*, whom he recommended to the citizens for their votes. His view was to defeat the pretensions of *L. Opimius* (the destroyer of *Fregellæ*) one of the candidates, a man of great sway in the Senate, and whom *Plutarch* calls an oligarchic man. The people readily granted the request of their favourite Tribune, and raised *Fannius* to the Consular dignity with *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*.

Y. R. 631.
 Ref. Chr. 123.
 330 Conf.

It fell by lot to *Domitius* to continue the war beyond the *Alps*, and to his Collegue to administer affairs at home.

App. loc.
 cit. Vell.
 Pat. L. 2.
 Afcon.
 Pæd. in
 Divin.
 in Cæcil.
 n. r.
 Dr. Midd.
 Pref. to
 Lite of Cic.

Caius, in his second Tribuneship, passed a law, that took from the Senate the right of judicature, which they had exercised from the foundation of *Rome*, and transferred it to the knights. "This act [how sensibly soever it affected the Senate] was equitable; for as the Senators possessed all the magistracies and governments of the Empire, so they were the men, whose oppressions were the most severely felt, and most frequently complained of; yet, while the judgment of all causes continued in their hands, it was their common practice to favour and absolve one another in their turns, to the general scandal and injury,

¶ The epitome of *Livy*, (B. 60.) places this act in the first Tribuneship of *Caius*.

" both of the subjects and allies ; of which some late and notorious instances had given a plausible pretext for Gracchus's law ;" particularly, *Aurelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *M'. Acquilius* had been convicted of extortion, by most clear and undeniable proofs, yet had escaped punishment, thro' the corruption of their judges, corruption so manifest, that the Senate, lays *Appian*, were ashamed to make any opposition to the charge.

Plutarch tells us that *Caius*, when he proposed this new law, instead of turning his face to the Senate, as had hitherto been the custom of those who spoke from the *Rostra*, turned his face towards the People, and that he always continued this practice, meaning thereby to express the People's superior authority to that of the Senate. The same Historian adds, that the *Comitia* referred to *Caius* the choice of the knights that were to be judges.

The Tribune, to shew that what he acted in favour of the People did not proceed from passion, or any design to ruin the just authority of the Senate, procured a law, That this assembly should every year, before the election of Consuls and Prætors, determine which of the provinces should be consular, and which prætorian ; and that, with regard to the consular provinces, even the Tribunes should not have the right of *intercession*, or opposition. This law, tho' violated, on certain occasions, by some turbulent Tribunes, continued to the times of the Monarchy.

Caius passed a decree for planting colonies at *Casua* and *Tarentum*. And, if we may credit some writers, he actually obtained the right of Roman citizenship for the *Latins* and the other *Italian* allies.

The Senate, dreading lest his power should become irresistible, had recourse to a very extraordinary method, to gain from him the affections of the People. It was by loading them with such favours as should make those they had received, or yet expected from *Caius*, appear inconsiderable. In this view they applied themselves to *M. Livius Drusus*, one of the Tribunes, a man of good parts, natural and acquired, a great orator, and very rich ; and by their solicitations engaged him to combine with them against his colleague. *Drusus*, prostituting his office to serve their ends, promulgated laws, in which his aim was not the good of the People, but only the supplanting *Caius* in their esteem ; and

⁴ This custom was first introduced in the year 608, by *C. Licinius Crassus*, when endeavouring, in his Tribuneship, to transfer from the pontifical college to the People, the right of choosing priests. *Cic. de Amic. c. 25. Var. de re Rustic. l. 1. c. 2.*

Appian writes, That *Caius* invited the *Latins* to petition for the rights of Roman citizenship, and proposed, contrary to ancient custom, to give the right of suffrage to the other allies, designing to make use of their assistance, to get enacted the laws which he had in view. The Senate greatly alarmed at this project, passed a decree, That the Consuls should by edict forbid all

who had not the right of voting to be at *Rome*, or within five miles of it, till the *Comitia* should have determined with regard to the laws in question. They also persuaded *Livius Drusus*, the Collegue of *Caius*, to oppose the passing of the laws, without assigning a reason for his opposition, and gave the same right to any [Tribune] that would *intercede*. And to appease the populace, colonies were grafted, which being extremely agreeable to the multitude, they despised *Gracchus's* laws ; whereupon he, frustrated of the favour of the People, went into *Africa*, together with *Fulvius Flaccus*, to settle a colony, &c.

V. R. 631. B. Chr. 131. Conf.

Plut. in Gracch.

Cic. de Prov. Consul. c. 2. & 7. & pro. Dom. c. 9. Flor. B. 3. c. 11. S. Rust. Bell. Junth. Plut. in Grac. V. Pat. L. 2. Plut. loc. cit.

Y. R. 631. the Senate supported with their authority all the proposals of their creature. They had railed against *Caius* as a flatterer of the populace, for planting two colonies, tho' he had chosen out very worthy citizens for that purpose; but they aided *Drusus* in procuring a decree for planting twelve new colonies, each of 3000 *Romans*. When *Caius* distributed lands to the poor, he charged on those lands a certain yearly rent payable into the treasury, yet the Senate accused him of basely courting the people, for private views; but they approved of *Drusus's* remitting those rents to the possessors of the lands. They likewise assisted him to get a law passed, That no *Roman* General should cause any soldier of the *Latine* nations to be beaten with rods. The Tribune, on his part, never failed to declare publicly, that he made all his proposals by the advice of the Senate, ever solicitous for the good of the People: whose hatred to the nobles he, by this artful management, almost totally extinguished; and he himself rose to a high degree of favour. In one respect his conduct was more popular than that of *Caius Gracchus*; for *Drusus* constantly avoided meddling with the public money, and committed to others the charge of effecting of all that he ordained; whereas *Caius* took upon himself the execution of the most and the greatest of his projects.

Plut. in
Gracch.
App. de
Bell. Civ.
L. 1. p.
364.

Rubrius, one of the Tribunes, having passed a law for rebuilding *Carthage*, and settling there a colony of 6000 *Romans*, and it falling by lot to *Caius* to go at the head of this commission, he soon after embarked for *Africa*. The Senate did not dislike an enterprize which carried away from *Rome* the man they most hated, and, with him, a great number of Plebeians, the most troublesome to them in the *Comitia*: And *Drusus* laid hold of this opportunity to ingratiate himself farther with the multitude.

When *Caius* had spent about two months in raising, on the ruins of *Carthage*, a new city, which he called *Junonia*, he returned to *Rome*, on advice that his presence was necessary there, both to support his own credit, and to disappoint the views of *Opimius*, who now again stood candidate for the Consulship. *Plutarch* relates, that the Tribune, to make his court to the populace, took a house near the Forum, in a quarter inhabited by the meanest of the citizens, and that he then proposed the rest of his laws; but the Historian does not tell us what these laws imported. A vast crowd of people flocked from the country to *Rome*, to give their votes. The Consul *Fannius*, though raised to his office by the interest of *Caius*, had long since been gained over by the nobles; and now, in consequence of a decree of the Senate, he published a very extraordinary edict, forbidding any man of the allies to appear in the city, or (according to *Appian*) within five miles of it, while the proposed laws were under deliberation. *Caius*, on the other hand, by edict, encouraged the allies to remain in *Rome*, promising them his assistance against the Consul: Yet when, of these, he saw one, who had been his host, seized upon by *Fannius's* factors, he quietly suffered it; either, says *Plutarch*, because he

was

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was unwilling to discover the weakness of his party, then on the decline, or as he himself asserted, that he might not furnish his enemies with what they had hitherto sought in vain, a pretence for having recourse to arms. It is probable, that the intended laws were dropt, no further mention being made of them.

In the next Comitia for chusing Tribunes, *Caius*, a third time, stood candidate, and some say he had a majority for him; but his colleagues, whose business it was to count the votes, being displeased with him, made a false return. Be that as it will, he now missed his aim: And this disappointment was soon followed by the promotion of his enemy, *L. Opimius* (with *Q. Fabius Maximus*) to the Consulship; who, according to expectation, presently exerted the whole power of his office to procure the repeal of *Caius's* laws, and to get his proceedings at *Carthage* condemned. *Caius*, though in a disposition to be passive, yet, at the instigation of *Fulvius* the Triumvir, assembled his friends, in order to defeat the Consul's measures.

On the day fixed for proposing to the Comitia the abrogation of the laws in question, both parties, early in the morning, repaired to the Capitol. While the Consul was performing the customary sacrifice, *Q. Antyllius*, one of his lictors, carrying away the entrails of the victim, said to the friends of *Caius* and *Fulvius*, *Make way there, ye worthless citizens, for honest men*; and, as some add, he, at the same time, used an action, with his hand, indecent and contemptuous; in resentment of which they instantly fell upon him, and slew him with the pins of their table books.

The people in general were much disturbed at the rash and criminal act, and nobody more than *Caius*, who reproached his followers with having madly given their enemies a pretext for violence. *Opimius*, on the other hand, excited his party to take immediate revenge, imagining, he had now a favourable opportunity to destroy *Caius*; but a great rain obliged the multitude to separate.

Next day, while the Fathers, assembled by order of the Consul, were sitting, some of his creatures, having laid the dead body of *Antyllius* naked on a bier, carried it through the Forum to the Senate-house, making loud lamentation as they went along. *Opimius* pretended ignorance and surp, and, with all the Senators, went out to see what the matter was. The body being set down in the midst of them, they began to mourn and wail, as for some public and terrible calamity: A low, wretched farce, that could not but excite a hatred and detestation of the actors. They had, with premeditated malice, murdered, even in the Capitol, and when Tribune, that excellent citizen *Tiberius Gracchus*, and had thrown his dead body into the river; yet, when the corpse of a hireling lictor (who, if he had not merited his fate, had, at least, brought it upon himself by his imprudence) was exposed in the Forum, the Roman Senate, those venerable Fathers, stood round the bier, lamenting.

Plinius (B. 3. c. 15.) says, *Minucius*, a tribune, was going to abrogate the laws of *Gracchus*. According to *Appian*, the comitia assembled to determine only with regard to the affair of the colony at *Carthage*.

It was pretended that *Caius* ought to have desisted from the undertaking, on account of some prodigies, said to have happened, while he was laying the foundation of the city.

55

Y. R. 63
B. C. Chr
330 Conf.

Y. R. 63
B. C. Chr
330 Conf.

the

Y. R. 632.
Bef. Chr.
120.
332 Conf.
Cic. Phil.
8. c. 4.

the loss of so precious a life, and doing honour, by a solemnity of sorrow, to the dear, departed tipstaff: And this merely with a view to destroy the only protector of the *Roman* people. Being returned to the Senate house, they passed a decree, that the Consul *should defend the State*, vesting him, by this decree, with a Dictatorial power; a method of proceeding not authorised by law, but which had been sometimes practised by the Senate, in cases of sudden and extreme danger threatening the Republic. *Opimius* commanded all the Senators to take arms, and all the knights^a, each with two slaves well armed, to assemble the next morning. On the other side, *Fulvius* prepared to make resistance, and drew together a vast croud of people: who, with him, spent the night in drinking and boasting, he himself setting them the example. Next morning he led them in arms to mount *Aventine*, of which they took possession. When *Caius*, with only a short dagger, hid under his gown, was leaving his house, in order to join them, his wife fell on her knees before him at the threshold of the door; and, catching hold of him with one of her hands, while with the other she held her son, "You are leaving me, *Caius*, (said she) not to ascend the *Rostrum*, a Tribune, as heretofore, and a Legislator; not to take part in the dangers of a glorious war, where should you fall, my mourning would at least be honourable: You are going to expose yourself to the murderers of *Tiberius*; without arms indeed, and this is noble, rather to suffer, than to do an injury: But can the Republic reap any advantage from your destruction?—Iniquity now reigns; every thing is decided by violence and the sword.—Had your brother been slain before *Numantia*, a truce would have restored him to us dead:—Now, perhaps, I also must become a suppliant to some river or the sea, to discover where your body lies concealed: For, after the murder of *Tiberius*, how can you trust any longer to the protection either of the laws or of the Gods?" *Caius* stole himself gently from her, and went on silent with his friends to mount *Aventine*. There he persuaded *Fulvius* to send the younger of his sons, a beautiful youth, bearing a *Caduceus* in his hand, to make proposals of

^a The other Consul was probably, at this time, in his province, which was *Transalpine Gaul*.

It may seem strange that the knights should be employed to destroy *C. Gracchus*, who had procured them so great privileges: But there is a passage in *Sallust*, which gives ground to conjecture, that the principal men of the knights had been drawn away from the popular interest, by the hopes of being admitted into the Senate. The passage runs thus. Postquam *Tiberius* & *Caius Gracchus* vindicare plebem in libertatem, & paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere; nobilitas noxia, atque eo percussa, modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat,

Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierant, &c. Bell. Jug. Thus translated by Mr. Gordon; "After *Tiberius Gracchus* and his brother *Caius*—attempted to recover to the people their ancient liberties, and to expose to public view the iniquity and encroachments of a few domineering grandees; the nobility, conscious of their own guilt, and thence sorely dismayed, had recourse sometimes to the aid of our Italian allies, and to such as enjoyed the rights of *Latium*; sometimes to the Roman knights, (whom the hopes of a conspiracy in power with the Patricians had detached from the interest of the commonalty); and, thus assisted, set themselves forcibly to defeat the pursuits of the *Gracchi*, &c."

peace.

peace. The boy, with tears and a blushing modesty, executed his commission. Many of those who were with *Opimius* would have listened to an accommodation; but he answered, "That it was not by messengers *Fulvius* and his followers could make satisfaction to the Senate; that they must surrender themselves at mercy, as criminals convicted; and then, if they pleased, they might deprecate punishment." And he forbade the young herald to come any more, unless to signify the submission of those that sent him. On the report of this answer, *Caius*, as some say, would have gone in person to treat with the Senate, and endeavour to bring them to temper; but all his party disapproving this design, *Fulvius* sent his son with a second message to *Opimius*. The Consul in anger ordered the youth to be seized and detained prisoner. And now, impatient to come to blows, he instantly marched away towards the *Aventine* hill with a good-body of infantry and some *Cretan* archers. Being arrived there, he proclaimed pardon to all who should desert *Caius* and *Fulvius*; and to whoever should bring him the heads of those two men, he promised the weight of them in gold. The greater part of their followers are said to have abandoned them immediately, and the rest to have been, presently after, put to flight by the *Cretans*. *Fulvius* took refuge in an old bag-nio, whence he was dragged out and slain, together with his elder son. *Caius* made no attempt towards a defence; but, in much grief for what passed, retired to the temple of *Diana*; where he would have killed himself, if he had not been hindered by *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, two of his most faithful friends, who took his dagger from him, and persuaded him to fly. Coming to the bridge *Sublicius*, they exhorted him to make the best of his way, while they defended the entrance of the bridge; in which undertaking they fought so resolutely, that, till they were both slain, nor one of the pursuers could pass. Many of the people called out to *Caius* to make his escape; but no man, of all that multitude he had so much obliged, would furnish him with a horse, though he often asked for one as he passed along. He at length sought shelter in a certain wood consecrated to the *Furies*, where, perceiving the enemy approach to kill him, he chose to fall by the hand of a faithful slave; who, after he had done his master this last service, dispatched himself.

Caius's head was brought to the Consul by one *Septimuleius*, who had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with lead, that he might receive the greater weight of gold*. The cheat passed; and he had the promised reward: but the bearers of *Fulvius's* head, being mean people, could get nothing for it. The dead bodies of all the slain (to the number of 3000, according

Y. R. 613.
Bel. Chr.
177.
321 Cont.

Val. Max.
L. 6. c. 8.
§. 3.
Plut. loc.
cit.

* The head was found to weigh 17 pound 8 ounces. *Septimuleius*, some time after, desiring *Scævola*, Pro-consul of *Asia*, to take him with him into that province, and give him an employment, *Scævola* answered, "Why surely, friend, you have lost your senses; you don't consult your own interest. Stay here. There is such a multitude of bad ci-

tizens in *Rome*, that, take my word for it, you cannot fail to make a huge estate in a few years." *Cic. de Orat. L. 2. c. 67.*
† *Orosius* (B. 5. c. 12.) says, there were only 250 slain on the *Aventine* hill, but that *Opimius* put to death, without trial, above 3000 persons, most of them innocent.

Y. R. 632.
Bef. Chr.
120.
331 Conf.

cording to *Plutarch*) were, by the Consul's order, thrown into the *Tiber*. He confiscated their effects, forbade their widows to wear mourning for them, deprived *Caius's* widow of her dowry, and caused the younger son of *Fulvius* to be strangled in prison: And, after all these violences and bloody executions, he had the impudence to build a temple to *Concord*; thus glorying in his cruelty, and making the murder of so many citizens a matter of triumph.

The people in a short time resumed courage enough to erect statues to the *Gracchi*, and consecrate the places where they had been slain; and many worshipped there daily, as in the temples of the Gods: But the popular cause never recovered of the wound it received, by the murder of those two illustrious Patriots; there remained little more than the form of the antient constitution. The Tribunes themselves, for private advantage, combined with the nobles to injure and oppress the commons. The *Agrarian* law was gradually abrogated: First, leave was granted to every man, contrary to the tenor of it, to part with his share of the lands; which gave the rich an opportunity of making cheap purchases and even of seizing the properties of the defenceless plebeians without buying, which they commonly did. To these possessions a certain Tribune confirmed their titles, on condition of their paying an annual quit-rent, to be divided among the poorer citizens: This, says *Appian*, though some relief to the indigent, made no provision against the danger of depopulating the country of its free inhabitants. And, not long after, another Tribune remitted that quit-rent; so that the lower sort had nothing left: And, after the *Gracchi*, there never arose a Tribune, or any other magistrate, honest and generous enough to espouse the true interest of the people. Some indeed, to promote their selfish views, not only held up the buckler, but wielded the sword of what they stiled, the people's cause, proceeding to the most outrageous acts of violence and cruelty; till at length *Sylla*, having seized the Dictatorship, changed the very form of the Republic, almost annihilated the tribunitian power, and reduced the government to an Aristocracy. The civil contests henceforward were between the Senate, tenacious of the sovereign rule, and a few grandees, who sought to wrest it out of their hands; or between one grandee and another for the superiority, each supported by an army at his devotion: Contests, which, after much effusion of blood, had their final issue in the subjection of *Rome* to an absolute and confirmed Monarchy.

* L. 2. c. 7. We read of none slain on the side of *Opimius*, nor of any wounded, except *P. Lentulus*, a senator, mentioned by *Cicero*, 8 Phil. c. 4. and 4. in Cat. c. 6. and by *Dio Cass. apud Vales.*
* This *Opimius* (who is one of *Cicero's* prime worthies) was afterwards condemned to banishment for taking bribes to betray his country.

His name, infamous for many reasons, was famous only on one account, the super-excellent wines, of all sorts, that were produced in the

year of his Consulship. It appears from a passage in *Velleius Paterculus**, that in his time (150 years after *Opimius's* magistracy) a notion prevailed, that some of the *Opimian* wine still remained: but he treats this as a fable, and seems to think, it was owing to the custom of calling all good wine *Opimian* wine, ever since that remarkable vintage.

Pliny (L. 14. c. 4.) speaks, as if in his time (almost 200 years after *Opimius*) some of that extraordinary wine was still in being.

T H E

THE
CAPITOLINE MARBLES;
OR,
CONSULAR CALENDARS:

An ancient Monument accidentally discovered at ROME in the year 1545.
during the Pontificate of PAUL III.

| KINGS OF ROME. | | KINGS OF ROME. | |
|----------------|---|----------------|--|
| Year. | | Year. | |
| 1. | ROMULUS. He triumphs for vanquishing the Cœninenſes, Cruſtumi, and Antemnates. | 186. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians a ſecond time. |
| 5. | He makes himſelf a trophy of the ſpoils he took from King Acron, whom he killed with his own hand. | 200. | He eſtabliſhes the Cenſus, and Luſtrum, of which there were four in his reign. |
| 16. | He triumphs over the Camerini. | 220. | TARQUIN the Proud. He triumphs over the Volſci. |
| 17. | He triumphs over the Veientes, and Fidenates. | 227. | He triumphs over the Sabines. |
| 38. | INTERREGNUM. | 228. | He is dethroned, and driven from Rome. |
| 40. | NUMA POMPILIUS. | 243. | |
| 83. | TULLUS HOSTILIUS. | | |
| 87. | He triumphs over the Albans. | | |
| 91. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | | |
| 114. | ANCUS MARCIUS. | | |
| 115. | He triumphs over the Veientes. | | |
| 120. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | | |
| 139. | TARQUIN the Firſt. | | |
| 150. | He triumphs over the Latines. | | |
| 160. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians. | | |
| 171. | He triumphs over the Sabines. | | |
| 176. | SERVIUS TULLIUS. | | |
| 182. | He triumphs over the Hetrurians. | | |
| | | 244. Y. of R. | |
| | | 1. Conſulſhip. | L. JUNIUS BRUTUS. L. TARQUINIUS COLLA- TINUS. PUBLIUS VALERIUS POP- LICOLA, is ſubſtituted in the room of L. Tarquinius, who abdicates. SPURIUS LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS fills Bru- |
| | | | tus's place, who was killed before his office expired. HORATIUS PULVILLUS is choſen in the room of Spu- |
| | | | rius, who died in his office. Publius |

- Publius Valerius Poplicola triumphs over the Veientes and Tarquinientes.
Quæstors. P. Veturius Geminus.
 M. Minucius Augurnus.
245. Y. of R.
 2. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
 TITUS LUCRETIVS TRICIPITINUS.
The fifth Lustrum.
Quæstors. Q. Clælius Siculus.
 A. Sempronius Atratinus.
246. Y. of R.
 3. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPPICOLA, a third time.
 M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, a second time.
Quæstors. T. Abutius Elva.
 A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
247. Y. of R.
 4. *Consulship.* SPURIUS LARTIVS FLAVUS.
 T. HERMINIVS AQUILLINUS.
Quæstors. M. Tullius Longus.
 T. Virginus Tricostus.
248. Y. of R.
 5. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS.
 P. POSTHUMIVS TUBERTUS.
 Marcus Valerius, and Publius Posthumius triumph over the Sabines.
Quæstors. T. Lartius Flavus.
 Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
249. Y. of R.
 6. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS POPPICOLA, a fourth time.
 T. LUCRETIVS TRICIPI-
 TINUS, a second time.
 Valerius triumphs over the Sabines and Veientes.
Quæstors. P. Servilius Priscus.
 A. Virginus Tricostus Cælimontanus.
250. Y. of R.
 7. *Consulship.* P. POSTHUMIVS TUBERTUS, a second time.
 AGRIPPA MENENIVS LANATUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.

- Posthumius receives only the Honours of an Ovation.
Quæstors. T. Veturius Geminus.
 Posthumus Cominius Auruncus.
251. Y. of R.
 8. *Consulship.* OPITER VIRGINIVS TRICOSTUS.
 SPURIUS CASSIVS VISCCELLINUS, who triumphs over the Sabines.
Quæstors. Q. Servilius Priscus.
 T. Geganus Macerinus.
252. Y. of R.
 9. *Consulship.* POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS.
 T. LARTIVS FLAVIVS.
The sixth Lustrum.
Quæstors. P. Minucius Augurnus.
 Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.
253. Y. of R.
 10. *Consulship.* SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
 M. TULLIVS LONGUS, who dies in his Consulship.
Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.
 M. Valerius Volusus.
254. Y. of R.
 11. *Consulship.* P. VETURIVS GEMINUS.
 T. ABUTIVS ELVA.
Quæstors. P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
 Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
255. Y. of R.
 12. *Consulship.* T. LARTIVS FLAVUS, a second time.
 Q. CLÆLIUS SICULUS.
 Dictator. T. LARTIVS FLAVUS.
 G. of the Horse. Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.
Quæstors. M. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis.
 L. Geganus Macerinus.
256. Y. of R.
 13. *Consulship.* A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
 M. MINUCIVS AUGURINUS.
Quæstors. C. Aquilius Tuscus.
 Virginus Tricostus Rutilus.
257. Y. of R.
 14. *Consulship.* A. POSTHUMIVS ALBUS REGILLEN-
 SIVS.

TITUS

TITUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
 Dictator. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENsis.
G. of the Horse. T. Æbutius Elva.
 A. Posthumius triumphs over the Latines.
 Quæstors. T. Sicinius Sabinus.
 Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
 258. Y. of R.
 15. Consulship. APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABI-
 NUS REGILLENsis.
 P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
 Quæstors. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 L. Æmilius Mamercinus.
 259. Y. of R.
 16. Consulship. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS
 CÆLIMONTANUS.
 T. VETURIUS GEMINUS
 CICURINUS.
 Dictator. MANIUS VALERIUS.
G. of the Horse. Q. Servilius Priscus.
 Manius Valerius triumphs over
 the Sabines.
 Quæstors. C. Minucius Augurinus.
 Sex. Furius Fusus.
 260. Y. of R.
 17. Consulship. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLI-
 NUS, a second time.
 POSTHUMUS COMINIUS
 AURUNCUS, a second time.
 The seventh Lustrum.
 Tribunes of the L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 People. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. C. Mucius Cordus Sævola.
 Q. Mucius Cordus Sævola.
 Quæstors. P. Valerius Poplicola.
 M. Fabius Vibulanus.
 261. Y. of R.
 18. Consulship. T. GEGANIUS MACERI-
 NUS.
 P. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 Tribunes of the Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 People. C. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.
 Sp. Furius Fusus.
 262. Y. of R.
 19. Consulship. M. MINUCIUS AUGURI-

NUS, a second time.
 A. SEMPRONIUS ATRA-
 TINUS, a second time.
 Tribunes of the L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 People. M. Decius Mus.
 Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 L. Junius Brutus.
 Quæstors. C. Mucius Cordus Sævola.
 M. Horatius Pulvillus.
 263. Y. of R.
 20. Consulship. Q. SULPICIUS CAMERI-
 NUS.
 SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a
 second time.
 Tribunes of the P. Mænum.
 People. L. Albinus.
 Ædiles. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 P. Licinius Calvus.
 Quæstors. T. Virginus Tricostus Rutilius.
 C. Servilius Structus.
 264. Y. of R.
 21. Consulship. C. JULIUS IULIUS.
 P. PINARIUS RUFUS MA-
 MERCINUS.
 Tribunes of the C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 People. L. Icilius Ruga.
 Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Junius Bubulcus.
 C. Cornelius Lentulus.
 Quæstors. C. Horatius Pulvillus Æquilianus.
 265. Y. of R.
 22. Consulship. SP. NAUTIUS RUTHIUS.
 SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.
 Tribunes of the M. Platorius.
 People. P. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Sicinnius Bellutus.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 Quæstors. T. Mæcius Lanæus.
 A. Virginus Tricostus Rutilius.
 266. Y. of R.
 23. Consulship. C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS.
 T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who
 triumphs over the Volsci.
 Aquilius defeats the Hanni,
 and has only the honour of
 an ovation.
 Tribunes of the L. Albinus.
 People. P. Licinius Calvus.
 Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Icilius Ruga.
 Quæstors. Sp. Servilius Structus.
 Q. Sextus Capitolinus.

267. Y. of R.

24. *Consulship*. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLI-
NUS, a third time.
PROCULUS VIRGINIUS
TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.
Sp. Cassius triumphs over the
Volsci and Hernici.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

C. Rabuleius.
M. Silius.
C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Platorius.
C. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Furius Medullinus Fufus.

268. Y. of R.

25. *Consulship*. Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALU-
GINENSIS COSSUS.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

P. Mucius Scævola.
M. TarquitiuS Laurentinus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Rabuleius.
K. Fabius Vibulanus.
L. Valerius Potitus.

269. Y. of R.

26. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS.
K. FABIVS VIBULANUS.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

M. Titinius.
C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
L. Albinus.
M. Silius.
A. Manlius Vulso.
Vopiscus Julius Iulus.

270. Y. of R.

27. *Consulship*. M. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
POTITUS.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

C. Mænius.
P. Licinius Calvus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
M. TarquitiuS Laurentinus.
P. Furius Fufus.
App. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

271. Y. of R.

28. *Consulship*. C. JULIVS IULVS.
Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
second time.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

L. Albinus.
P. TarquitiuS Laurentinus.
C. Rabuleius.
C. Mænius.
L. PinarivS Rufus Mamercinus.

T. Æmilius Mamercinus.

272. Y. of R.

29. *Consulship*. K. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
second time.
SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Genucius Aventinenfis.
M. Titinius.
P. Decius Mus.
A. Virginius Tricostus Cælimon-
tanus.
Q. Servilius Priscus.

273. Y. of R.

30. *Consulship*. CN. MANLIUS CINCIN-
NATUS.
M. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
second time.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

Ti. Pontificius.
C. Rabuleius.
L. Albinus.
P. TarquitiuS Laurentinus.
T. NumiciuS Priscus.
M. Volumnius Amintinus.

274. Y. of R.

31. *Consulship*. K. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a
third time.
T. VIRGINIVS TRICOS-
TUS RUTILUS.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

C. Junius Bubulcus.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
P. Minucius Augurinus.

275. Y. of R.

32. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS, a second time.

CAIVS SERVILIUS STRU-
CTUS AHALA, who did
not finish the year, but ab-
dicated, or died before it
ended.

C. CORNELIVS was put in
his room.

*Tribunes of the
People.*

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

Pro-Consuls.

P. Decius Mus.
M. Flavuleius.
T. Pontificius.
L. Genucius Aventinenfis.
L. Volumnius Amintinus.
M. Tullius Longus.
K. Fabius Vibulanus.
Sp. Furius Fufus.

276. Y.

276. Y. of R.

33. *Consulship*. C. HORATIUS PULVIL-
LUS.

T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Rabuleius.
L. Flavuleius.

Ædiles. M. Flavuleius.

Quæstors. C. Acilius Ruga.

T. Æbutius Elva.
Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

Pro-Consul. K. Fabius Vibulanus.

277. Y. of R.

34. *Consulship*. A VIRGINIUS TRICOS-
TUS RUTILUS.

P. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People. T. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. Q. Confidius.

M. Decius Mus.

Quæstors. P. Mucius Scævola.

S. Furius Medullinus Fusus.

M. Papirius Mugillanus.

278. Y. of R.

35. *Consulship*. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLĀ.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Valerius triumphs over the Veien-
tes and Sabines.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cædicius.

Ædiles. T. Statius.

T. Flavuleius.

Quæstors. Q. Mucius Scævola.

C. Fossius Flacinator.

Sex. Papirius.

279. Y. of R.

36. *Consulship*. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS
FUSUS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO.

The eighth Lustrum.

Manlius vanquishes the Veien-
tes, and receives the honours
of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. K. Atinius Longus.

Ædiles. Q. Mucius Scævola.

T. Pontificius.

Quæstors. Q. Confidius.

A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

L. Æbutius Elva.

280. Y. of R.

37. *Consulship*. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS, a third time.

VOPISCUS JULIUS I J.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Genucius.

C. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles. T. Genucius Aventinensis.

L. Cædicius.

Quæstors. P. Servilius Prius.

L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

281. Y. of R.

38. *Consulship*. L. PINARIUS RUFUS, MA-
MERCINUS.

C. FURIUS TUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. Volero Publius Philo.

Ædiles. C. Lætorius.

Q. Confidius.

T. Statius.

Quæstors. T. Vettius Geminus Cæcilius.

P. Volturnus Amintanus Gælius.

282. Y. of R.

39. *Consulship*. AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS
REGILLENSIS.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBA-
TUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. Volero Publius Philo.

Ædiles. C. Lætorius.

P. Mucius Scævola.

K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors. Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

C. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

283. Y. of R.

40. *Consulship*. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA
POTIUS, a second time.

T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-
NUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

L. Nunnitorius.

M. Dullius.

Ædiles. L. Mæcilius.

S. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors. L. Cædicius.

T. Statius.

L. Quinctius Cæcilius.

L. Cornelia Ardea.

284. Y. of R.

41. *Consulship*. A. VIRGINIUS TRICO-
TUS CÆMILIANUS.

T. NUMICIUS PRICUS.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Apronius.

P. Mucius Scævola.

K. Atinius Longus.

Ædiles. M. Decius.

C. Mæminius.

Volero Publius Philo.

C. Lætorius.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. *L. Minucius Augurinus.*
G. Horatius Pulvillus.

285. Y. of R.

42. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
T. Quinctius triumphs over the Volsci, and Antiates.

Tribunes of the People. C. Pontificius.
C. Confidius.

L. Romuleius.
L. Titinius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Ædiles. *G. Sicinnius Bellutus.*
M. Duilius.

Quæstors. *Q. Minucius Augurinus.*
Sp. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.

286. Y. of R.

43. *Consulship.* TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Duilius.
C. Mævius.

T. Staius.
M. Decius.
L. Cædicius.

Ædiles. L. Numitorius.
Sp. Icilius Ruge.

Quæstors. *T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.*
G. Veturius Cicurinus.

287. Y. of R.

44. *Consulship.* SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENIS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. Volero Pubilius Philo.
M. Pompilius.

M. Manilius.
C. Sicinnius Bellutus.
P. Silius.

Ædiles. L. Mæcilius.

Quæstors. *Cn. Apronius.*
A. Aternius Fontinalis.
Sex. Quintilius.

288. Y. of R.

45. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.

The ninth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Decius Mus.
M. Metilius.

P. Lætorius.
M. Pontificius.
M. Confidius.
Ædiles. C. Pontificius.
L. Titinius.

Quæstors. *Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.*
P. Horatius Tergeminus.

289. Y. of R.

46. *Consulship.* A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENIS.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
L. Cædicius.
L. Mænius.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. M. Pompilius.
C. Duilius.

Quæstors. *P. Sestius Capitolinus.*
T. Menenius Lanatus.

Pro-Consul. T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus.

290. Y. of R.

47. *Consulship.* P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
L. ÆBUTIVS ELVA. Both die before the year of their Consulship ends.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius.
C. Volscius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
M. Sellius.

Ædiles. P. Pubilius Philo.
M. Metilius.
M. Pontificius.

Quæstors. *Ap. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.*
Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

291. Y. of R.

48. *Consulship.* L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPTINUS, who triumphs over the Volsci, and Æqui.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS, who receives the honours of an Ovation.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. Titius.
C. Terentius Arsa.
M. Decius Mus.

Ædiles. C. Fescennius.
M. Confidius.
L. Mænius.

Quæstors. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
T. Genucius Angustinus.
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.

292. Y. of R.
49. *Consulship.* P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS GALLUS.
SER. SLPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.
M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.

Ædiles. C. Terentius Arsa.
M. Silius.

Quæstors. T. Antonius Merenda.
M. Sergius.

293. Y. of R.
50. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILENSIS.
Valerius dies in his office.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINATUS succeeds him.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.
M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles. Sex. Titius.

Quæstors. M. Decius Mus.
M. Horatius Barbatus.
Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.

294. Y. of R.
51. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a third time.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.
The former triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci; the latter over the Volsci and Antiates.
The tenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.
M. Volscius Fictor.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles. M. Confidius.

Quæstors. C. Fescennius.
A. Cornelius Maluginensis Cæcus.
C. Sarcus Strabius Abuius.

295. Y. of R.
52. *Consulship.* C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINATUS.

G. of the Horse. L. Tarquinius Placcus.
Quinctius triumphs over the Æqui.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.
M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mæcilius.

Ædiles. C. Fescennius.
P. Publius Philo.

Quæstors. M. Valerius Maximus.
L. Quinctius Barbatus Caput Læmus.

296. Y. of R.
53. *Consulship.* C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.
M. Volscius.
C. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.

Ædiles. Sex. Titius.
C. Junius Brutus Bubalus.

Quæstors. M. Fabius Vibulanus.
M. Geganus, Mauricus.

297. Y. of R.
54. *Consulship.* M. VALLERIUS MAXIMUS SP. VIRGINIUS TERCOSTIUS CLEMMENTIANUS.
Sardinia Games.

Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Alhenius.
K. Duilius.
Q. Petchus Lib. Vicius.
M. Oppius.
Sex. Mandrus.

- C. Fulcinus.
L. Roscius.
Sp. Antius.
P. Licinius.
Ædiles. *M. Claudius Cicero.*
M. Marcus Rutilus.
Quæstors. *C. Julius Iulus.*
Furius Fufus.
298. Y. of R.
55. Consulship. T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS SICURINUS.
- Tribunes of the People. L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Allienius.
Q. Pætelius.
P. Licinius.
Sp. Antius.
M. Oppius.
L. Roscius.
K. Duilius.
C. Fulcinus.
Sex. Manilius.
Ædiles. *M. Silius.*
C. Pompius.
Quæstors. *M. Genucius Augurinus.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.
299. Y. of R.
56. Consulship. SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.
- Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Claudius Cicero.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Sex. Titius.
T. Albinus.
M. Titinius.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
M. Marcus Rutilus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Tarquitiu Laurentinus.
Ædiles. *L. Allienius.*
A. Virginius.
Quæstors. *L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.*
C. Curtius Philo.
300. Y. of R.
57. Consulship. SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies in his Consulship.
P. HORATIUS TERGIMINUS.
- Tribunes of the People. L. Apronius.
C. Memmius.
C. Mælius.
C. Mænius.
P. Furius.
Q. Romuleius.
M. Silius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Terentius Arsa.
N. Otacilius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
L. Atilius Longus.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.
- Ædiles.
Quæstors.
301. Y. of R.
58. Consulship. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.
- Tribunes of the People. Sex. Titius.
C. Fulcinus.
L. Fulcinus.
P. Tarquitiu Laurentinus.
T. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Oppius.
M. Juventius.
C. Pompius.
C. Sextius.
C. Rabuleius.
K. Duilius.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.
M. Rabuleius.
- Ædiles.
Quæstors.
302. Y. of R.
59. Consulship. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
They abdicated the Consulship to make way for the Decemviri.
302. Y. of R.
1. Decemvirate. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
SP. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SER. SLPITIUS CAMERINUS.
T. Ro-

T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
 P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.
 303. Y. of R.
 Decemvirate. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a second time.
 Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
 M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
 T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
 M. SERGIUS.
 Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
 L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
 M' RABULEIUS.
 K. DUILIUS.
 SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
 304. Y. of R.
 3. Decemvirate. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a third time, with the same Collegues as in the second Decemvirate. Being forced to give place to new Consuls, they abdicated.
 304. Y. of R.
 62. Consulship. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. He triumphs over the Æqui.
 M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. He triumphs over the Sabines.
 Tribunes of the People.
 L. Virginius.
 L. Icilius Ruga.
 P. Numitorius.
 M. DUILIUS.
 C. Sicinius Bellutus.
 M. Titinius.
 C. Apronius.
 C. Oppius.
 M. Pomponius.
 P. Villius.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 M. Titinius.
 Ædiles.
 C. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
 Quæstors.
 L. Julius Iulus.
 305. Y. of R.
 61. Consulship. LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
 T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUSCÆLIMONTANUS.
 Tribunes of the People, according to Livy.
 Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.
 A. Æternius Fontinalis.

L. Trebonius Asper.
 Q. Confidius.
 L. Allienus.
 M' Marcus.
 C. Fulcinius.
 M. Claudius Cicero.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 I. Albinus.
 L. Fulvius Flentius.
 P. Fulvius Larentius.
 C. Sergius.
 M. Papirius Crassus.
 306. Y. of R.
 62. Consulship. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
 C. JULIUS IULUS.
 Tribunes of the People.
 P. Villius.
 C. Oppius.
 Sp. Antius.
 C. Pomponius.
 C. Antius.
 L. Villius.
 Sex. Manlius.
 M. Silvanus.
 C. Virginius.
 M. Icilius Ruga.
 M. Titinius.
 M. Pomponius.
 M. Claudius Maluginensis.
 G. Nautius Rutilius.
 Ædiles.
 Quæstors.
 307. Y. of R.
 63. Consulship. T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
 AGRIPPA FURIUS IULUS.
 Tribunes of the People.
 L. Allienus.
 P. Numitorius.
 L. Trebonius Asper.
 I. Fulcinius.
 M' Allienus.
 M' Marcus.
 M. Porponia.
 L. Rocius.
 M. Claudius Cicero.
 P. Villius.
 C. Antius Bellutus.
 C. Sergius.
 L. Valerius Potitus.
 Mem. Amilius Mamianus.
 Ædiles.
 Quæstors.
 308. Y. of R.
 64. Consulship. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.

- Tribunes of the People*
 C. CURTIUS PHILO.
 C. Canuleius.
 C. Furius.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 L. Furius.
 L. Oppius.
 Ti. Pontificius.
 M. Titinius.
 C. Virginius.
 Cn. Apuleius Panfa.
 T. Latinius.
 P. Villius.
 C. Oppius.
 C. Postus Flaccinator.
 Posthumius Æbutius Elva.
- Ædiles.*
 C. Oppius.
- Quæstors.*
 C. Postus Flaccinator.
 Posthumius Æbutius Elva.
309. Y. of R.
 1. *Military Tribune.* A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
 L. ATRILIUS LONGUS.
 T. CLOELIUS SICULUS. They all three abdicated.
309. Y. of R.
 65. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
 L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
- Tribunes of the People.*
 N. Sextius Sextinus.
 Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 Pub. Numitorius.
 M. Pomponius.
 C. Apronius.
 L. Cædicius.
 C. Sicinius Bellutus.
 Sex. Manilius.
 C. Pompilius.
 Q. Mælius.
 L. Trebonius Asper.
 M. Icilius Ruga.
- Ædiles.*
 L. Trebonius Asper.
 M. Icilius Ruga.
- Quæstors.*
 L. Sergius.
 Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.
310. Y. of R.
 66. *Consulship.* M. GEGANIUS MAMFRICINUS, a second time.
 T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time.
 M. Geganius triumphs over the Volsci.
- Post Consuls.*
 M. Papirius Mugillanus.
 I. Sempronius Atratinus.

The descent *Læthum*.

Tribunes of the People
 C. Virginius
 L. Marcus

- C. Oppius.
 C. Antius.
 Cn. Genucius.
 P. Villius.
 L. Villius.
 Sp. Antius.
 L. Apronius.
 C. Latorius.
 C. Canuleius.
 N. Sextius Sextinus.
 L. Papirius Crassus.
 L. Virginius Tricoftus.
- Ædiles.*
 C. Canuleius.
- Quæstors.*
 L. Papirius Crassus.
 L. Virginius Tricoftus.
311. Y. of R.
 67. *Consulship.* M. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
 POSTHUMIUS ÆBUTIVS ELVA CORNICEN.
- Tribunes of the People.*
 C. Petillius.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 C. Sicinius Bellutus.
 L. Trebonius Asper.
 L. Oppius.
 Q. Decius Mus.
 Q. Roscius.
 M. Titinius.
 M. Allienius.
 Q. Terentius.
 C. Furius.
 L. Furius.
 L. Sergius Fidenas.
 Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
- Ædiles.*
 C. Furius.
 L. Furius.
- Quæstors.*
 L. Sergius Fidenas.
 Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.
312. Y. of R.
 68. *Consulship.* C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS.
 M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS
- Tribunes of the People.*
 C. Petillius.
 L. Villius.
 N. Sextius Sextinus.
 M. Duilius.
 C. Volumnius Flamma.
 K. Atinius Longus.
 C. Furius.
 P. Virginius.
 L. Sicinius Bellutus.
 L. Romuleius.
 L. Cædicius.
 C. Lætnius.
 L. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 C. Servilius Struettus Abala.
- Ædiles.*
 L. Cædicius.
 C. Lætnius.
- Quæstors.*
 L. Cornelius Maluginensis.
 C. Servilius Struettus Abala.
313. Y. of R.
 69. *Consulship.* PROCULUS GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
 L. MENENIUS LANATUS.
- Tribunes of the People.*
 L. Marcus.
 C. Apronius.

C. Ca.

C. Canuleius.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Voler. Pulchrius.
L. Titinius.
Cn. Apronius.
L. Petillius.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Ædiles. Cn. Genuus.
Quæstors. Q. Decius Mus.
M. Posthumus Albus Regillensis.
T. Geganus Mæcerius.

314. Y. of R.
70. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS, a sixth time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Structus Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Junius Bubuleus Brutus.
Sex. Titinius.
C. Silius Bellutus.
L. Cædicius.
C. Platorius.
C. Confidius.
Q. Rolsius.
L. Numitorius.
L. Mæcilius.
C. Petillius.
Ædiles. K. Atinius Longus.
Quæstors. P. Horatius Torgeminus.
C. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

315. Y. of R.
Military MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Tribuneship. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
M. Pompilius.
P. Decius Mus.
C. Racilius.
L. Canuleius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Duilius.
T. Statius.
C. Pontificius.

Ædiles. Vler. Pulchrius Philo.
L. Roscius.
Quæstors. M. Feflus Fufcentus.
L. Pinarius Rogas Mamercinus.

316. Y. of R.
71. *Consulship.* M. GEGANIUS MACRINUS, a third time.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
Dictator. M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. He triumphs over the Venete, Falisci, and Fidenates.
G. of the Horse. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
K. Annus.
M. Antius.
M. Trebonius.
M. Albinus.
Sex. Titinius.
M. Mæcilius.
L. Statius.
A. Albinus.
C. Flius Petus.
Ædiles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Quæstors. Sp. P. Albinus Regillus.
L. Furius Medullinus.

317. Y. of R.
72. *Consulship.* M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Tribunes of the People. Sp. Mænius.
C. Furius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Manlius.
L. Sextius.
M. Furius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Manlius.
C. Apronius.
C. Mænius.
C. Junius Bubuleus Brutus.
Sex. Titinius.
Quæstors. T. Quinctius Perms Cincinnatus.
A. Posthumus Tubertus.

318. Y. of R.
73. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.

Dictator. L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

G. of the Horse. Posthumius Æbutius Elva Cornicen.

Censors. C. Furius Pacilus Fufus.
M. Geganius Macerinus.
The twelfth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
C. Confidius.
C. Platorius.

C. Titius.
M. Trebonius.
L. Canuleius.
M. Confidius.
C. Racilius
M. Fulcinius.
T. Statius.

Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.

Quæstors. C. Pontificius
C. Julius Mento.
A. Æternius Fontinalis.

319. Y. of R.

74. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a third time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS, a second time.

Dictator. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

G. of the Horse. A. Posthumius Tubertus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Furius.
M. Cædicius.

L. Menius.
M. Pontificius.
C. Volcicus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Silius.

Ædiles. C. Menius.
M. Metilius.
L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus
M. Aburnius.
A. Alliecius.

Quæstors. T. Lartius Flavius.
Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus.

320. Y. of R.

75. *Military Tribune-ship.* M. FABIVS VIRULANUS.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Canuleius.
L. Cædicius.

C. Voluminius Flamma.
M. Sellijs.

V. Volscius Fictor.

K. Atinius Longus.

L. Cædicius.

M. Silius.

L. Volscius.

C. Titius.

Ædiles. Sp. Mælius.

M. Furius.

Quæstors. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

T. Genucius Augurinus.

321. Y. of R.

4. *Military Tribune-ship.* L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLEN-
SIS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

M. Decius Mus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Sex. Titinius.

Cn. Sicinnius Bellutus.

P. Decius Mus.

L. Ælius Pætus.

M. Marcus.

Ædiles. M. Trebonius.

T. Statius.

Quæstors. P. Servilius Priscus.

M. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis

322. Y. of R.

75. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS
CINCINNATUS.
C. JULIUS MENTO.

Dictator. A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. He triumphs over the Æqui and Volsci.

G. of the Horse. L. Julius Iulus.

Tribunes of the People. A. Virginus.

T. Metilius.

M. Metilius.

C. Pontificius.

C. Cæcilius.

C. Pætilius.

M. Pontificius.

M. Furius.

C. Petilius.

P. Plautius Proculus.

Ædiles. L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

C. Fictor.

Quæstors. *C. Volscius.*
Sex. Julius Iulus.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus

323. Y. of R.

76. *Consulship.* C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
 L. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the Sex. Titinius.
People. M. Sellius.
 M. Silius.

L. Sicinius Bellutus.
 P. Lætorius.
 L. Volscius Fictor.
 C. Volumnius Flamma.
 C. Pompius.
 L. Cæditius.
 C. Terentius Arsa.

Ædiles. *L. Volscius.*
M. Decius.

Quæstors. *A. Sempronius Atratinus.*
L. Horatius Barbatus.

324. Y. of R.

77. *Consulship.* L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a
 second time.
 HOSTUS LUCRETIVS
 TRICIPITINUS.

Tribunes of the C. Petellus.
People. C. Petellus Labo.
 Sp. Mælius.
 L. Cæcilius Metellus.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 C. Numitorius.
 Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
 C. Lætorius.
 Sp. Antius.
 M. Trebonius.

Ædiles. *M. Mucius.*
L. Atilius Patus.

Quæstors *Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

325. Y. of R.

78. *Consulship.* T. QUINCTIVS PENNUS
 CINCINNATUS, a second
 time.

A. CORNELIVS COSSVS.
 Some Authors place Cossus's
 triumph, and the Trophy
 he made of the Spoils of To-
 lumnus King of the Vcien-
 tes, under this year.

Tribune of the Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
People. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
 P. Publius Philo, the Son of
 Publius.

P. Publius Philo, the Son of
 Volero.

L. Varginus.
 M. Furius.
 M. Pleterius.
 L. Publius Philo Vulcius.
 Q. Petellus Labo Vitulu
 L. Mammius Vitulus
 P. Pleterius Pleterius
 T. Volscius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors. *C. Sempronius Atratinus.*
L. Marcus Iulius Capitolinus.

326. Y. of R.

79. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLA-
 NUS, a second time.
 C. SERVILIUS SCRUPTVS
 AHIATA.

Tribunes of the C. Cæcilius Metellus.
People. Sex. Mælius.

A Varginus.
 C. Pompius.
 L. Cæcilius.
 M. Mælius.
 M. Silius.
 L. Sicinius.
 P. Lætorius.
 P. Lætorius.
 C. Trebellus Aia
 M. Sellius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors. *Q. Antius Mænius.*
L. Papirius Mænius.

327. Y. of R.

5. *Military* T. QUINCTIVS PENNUS C.
Tribune CINCINNATUS.
 C. IURIUS PACHVS
 M. POSTHUMIVS ATRIVS R.
 GILIVS.
 A. CORNELIVS COSSVS.

Dictator.

MAM. ÆMILIUS M.
 MERCINVS.
 He triumphed over the Vcien-
 tes in this year.

G. of the H. of

Tribunes of the

People.

A. Cornelius Cossus.
 L. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Lætorius.
 Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
 C. Lætorius.
 L. Atilius Patus.
 L. Atilius Patus.
 L. Atilius Patus.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--|-------------------------|--|
| | Spurius Mælius Capitolinus, the Son of Caius. | Ædiles. | <i>Sex. Mætilius.</i> <i>M. Mætilius.</i> |
| | M. Oppius. | Quæstors. | <i>P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.</i> <i>C. Servilius Axilla.</i> |
| | M. Claudius Cicero. | | |
| | K. Duilius. | | |
| Ædiles. | <i>C. Numitorius.</i> <i>M. Volscius.</i> | | |
| Quæstors. | <i>L. Servilius Structus.</i> <i>T. Quinctius Capitolinus.</i> | | |
| 328. Y. of R. | | 330. Y. of R. | |
| 6. Military Tribuneship. | A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time. L. HORATIUS BARBATUS. C. Fulcinius. L. Virginius. P. Publius Philo, the son of Volero. C. Popilius. P. Numitorius. Sex. Titius. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus. P. Publius Philo, the son of Publius. M. Plætorius. M. Titinius. | Co. Consulship. | C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS. Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS. C. Junius Bubulcus. Sp. Mænius. L. Aibnius. L. Terbonias Asper C. Aachius. M. Claudius Cicero. M. Oppus. M. Appuleius. M. Plæconius. P. Furius. |
| Tribunes of the People. | | Tribunes of the People. | |
| | | Ædiles. | <i>L. Lælius Ruga.</i> <i>K. Duilius.</i> |
| | | Quæstors. | <i>M. Papirius Mæcillanus.</i> <i>Sp. Veturius Crassus.</i> |
| Ædiles. | <i>Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.</i> <i>L. Manilius Vitulus.</i> | 331. Y. of R. | |
| Quæstors. | <i>M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.</i> <i>Sp. Nautius Rutilus.</i> | 8 Military Tribuneship. | L. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS. Q. ANTONIUS MIRENDA. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. L. SERVILIUS SERVICIUS. |
| 329. Y. of R. | | Tribunes of the People. | L. Hortensius. Sex. Tempanius. L. Antistius. A. Sellius. Sp. Icilius Ruga. T. Roscius. M. Terentius Arsa. M. Silius. L. Volumnius Flamma. Q. Romuleius. C. Popilius. Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus. T. Veturius Crassus Cucurinus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus. |
| 7 Military Tribuneship. | AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILSENSIS. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. S. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time. SEX. JULIUS IULUS. L. Julius Iulus. L. Papirius Crassus. | Ædiles. | |
| Consors. | | Quæstors. | |
| | | | |
| | <i>The thirteenth Lustrum.</i> | | |
| Tribunes of the People. | L. Virginius. C. Pompilius. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. C. Claudius Cicero. C. Numitorius. L. Sicinius. C. Pompilius. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. T. Roscius. L. Volumnius Flamma. | 332. Y. of R. | |
| | | 81. Consulship. | T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS BARBATIUS. N. FABIVS VIBULANUS. He gains a victory over the Æqui, and is honoured with an Ovation. |
| | | Tribunes of the People. | Sp. Mælius Capitolinus. Sp. Oppius Cornicen. |
| | | | C. Tre- |

C. Trebonius Asper.

C. Rabuleius.

N. Otacilius.

L. Albinus.

L. Roscius.

L. Allienius.

P. Silius.

C. Claudius Cicero.

C. Junius Bubulcus.

L. Hortensius.

C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.

Cn. Cornelius Maluginensis Cof-
sus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors.

333. Y. of R.

9. Military

Tribunship.

T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CIN-
CINNATUS, a second time.

M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPI-
TOLINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
third time.

A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS,
a second time.

Tribunes of the
People.

M. Antistius.

Sex. Pompilius.

M. Canuleius.

Sp. Mæcilius.

C. Plautius Proculus.

M. Appuleius.

L. Sicinius Dentatus.

Q. Petilius.

L. Marcius.

M. Pomponius.

Sex. Terentius.

A. Silius.

P. Cornelius Cossus.

M. Fabius Ambustus.

Q. Caninius.

M. Cornelius Cossus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of

Rome.

Military Quæ-

stors.

334. Y. of R.

10. Military

Tribunship.

AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANA-
TUS.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

P. LUCRETIVUS TRICIPITI-
NUS.

C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.

C. Junius Bubulcus.

L. Albinus.

L. Allienius.

C. Popilius.

M. Pomponius.

L. Hortensius.

C. Appuleius.

Tribunes of the
People.

Q. Confidius.

C. Marcius.

C. Oppius.

L. Antistius.

Sp. Lilius.

P. Posthumius Albus Regillanus.

L. Menenius Lanatus.

M. Horatius Barbatus.

L. Laberius Puteus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of

Rome.

Military Quæ-

stors

335. Y. of R.

11. Military

Tribunship.

M. PAPIRIUS MUGILIANUS.

C. SERVILIUS AXILLA, a se-
cond time.

L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third
time.

Dictator.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS

FIDENAS, a second time.

G. of the Horse.

Censors.

C. Servilius Axilla.

L. Papirius Mugillanus.

Mam. Æmilius Mamercius-
nus.

Tribunes of the
People.

The fourteenth Legion.

Sp. Mæcilius.

Sp. Mæcilius.

A. Silius.

M. Canuleius.

L. Villius.

P. Silius.

T. Pontificius.

P. Villius.

L. Sicinius.

C. Pompidius.

Sex. Pompilius.

M. Antistius.

Ædiles

Quæstors of

Rome.

Military Quæ-

stors.

M. Corneilius Cethegus.

P. Sulpicius Calpurnius.

C. Sargius Niger.

L. Virginius Tricostus.

336. Y. of R.

12. Military

Tribunship.

P. LUCIUS

SEN-
TUS.

P. SERVILIUS

AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANA-
TUS.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

P. LUCRETIVUS TRICIPITI-
NUS.

C. SERVILIUS

AXILLA.

Tribunes of the

People.

Sp. Mæcilius.

Sp. Mæcilius.

C. Silius.

L. Villius.

M. Apuleius.
 Sex. Tempanius.
 Sp. Ichnius Rugi.
 L. Allenius.
 M. Allenius.
 C. Plautius Proculus.
 C. Oppius.
 A. Pomponius.
 J. Furius Medullinus.
 C. Furius Pacilus.
 Cn. Furius Pacilus.
 Q. Fabius Ambustus.
 337. Y. of R.
 13. Military Tribuneship.
 A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a third time.
 M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, a third time.
 Sp. NAUTIUS RUTILIUS, a second time.
 Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS.
 Sp. Mæcilius.
 Sp. Metilius.
 M. Canuleius.
 C. Appuleius.
 L. Oppius.
 C. Antistius.
 Q. Petilius.
 Cn. Appuleius.
 L. Fulcinius.
 M. Juvenius.
 C. Marcus Rutilius.
 Q. Confidius.
 C. Nautius Rutilus.
 M. Aemilius Mamercinus.
 Ti. Aemilius Mamercinus.
 Sex. Quintilius.
 338. Y. of R.
 14. Military Tribuneship.
 P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
 QUINCTIUS CININNATUS.
 C. VALERIUS VOLUENS.
 N. FABIVS VIRULANUS.
 L. Sextius.
 C. Junius Bubulcus.
 M. Antistius.
 C. Oppius.
 Q. Melius.
 C. Sextius.
 L. Hortensius.
 Sex. Pompius.
 C. Canuleius.
 T. Genucius.
 C. Apronius.
 Aediles.

M. Antistius.
 C. Julius Iulus.
 Proculus Geganius Maecinus.
 C. Nautius Rutilus.
 M. Aemilius Mamercinus.
 339. Y. of R.
 15. Military Tribuneship.
 Q. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a second time.
 Cn. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
 P. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS, who was killed by his Soldiers.
 L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
 L. Sextius.
 Sex. Tempanius.
 A. Tempanius.
 M. Canuleius.
 L. Oppius.
 L. Apronius.
 T. Pontificius.
 Sp. Tempanius.
 Sp. Mæcilius.
 L. Canuleius.
 C. Plautus.
 M. Allenius.
 C. Servilius Ahala.
 P. Sextius Capitolinus.
 T. Virginii Triclitus Calpurnianus.
 C. Servilius Structus.
 340. Y. of R.
 82. Consulship.
 M. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
 L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
 Q. Publius.
 C. Antistius.
 L. Tempanius.
 C. Marcus Rutilus.
 L. Rabuleius.
 Cn. Sellus.
 L. Cædicius.
 Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
 T. Genucius Aventinensis.
 C. Apronius.
 L. Oppius.
 L. Fulcinius.
 N. Fabius Ambustus.
 P. Cornelius Rutilus Cæsius.
 Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
 P. Cornelius Cæsius.
 341. Y. of R.
 83. Consulship.
 Q. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.
 C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Confess.

G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the People. M. Genucius Aventinenfis.
 L. Icilius Ruga.
 L. Sicinius Bellutus.
 Trebius.

P. Decius Mus.
 Sex. Titinius.
 L. Manlius.
 C. Sicinius Bellutus.
 K. Atinius Longus.
 L. Titinius.

Ædiles. M. Mænius.
 G. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome. Appius Claudius Crassus.
Military Quæstors. L. Julius Iulus.
 M. Pomponius.
 Cn. Genucius Aventinenfis.

346. Y. of R.

17. *Military Tribuneship.* C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS.

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time.
 N. FABIVS VIBULANUS, a third time.
 FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
 Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOla.

P. MUCIUS SCAEVOla.
 Volero Publilius Philo.
 Q. Publilius Philo.
 Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
 M. Manlius.

L. Cædicius.
 Q. Decius Mus.
 C. Titinius.

Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
 G. Staius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Atinius Longus.
 L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

Military Quæstors. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.
 Q. Servilius Prætor Fidenas.

347. Y. of R.

18. *Military Tribuneship.* P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COS-
 SUS.

L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a second time.

CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
 N. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. AELIVS PÆTUS.
 Volero Publilius Philo.
 Cn. Genucius Aventinenfis.
 P. Puppius.

Trebius.
 M. Pomponius.
 K. Atinius.
 M. Pompilius.
 C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
 C. Titius.

Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
 Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Mælius Capitolinus.
 P. Mænius.

Military Quæstors. L. Julius Iulus.
 P. Licinius Calvus.

348. Y. of R.

19. *Military Tribuneship.* C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.

M' AEMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
 T. QUINCTIVS CAPITOLINUS.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Q. QUINCTIVS CINCINNATUS.

A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Duilius.
 L. Titinius.

L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

L. Cædicius.

C. Popilius.

M. Duilius.

L. Atinius Longus.

C. AELIVS PÆTUS.

Cn. Puppius.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

L. Icilius Ruga.

M. Genucius Aventinenfis.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Metilius.
 P. Curatius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
 L. Virginius Tricostus Cælimon-
 tanus.

349. Y. of R.

20. *Military Tribuneship.* P. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
 SIS.

SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time.

CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.

C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

K. FABIVS AMBUSTUS.

M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Volero Publius Philo.
P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Manilius.
P. Mænius.
A. Trebius.
P. Silius.
C. Titinius.
C. Apronius.
P. Ælius Pætus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Lucernus.
M. Sulpicius Peticus.
M. Popilius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

350. Y. of R.

21. *Military Tribune-ship.* M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.

M. FURIUS FUSUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
M. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. VALERIUS POTITIUS, a third time.

Consuls.

M. Furius Camillus.
M. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

The sixteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Silius.
L. Publius Philo Volcius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Titius.
Cn. Apronius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Pomponius.
M. Pompius.
L. Titius.
M. Cædicius.
P. Pupius.
Cn. Pupius.
Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
Sp. Papirius Crassus.
M. Acutius.
M. Valerius Maximus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

351. Y. of R.

22. *Military Tribune-ship.* C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time.

Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

A. MANLIUS VOLTO CAR-
TINIUS, a second time.

L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS
CATHONIANUS.
M. SERGIUS FIDUS, a second time. The two last were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Mænius.
M. P. Silius.
Sp. Autius.
A. Titius.
C. Mennius.
L. Annus Longus.
C. Silius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Annus.
C. Popilius.
L. Titius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

352. Y. of R.

23. *Military Tribune-ship.* L. VALERIUS POTITIUS, a fourth time.

L. JULIUS IULUS.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
Cn. CORNELIUS C., a second time.
K. FABIUS AMPELIUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Titbonius Arpet.
C. Lucernus.
M. Acutius.
P. Corutius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
E. Fulcanus.
Cn. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Metellus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
P. Silius.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

353. Y. of R.

24. *Military Tribune-ship.* P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. MANIUS.

Quæstors of Sp. Posthumius Albin. Rigi-
Rome. lensis.

2. Sulpicius Longus.
Military Quæ- L. Valerius Potius.
stors. M. Aulus Corretanus.

357. Y. of R.

28. Military P. LICINIUS.
Tribuneship. L. ATINIUS LONGUS, a second
time.

P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a
second time.

L. TITINIUS, a second time.

P. MÆNIUS, a second time.

C. GENUCIUS AVENTINEN-
sis, a second time. He was
killed in a battle with the
Falisci and Capenates.

Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILIUS.
He triumphs over the Vicien-
tes.

G. of the Horse. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Tribunes of the C. Trebonius Asper.
People. P. Lucerius.

M. Decius Mus.

Sp. Mælius.

M. Furius.

M. Acutius.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

C. Terentius Arsa.

P. Lætorius.

L. Virginius.

Ædiles. M. Cossidius.

M. Platorius.

Quæstors of K. Fabius Ambustus.
Rome. Ser. Cornelius Mancinensis.

Military Quæ- L. Cornelius Lentulus.
stors. Agrippa Furius Fugus.

358. Y. of R.

29. Military P. CORNELIUS COSUUS.

Tribuneship. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, a
second time.

K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third
time.

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
fifth time.

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FI-
DENAS, a second time.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus
People. A. Virginius.

Q. Pomponius.

L. Ierhus R.

L. Fulvius Cornus.

C. Lætorius.

L. Cædicius.

C. Lucenius.

P. Papius.

P. Curius.

Ædiles. C. Porcius Lætorius.

Q. Potentius Lætorius.

Quæstors of L. Marcus Rutilius.

Rome. C. Falcidius Cædus.

Military Quæ- C. Fabius Ambustus.
stors. M. Albinus.

359. Y. of R.

30. Military M. FORTIUS CAMILLUS, a
Tribuneship. third time.

L. FORTIUS MEDULLINUS, a
sixth time.

C. ÆMILIUS MANCIEN-
SIS.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN. RIG-
ILLEN-
SIS.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, a
second time.

L. VALERIUS POTITICUS.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus.
People. Q. Pomponius.

A. Virginius.

L. Ierhus Rupa.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Pomponius.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Q. Silius.

L. Voluminus Flaminius.

L. Cædicius.

Ædiles. C. Trebonius Asper.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

Quæstors of L. Furius Medullinus.

Rome. C. Marcus Rutilius.

Military Quæ- P. Cornelius Cossus, the Son of
stors. Silius.

P. Cornelius Cossus, the Son of
Pallius.

360. Y. of R.

37. Consulship. L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMER-
LUS.

Tribunes of the T. Sicinius Dentatus
People. C. Lucenius.

P. Curius.

L. Atilius Prætor.

Sex. Pomponius.

M. Titinius.

C. Atilius

- ✓ Acutius.
 C. Menius.
 M. Silius.
 Sex. Manilius.
 T. Metilius.
 M. Decius Mus.
 Quæstors of L. *Æmilius Mamercinus*.
 Rome. C. *Sextilius*.
 Military Quæ- A. *Manlius Capitolinus*.
 stors. L. *Posthumius Albin. Regillensis*.
 361. Y. of R.
 88. Consulship. L. VALERIUS POTITUS
 M. MANLIUS CAPITOLI-
 NUS. They both abdicate.
 Consors. C. Julius.
 L. Papirius Cursor. The
 former died in his office, and
 M. Cornelius Maluginen-
 sis was chosen in his room.

The eighteenth Lustrum.

- Tribunes of the Q. Silius.
 People. L. Icilius Ruga.
 C. Titius.
 C. Curatius.
 P. Furius.
 K. Duilius.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 M. Cædicius.
 L. Virginius.
 C. Lætorius.
 P. Lætorius.
 L. Fulvius Curvus.
 Quæstors of L. *Julius Iulus*.
 Rome. L. *Aquilus Corvus*.
 Military Quæ- T. *Quinctius Cincinnatus*.
 stors. T. *Manlius Capitolinus*.
 362. Y. of R.
 31. Military L. LUCRETIVS FLAVVS.
 Tribuneship. SER. SLPICIUS CAMERT-
 NUS.
 M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
 L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a
 seventh time.
 AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.
 C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,
 a second time.
 C. Trebonius Asper.
 L. Hortensius.
 C. Acutius.
 Q. Romulcius.

- M. Terentius.
 L. Appuleius.
 Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
 Q. Manlius.
 L. Rabuleius.
 N. Otacilius.
 T. Sicinius Dentatus.
 L. Mamilius Vitulus.
 Quæstors of L. Sicinius Dentatus.
 Rome. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
 Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpitius Rufus.
 stors. C. Sergius Fidenas.
 363. Y. of R.
 32. Military Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
 Tribuneship. K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
 C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
 Q. SLPICIUS LONGUS.
 Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-
 NAS, a fourth time.
 SERVIVS CORNELIVS MALU-
 GANENSIS.
 Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,
 a second time. He triumphs
 over the Gauls.
 G. of the Horse. L. Valerius Potitus.
 Tribunes of the L. Marcius Rutilus.
 People. L. Icilius Ruga.
 L. Ælius Pætus.
 M. Decius Mus.
 M. Otacilius.
 K. Duilius.
 L. Pupius.
 M. Appulcius.
 M. Albinus.
 C. Oppius.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 M. Titinius.
 Quæstors of L. Menenius Lanatus.
 Rome. C. Cornelius Cossus.
 Military Quæ- L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
 stors. L. Antistius.
 364. Y. of R.
 Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS
 G. of the Horse. L. Valerius Potitus.
 Tribunes of the C. Marcius Rutilus.
 People. L. Hortensius.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 L. Fulvius Curvus.
 L. Marcius.
 C. Appuleius.
 C. Sex-

C. Sextilius.
M' Pomponius.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Petilius.
Ædiles. L. Appuleius.
L. Virginius.
Questors of P. Valerius Poplicola Petitus.
Rome. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Military Quæ- L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
stors. L. Horatius Pulvillus.
365. Y. of R.
33. Military L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Tribuneship. second time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
P. CORNELIUS COSUS.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS RE-
GILLENIS.
Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,
a third time. He triumphs
over the Volsci, Æqui, and
Hetrurians.
G. of the Horse. C. Servilius Ahala.
Tribunes of the C. Trebonius Atter.
People. L. Ælius Pætus.
C. Otacilius.
M. Appuleius.
Lucius Albinus.
Q. Confidius.
Q. Hortensius.
N. Otacilius.
L. Allienius.
C. Acutius.
M. Albinus.
Ædiles. L. Marcus Rutilius.
C. Fabius Dorsus.
Questors of C. Apronius.
Rome. C. Papirius Crassus.
Military Quæ- M. Trebonius Flavius.
stors.
366. Y. of R.
34. Military T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-
Tribuneship. TUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRÆCUS FIDE-
NAS, a fifth time.
L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. AQUILIUS CORVIUS.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITI-
NUS.
SER. SULPICIUS RUPEUS.
M. Titinius.
Tribunes of the Cn. Appuleius.
People.

L. Sextius.
L. Numitorius.
C. Appuleius.
C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Sextilius.
M. Juventius.
L. Fulcinius.
T. Roterus.
L. Hortensius.
C. Opas.
Questors of Q. Fribulus Plit.
Rome. M. Petilius Iste.
Military Quæ- Sp. Papirius Crassus.
stors. M. Albinus.
367. Y. of R.
35. Military L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
Tribuneship. C. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,
a second time.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
third time.
C. CORNELIUS COSUS.
Tribunes of the L. SICIUS DENTATUS.
People. C. Trebonius Atter.
Q. Hortensius.
L. Marcus Rutilius.
M. Trebonius Flavius.
L. Antistius.
C. Acutius.
L. Albinus.
Sp. Maechus.
M. Appuleius.
Ædiles. C. Albinus Rutilius.
Sp. Oppas Cornutus.
Questors of L. Papirius Crassus.
Rome. Q. Servilius Præcussus Fidenas.
Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpicius Præstatinus.
stors. Cn. Apronius.
368. Y. of R.
36. Military M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a
Tribuneship. fourth time.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRÆCUS FIDE-
NAS, a sixth time.
T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-
TUS.
L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
P. VALERIUS POTTIUS POP-
LICOLA.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. L. Licinius Calvus.
Sp. Metilius.
A. Silius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
M. Pompilius.
Sex. Tempanius.
P. Scaptius.
P. Silius.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
Ti. Pontificius.
Adiles. C. Sextilius.
C. Appuleius.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Furius Medullinus.
Sp. Papirius Cursor.
Military Quæstors. M. Fabius Ambustus.
P. Mænius.
369. Y. of R.
37. *Military Tribuneship.* A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.
L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Dictator. A. CORNELIUS COS-
SUS. He triumphs over the Volsci.
G. of the Horse. T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Hortensius.
C. Marcus Rutilus.
L. Antistius.
C. Apronius.
L. Apronius.
L. Sextius.
C. Antistius.
M. Albinus.
A. Lucerius.
L. Cædicius.
Ediles. M. Trebonius Flavius.
L. Numitorius.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Military Quæstors. C. Manlius Capitolinus.
Sempronius Atratinus.
370. Y. of R.
38. *Military Tribuneship.* SFR. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS, a third time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POP-
LICOLA, a second time.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth
time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a second
time.
C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-
TUS, a second time.
Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Sp. Mecilius.
Q. Hortensius.
C. Furius.
T. Romuleius.
Q. Publilius Philo.
P. Mænius.
Cn. Apronius.
P. Mælius.
Q. Terentius.
Adiles. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Albinus.
Quæstors of Rome. P. Clælius Siculus.
Q. Decius Mus.
Military Quæstors. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
M. Horatius Pulvillus.
371. Y. of R.
39. *Military Tribuneship.* L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
fourth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a
third time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a third
time.
L. LUCRETIVS TRICIPITI-
NUS, a third time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a
third time.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
Tribunes of the People. L. Marcus Rutilus.
M. Albinius.
L. Oppius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Claudius.
C. Sextilius.
T. Juventius.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
M. Duilius.
Ediles. C. Apronius.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors.

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Geganius Macerinus.*
Sp. Servilius Priscus.
 Military Quæstors. *Q. Claudius Siculus.*
Q. Mucius Scaevola.
 372. Y. of R.
 40. Military Tribune. *SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.*
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
 SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a fourth time.
 Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
 SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
 L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fourth time.
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Sicilius Dentatus.*
L. Albinus.
L. Janus Bubulcus Brutus.
L. Petilius.
C. Canuleius.
C. Icilius Ruginus.
P. Manius.
L. Publius Philo Volcanus.
L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.
 Aediles. *M. M. M.*
L. Silius.
 Quæstors of Rome. *C. Silius Cæcilius.*
C. Furius Cæcilius.
 Military Quæstors. *P. Papus.*
L. Mucius.
 373. Y. of R.
 41. Military Tribune. *M. FURII CÆCILII*, a third time.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLINUS.
L. FURIUS MIPSIUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLINUS.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Antistius.*
A. Lucerius.
A. Tempanius.
Cn. Sellius.
C. Apromus.
C. Martius Rutilus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Metilius.
L. Tempanius.
C. Scilius.

Aediles. *Q. Hortensius.*
Q. Publius Plautius.
 Quæstors of Rome. *C. Lucius Cæcilius.*
L. Silius Cæcilius.
 Military Quæstors. *Sp. Sulpicius Longus.*
L. Silius Cæcilius.
 374. Y. of R.
 42. Military Tribune. *L. VALERIUS POTTIUS*, a fifth time.
P. VALERIUS POTTIUS POTTIUS, a fifth time.
L. MUNICIUS LEXANUS, a second time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a third time.
 SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
 SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a fifth time.
 Dictator. *T. QUINCTIUS CINCI-NATUS*. He triumphs over the Prænestini.
C. of the People. *A. Sempronius Atratinus.*
C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis. The latter dies in his Office, and his colleague abdicates on account of the death of his Collegue.
 Tribunes of the People. *M. Memmius.*
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Pomponius.
C. Manlius.
Sex. Titius.
Cn. Apromus.
C. Volcanius Flamma.
Q. Marcus Titius.
C. Silius Bellutus.
C. Titius.
 Aediles. *M. Dulus.*
C. Icilius Ruginus.
 Quæstors of Rome. *Q. Silius.*
M. Silius Cæcilius.
 Military Quæstors. *C. Titius.*
Q. Silius Cæcilius.
 375. Y. of R.
 43. Military Tribune. *P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.*
C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. JULIUS IULIUS, a second time.
C. SEXTILIUS.

Tribunes of the People.
M. ALBINUS.
L. ANTISTHIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.
M. TITIUS.
L. RABULCIUS.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
P. DECIIUS MUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. CANULEIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. MÆNIUS.
L. CANULEIUS.

Ædiles.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
P. SEXTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Quæstors of Rome.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

376. Y. of R.
44. Military Tribuneship.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Censors.
SP. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

The nineteenth Lustrum.
Tribunes of the People.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
L. PETILLIUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. DUILIUS.

Ædiles.
A. TEMPANIUS.
C. SELLIUS.

Quæstors of Rome.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Military Quæstors.
A. CORNELIUS CASSIUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

377. Y. of R.
45. Military Tribuneship.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fifth time.
SEK. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a second time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPULICOLA, a fourth time.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a second time.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS STOLO.
CN. PUPIUS.
VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. FULCINIUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. POPILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
A. TREBONIUS.
Q. DECIIUS MUS.
C. TITIUS.

Ædiles.
L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

378. Y. of R.
Anarchy.
Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
M. MÆNIUS.
CN. LUCRETIUS.
C. METILIUS.
C. SELLIUS.
Q. MÆCILIUS.
A. ACUTIUS.
A. TEMPANIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. CANULEIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

379. Y. of R.
Anarchy.
Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. DECIIUS MUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. VILLIUS.
P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
Q. MANILIUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Ædiles.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.

380. Y. of R.
Anarchy.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinenfis.

Cn. Pupius.
Q. Silius.
Cn. Sicilius Bellutus.
M. Genucius Aventinenfis.
P. Pupius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Fulcinius.
A. Trebius.

Ædiles.

381. Y. of R.

Anarchy.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Pætelius Libo Vifolus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Titinius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
K. Atinius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Genucius Aventinenfis.
C. Metilius.
C. Autius.

Ædiles.

382. Y. of R.

46. *Military Tribunship.*

L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POP-LICOLA, a fifth time.
A MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTA-TUS, a fifth time.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.
SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGI-NENSIS, a sixth time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Plautius Proculus, the Son of Publius.
C. Plautius Proculus, the Son of Caius.
P. Curatius.
L. Furius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinenfis.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Villius.
L. Papirius Crassus.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors. M. Geganus Mæcenus.
M. Popilius.

383. Y. of R.

47. *Military Tribunship.*

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDE-NAS, a third time.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-SIS.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CI-CURINUS, a second time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNA-TUS.
A. CORNELIUS CASSUS.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinenfis.
C. Plautius Proculus.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Licinius.
M. Genucius Aventinenfis.
M. Popilius Lænas.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
C. Pætelius Libo Vifolus.
Q. Pætelius Libo Vifolus.
C. Sulpicius Peticius.
Q. Sævilus Abala.
Sp. Furius Camillus.
Q. Pompeianus.

Ædiles.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

384. Y. of R.

48. *Military Tribunship.*

L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLI-NUS.
SP. SERVILIUS STRUCFUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-NENSIS, a seventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTA-TUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CI-CURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
Juventius Thalna.
Cn. Fulvius Centemalus.
P. Plautius Proculus.
C. Duilius.
Cn. Fulvius Paternus.
C. Sempronius Longus.
L. Atinius Longus.
K. Atinius Longus.

Ædiles.

4 F 2

C. Plautius.

Quæstors of *Plautius Proculus.*
Rome. *L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperatorius.*

Military Quæ- *Ap. Claudius Crassus.*
stors. *M. Aulus Ciceretanus.*
Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.

385 Y. of R.

Dictator. **M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,**
a fifth time.

G. of the Horse. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*

Dictator. **P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.**

G. of the Horse. *C. Licinius Calvus.*

Tribunes of the People. *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.*
L. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.

C. Plautius Proculus.

M. Marcus.

M. Confidius.

C. Petillius.

E. Allienius.

P. Publius Philo.

M. Platorius.

Ædiles.

Valer. Publius Philo.

Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

Quæstors of *P. Cornelius Scapula.*
Rome. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*

Military Quæ- *C. Carvilius Maximus.*
stors. *Q. Decius Mus.*

386 Y. of R.

49. Military *A. CORNELIUS Cossus, a se-*
Tribuneship. *cond time.*

L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICU-
RINUS, a second time.

M. CORNELIUS MALUGINEN-
SIS, a second time.

P. VALERIUS POTITUS POP-
LICOLA, a sixth time.

M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS,
a second time.

Dictator. **M. FURIUS CAMILLUS,**
a fifth time. He triumphs
over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*
Capitolinus.

Tribunes of the People. *L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.*

C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.

M. Popilius.

C. Plautius Proculus.

C. Racilius.

C. Trebonius Asper.

C. Marcius Rutilius.

C. Platorius.

L. Fulcinius.

T. Stadius.

Ædiles.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Sempronius Longus.

Quæstors of *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.*
Rome. *M. Fabius Ambustus.*

Military Quæ- *L. Pinarius Natta.*
stors. *M. Pomponius.*

387 Y. of R.

89. Consulship. **L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.**

L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS
LATERANUS. He was
the first Plebeian who was
made Consul.

First Prætor. *SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.*

First Curule. *Cn. Quinctius Cincinnatus.*

Ædiles. *C. Cornelius Scipio.*

Tribunes of the People. *M. Platorius.*

C. Numitorius.

C. Antius.

M. Acutius.

M. Pontificius.

P. Stadius.

M. Antius.

C. Mæcilius.

C. Lucerius.

L. Volscius Fictor.

Quæstors of *Cn. Manlius Capito. Torquatus.*
Rome. *Q. Aulus Ciceretanus.*

Military Quæ- *P. Licinius Calvus.*
stors. *C. Terentius.*

388 Y. of R.

90. Consulship. **L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.**

Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Prætor. **L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS**
IMPERIOSUS.

Curule Ædiles. *Juventius Thalna.*

C. Licinius Calvus.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.*

C. Plautius Proculus.

L. Lucerius.

C. Trebonius.

C. Volscius.

M. Popilius.

T. Metilius.

M. Sellius

T. Stadius.

T. Statius.
C. Racilius.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Popilius Lænas.
Quæstors of Rome. C. Martius Rutilus.
C. Fulvius Ambustus.
L. Hortensius.
Military Quæstors. M. Valerius Poplicola.
L. Fulvius Curvus.

389. Y. of R.

91. Consulship. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Prætor. CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scapula.
Appius Claudius Crassus Sabinus Regillanus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Confidius.
L. Appuleius.
C. Sempronius Longus.
L. Racilius.
C. Plætorius.
L. Allienius.
M. Marcius.
C. Fulvius Curvus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Fulvius.
L. Volsenus Fictor.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Æbutius Elva.
L. Iulius Ruga.

Military Quæstors. CN. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

390. Y. of R.

92. Consulship. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Dictator. L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

G. of the Horse. L. Pinarius Natta.
Censors. M. Fabius Ambustus, the Son of Cælo.
L. Furius Medullinus.

The twentieth Lustrum.

Prætor. M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS, the Son of Numerius.

Curule Ædiles. C. Popilius Lænas.
L. Statius.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
C. Antius.

Tribunes of the People. M. Antius.
C. Numitorius.

M. Popilius Lænas.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.

L. Pupius.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

C. Marcius Rutilus.
A. Alphenius.

L. Ælius Petus.
C. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola.
C. Fabius Iulus.

Military Quæstors. Q. Hortensius.
M. Curius.

391. Y. of R.

93. Consulship. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, a second time.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a second time.

Dictator. APPIVS CLAVDIVS CRASSVS SABINVS REGILLENSIS.

G. of the Horse. P. Cornelius Scapula.
Prætor. P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.

Curule Ædiles. CN. Manlius Caputinus Imperialis.

C. Fabius Ambustus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Pomponius.
Q. Decius Mus.

C. Oppius.
C. Terentius Arsa.

Q. Romuleius.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.

Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
N. Otacilius.

M. Terentius.
L. Rabuleius.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Lucretius.
C. Volsenius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Penellius.

Military Quæstors. L. Marcius.
L. Aquilius Gurtius.

392. Y. of R.

94. Consulship. C. LICINIUS CALVUS, a second time.

C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a second time. He attempts over the Hernici.

Dictator.

**T. QUINCTIUS PEN-
NUS, CAPITOLINUS
CRISPINUS.** He triumphs
over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. Serv. Cornelius Maluginen-
sis.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule/Ediles. M. Platorius

M. Confidius.

*Plebeian A-
diles.* C. Platorius.

L. Allienius.

*Tribunes of the
People.* C. Plautius Hypsæus.

M. Marcius.

M. Otacilius.

C. Lætorius, the son of Caius.

P. Furius.

L. Ælius Pætus.

P. Licinius Calvus.

Q. Mælius.

C. Lætorius, the son of Publius.

L. Virginius.

*Quæstors of
Rome.* A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

*Military Quæ-
stors.* M. Papirius Mugillanus.

M. Duilius.

C. Duilius.

393. Y. of R.

95. *Consulship.* M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

C. PETILIUS LIBO VISO-
LUS. The latter triumphs
over the Gauls, and the Ti-
burtini. The former, after
having defeated the Hernici,
obtains the Honours of an
Ovation.

Prætor. SPURIUS FURIUS CAMILLUS,
a second time.

Curule/Ediles. P. Valerius Poplicola.

C. Julius Iulus.

*Plebeian A-
diles.* Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

C. Carvilius Maximus.

*Tribunes of the
People.* K. Duilius.

M. Cædicius.

C. Apronius.

T. Sicinius Dentatus.

C. Mæcius Rutilus.

L. Hortensius.

C. Marcius.

C. Sextius.

C. Titius.

M. Titinius.

*Quæstors of
Rome.* L. Æmilius Barbula.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus.

*Military Quæ-
stors.* T. Manlius Capitolinus Torqua-
tus.

C. Livius Denter.

394. Y. of R.

96. *Consulship.* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLI-
NUS IMPERIOSUS.

Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGI-
NENSIS.

Curule/Ediles. M. Pomponius.

L. Rabuleius.

*Plebeian A-
diles.* C. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Terentius Arsa.

*Tribunes of the
People.* M. Marcius.

Sex. Manilius.

P. Silius.

C. Apronius.

M. Terentius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

Sex. Pompilius.

P. Villius.

C. Sextius.

*Quæstors of
Rome.* P. Valerius Poplicola.

*Military Quæ-
stors.* L. Marcius Rutilus.

M. Fostius Flaccinator.

C. Servius Fidenas.

395. Y. of R.

97. *Consulship.* C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS,
who triumphs over the Pri-
vernates.

Dictator. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
He triumphs over the Gauls.

G. of the Horse. M. Valerius Poplicola.

Prætor. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CA-
PITOLINUS CRISPINUS.

Curule/Ediles. T. Manlius Torquatus.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

*Plebeian A-
diles.* K. Duilius.

L. Virginius.

*Tribunes of the
People.* C. Petilius.

L. Plautius Venno.

L. Hortensius.

Q. Hortensius.

C. Sextilius.

M. Cædicius.

P. Furius.

P. Licinius.

C. Lætorius.

M. Mænius.

Quæstors

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Furius Camillus.*
P. Mænius.
 Military Quæstors. *C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

396. Y. of R.

98. Consulship. **C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.**

He triumphs over the Priver-nates.

CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS, a second time.

Prætor. *M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.*

Curule Ædiles. *C. Duilius.*

L. Sextius.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Curatius.*
Sp. Titius.

Tribunes of the People. *M. Duilius.*
L. Mænius.

M. Pomponius.

M. Titinius.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Claudius Cicero.

C. Apronius.

T. Sicinius.

M' Curius.

Quæstors of Rome. *M. Papirius Mugillanus.*
Ti. Cornucanus.

Military Quæstors. *Sp. Papirius Cursor.*
M' Pomponius.

397. Y. of R.

99. Consulship. **M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS,** a second time.

M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.

Dictator. **C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.**
 He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

G. of the Horse. **C. PLAUTIVS PROCULUS.**

Prætor. **T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*

Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Plautius Hypsæus.*

C. Sextius.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Livius Denter.*

P. Licinius Calvus.

Q. Hortensius.

C. Junius Bubulcus.

M. Marcus.

P. Mænius.

K. Duilius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

L. Antistius.

C. Petillius.

Quæstors of Rome. *Sex. Tullius.*
M. Pætelius Libo.

Military Quæstors. *M. Fabius Dors.*

Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus.

398. Y. of R.

100. Consulship. **C. SULPICIUS PETICUS,** a third time.

M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Prætor. *P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.*

Curule Ædiles. *M. Duilius.*

L. Mænius.

Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Mænius.*

P. Furius.

Tribunes of the People. *L. Hortensius.*

C. Antistius.

C. Duilius.

Cn. Appuleius.

C. Appuleius.

L. Albinus.

L. Fulcinius.

L. Albinus.

C. Confidius.

L. Nannitorius.

Quæstors of Rome. *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.*
Q. Servilius Ahala.

Military Quæstors. *Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.*

C. Claudius Crassus Regillus.

399. Y. of R.

101. Consulship. **M. FABIVS AMBUSTUS,** a third time. He triumphs over the Tiburtini.

T. QUINCTIVS PENNA CAPITOLINUS CRISTIVS.

Prætor. **C. JULIVS IULIVS.**

Curule Ædiles. *L. Furius Camillus.*

M. Papirius Mugillanus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Licinus Denter.*

Q. Hortensius.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.*

Sp. Mænius.

L. Mænius Rutilus.

Sp. Mænius.

A. Silius.

K. Duilius.

Ti. Fonticellus.

T. Roscius.

Sex. Tempanius.

L. Villus.

Quæstors.

Quæstors of *Rome*. *Q. Fabius Ambustus.*
M. Lucius.
 Military Quæstors. *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.*
C. Papirius Crassus.

400. Y. of R.

102. *Consulship*. *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, a fourth time.
M. Valerius Poplicola, a second time.

Dictator. *T. Manlius Imperator Torquatus.*

G. of the Horse. *A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.*
Prætor. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*

Curule Ædiles. *L. Hortensius.*
M. Marcius.

Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Antistius.*
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Quæstors of *Rome*. *Q. Publius Philo.*
P. Decius Mus.

Military Quæstors. *C. Mænius.*
Cn. Cornelius Cossus.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Plautius Hypsæus.*
L. Mænius.
C. Sicinius Bellatus.
C. Titius.
C. Sextius.
M. Duilius.
C. Mamilius Vitellus.
T. Sicinius Dentatus.
C. Apronius.
L. Sextilius.

401. Y. of R.

Consulship. *P. Valerius Poplicola.*

C. Marcius Rutilus, a second time.

Dictator. *C. Julius Iulus.*

G. of the Horse. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*

Prætor. *Ap. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.*

Curule Ædiles. *P. Valerius Poplicola.*
L. Pinarius Natta.

Plebeian Ædiles. *Cn. Appuleius.*
L. Antistius.

Tribunes of the People. *Sex. Julius.*
K. Julius.
M. Pomponius.
L. Cæcilius.

P. Mælius.
P. Mænius.
Q. Hortensius.
M. Mænius.

C. Furius.
C. Canuleius.

Quæstors of *Rome*. *L. Æmilius Mamercinus.*
L. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors. *C. Volturnius Flamma.*
Q. Æmilius Barbula.

402. Y. of R.

104. *Consulship*. *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, a fifth time.

T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus.

Dictator. *M. Fabius Ambustus.*

G. of the Horse. *Q. Servilius Ahala.*

Censors. *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.*
C. Marcius Rutilus. The first Plebeian who was made Censor.

The twenty-first Lustrum.

Prætor. *M. Papirius Mugillanus.*
Curule Ædiles. *C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.*

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Appuleius.*
C. Antistius.

Tribunes of the People. *L. Villius.*
M. Ovinus.
C. Duilius.

L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.
T. Romuleius.
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
M. Claudius Cicero.
M. Pætelius Libo.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Q. Terentius.

Quæstors of *Rome*. *Ser. Sulpicius Longus.*
Sp. Furius Medullinus.

Military Quæstors. *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.*
Q. Cæcilius.

403. Y. of R.

105. *Consulship*. *M. Popilius Lænas*, a third time. He triumphs over the Gauls.
L. Cornelius Scipio.

Dictator. *L. Furius Camillus.*
C. of

G. of the Horse. P. Cornelius Scipio.
Prætor. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Dorsø.

**Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.*
Plebeian Æ- L. Sextilius.
diles. C. Mamilius.
Tribunes of the P. Mænius.
People. K. Duilius.

T. Juventius.
 L. Oppius.
 P. Decius Mus.
 C. Oppius Cornicen.
 C. Licinius Calvus.
 C. Livius Denter.
 Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors of M. Horatius Pulvillus
Rome. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Military Quæ- C. Claudius Hortator.
stors. A. Posthumus Albinus Regillensis.

404. Y. of R.

106. *Consulship.* L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
 AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS
 SABINUS REGILLEN-
 sis.
 He died in his Office.

Dictator: T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS,
 a second time.

G. of the Horse. A. Cornelius Arvina.
Prætor. L. PINARIUS NATTA.
Curule Ædiles. M. Pomponius.

L. Cædicius.
Plebeian Æ- Sex. Tullius.
diles. C. Furius.

Tribunes of the Q. Publius Philo.
People. C. Icilius Ruga.
 M. Clædicius Cicero.
 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

C. Mænius.
 P. Mucius Scævola.
 C. Fabricius Lucinus.
 L. Antistius.
 P. Pupius.

Quæstors of L. Publius Philo Volscius.
Rome. P. Ælius Pætus.
Military Quæ- Q. Antonius Mærenda.
stors. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
 L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

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405. Y. of R.

107. *Consulship.* M. POPILIUS LÆNAS,
 fourth time.
 M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
Dictator. C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS
 REGILLEN-
 sis.

G. of the Horse. C. Livius Denter.
Prætor. M. FABIUS DORSO.
Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Q. Sævilius Arista.
Plebeian Æ- M. Postellus Libo.
diles. P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the K. Duilius.
People. A. Trebiius.

Cn. Lucerius.
 A. Tempanius.
 P. Licinius Stolo.
 Cn. Selhus.
 P. Decius Mus.
 C. Appuleius.
 Q. Mæcilius.
 Q. Marcus Tremulus.

Quæstors of L. Papirius Crassus.
Rome. L. Petilius.
Military Quæ- L. Posthumus Megellus.
stors. M. Fulvius.

406. Y. of R.

408. *Consulship.* C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS
 T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS
 TORQUATUS.

Prætor. SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
Curule Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
 P. Decius Mus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Publius Philo.
diles. T. Juventius.

Tribunes of the Sex. Tullius.
People. C. Mænius.
 L. Antistius.
 M. Pomponius.
 C. Duilius.
 Volero Publius Philo Volscus.
 L. Atinius Longus.
 P. Mænius.
 P. Pupius.
 C. Antistius.

Quæstors of L. C. M. Aventinensis.
Rome. L. Furius Cæpillus.
Military Quæ- C. Sulpicius Longus.
stors. Ser. Sulpicius Sæternus.

407. Y. of R.

109. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Antiates, Volsci, and Satricani.

C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Secular Games.

Prætor. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Ser. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mucius Scævola.

Tribunes of the People. P. Decius Mus.
M. Claudius Cicero.

C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Licinius Stolo.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Q. Cecilius Metellus.
P. Melius Capitolinus.
Q. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
Military Quæstors. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
Q. Canuleius.

408. Y. of R.

110. *Consulship.* M. FABIVS DORSO.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Dictator. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

Of the Horse. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.

Prætor. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Curule Ædiles. C. Mænius.

Q. Mætilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. Trebius.

Cn. Lucerns.

Tribunes of the People. C. Claudius Hortator.

Q. Publilius Philo.

L. Cædicius.

L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

M. Titinius.

C. Mætilius.

P. Ælius Pætus.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Sex. Titius.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus

Quæstors of Rome. T. Veturius Calvinus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Military Quæstors. Cn. Pupius.
M. Sergius Fidenas.

409. Y. of R.

111. *Consulship.* C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a third time.

T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.

Dictator. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

G. of the Horse. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Priver-nas.

Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.

L. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mænius.

Q. Manilius.

C. Pompius.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

L. Volumnius Flamma.

C. Titinius.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Q. Silius.

L. Villius.

L. Titius.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.

C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.

Military Quæstors. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.

410. Y. of R.

112. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.

A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Censors. M. Fabius Ambustus.

M. Popillius Lænas.

The twenty second Lustrum.

Prætor. SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Cædicius.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Licinius Stolo.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Antonius.
Sex. Titius.
C. Claudius Hortator.
M. Atilius Regulus.
R. Sextius Sextinus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
L. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Papirius Crassus.
L. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors. C. Plautius Decianus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

411. Y. of R.
113. *Consulship.* C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a fourth time.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Dictator. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

G. of the Horse. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Crassus.
C. Sulpicius Longus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Titinius.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Mænius.
L. Furius.
P. Curatius.
Q. Canuleius.
M. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Valerius Poplicola.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Military Quæstors. P. Cornelius Rufinus.
M. Aulus Cerretanus.

412. Y. of R.
114. *Consulship.* C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS, a second time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Prætor. T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Titinius.
Q. Manilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Pempilius.
L. Villius.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Publius Philo.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Q. Pomponius.
C. Duilius.
K. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Cn. Pupius.
C. Sempiternus Sophus.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Valerius Postumus Flaccus.
Sp. Postumus Albinus.

Military Quæstors. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
L. Plautius Vento.

413. Y. of R.
115. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a third time.
He triumphs over the Latins, Campani, Sidicini, and Aurunci.

Dictator. P. DECIUS MUS.

G. of the Horse. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURTOR.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Claudius Crassus Regillensis.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Antonius.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People. L. Allienius.
M. Platorius.
M. Marcus.
C. Popilius.
C. Petillius.
C. Mæcilius.
P. Publius Philo.
C. Postellius Libo Vitolus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
M. Confidius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Sallustius Serna.
L. Æmilius Pauchus.

Military Quæstors. C. Plautius Prædus.
L. Pinarius Nectus.

414. Y. of R.
116. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS MAMERCINUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the Latins.

Dictator. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

G. of the Horse. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

The CAPITOLINE MARBLES;

Prætor.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS
PRIVERNAS.

Curule Ædiles. **M. Atilius Regulus.**

P. Curatius.

Plebeian Ædiles. **Cn. Domitius Calvinus.**

L. Furius.

Tribunes of the People. **C. Lucretius.**

M. Potiticius.

L. Villus.

C. Pompius.

M. Acutius.

Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

L. Volscius Fictor.

T. Veturius Calvinus.

Q. Mamilius.

P. Silius.

Quæstors of Rome. **L. Valerius Potitus.**

M. Geganius Mamercinus.

Military Quæstors. **M. Duilius.**

***M. Mæcilius.**

415. Y. of R.

117. Consulship. **L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.** He triumphs over the Pedani and Tiburtini.

C. MENIUS. He triumphs over the Antiates, Lavinians, and Velitani.

Prætor. **M. VALERIUS CORVUS.**

Curule Ædiles. **T. Veturius Crassus.**

Cn. Quinctilius Varus.

Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Claudius Marcellus.***

C. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the People. **P. Sempronius Longus.**

P. Sallonius Sarra.

C. Plautius Decianus.

M. Minucius Augurinus.

C. Terentius Arsa.

M. Decius Mus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Titinius.

Q. Canuleius.

M. Juventius Thalna.

Quæstors of Rome. **G. Sulpicius Peticus.**

L. Veturius Crassus Augurinus.

Military Quæstors. **P. Furius.**

C. Minucius Augurinus.

416. Y. of R.

118. Consulship. **C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.**

P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Dictator. **C. GLAUDIUS CRASSUS**
REGILLENIS.

G. of the Horse. **C. Claudius Hortator.**

Prætor. **T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS**

TORQUATUS.

Curule Ædiles. **P. Cornelius Rufinus.**

M. Papirius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. **C. Petilius.**

L. Allienius.

Tribunes of the People. **Cn. Domitius Calvinus.**

C. Pætelius Libo Vifolus.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

C. Sempronius Sophus.

L. Plautius Venno.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

Q. Pomponius.

M. Fulvius Fæstus.

L. Atilius Regulus.

Quæstors of Rome. **P. Cornelius Scapula.**

L. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors. **Q. Decius Mus.**

C. Carvilius Maximus.

417. Y. of R.

119. Consulship. **L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.**

K. DUILIUS.

Prætor. **Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.** The first Plebeian who was raised to this Office.

Curule Ædiles. **Sp. Posthumius Albinus.**

P. Valerius Poplicola.

Plebeian Ædiles. **P. Sallonius Sarra.**

P. Silius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. **L. Antonius Nepos.**

C. Plautius Decianus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Marcius Nepos.

C. Popillius Nepos.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Plautius Proculus.

C. Marcius Rutilus.

P. Pubilius Philo.

L. Confidius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. **Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.**

Q. Aulius Cerretanus.

Military Quæstors. **L. Fulvius Curvus.**

M. Æbutius Elva.

418. Y. of R.

120. Consulship. **M. VALERIUS CORVUS,** a fourth time. He triumphed over the Inhabitants of the Territory of Cales.

M. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Dictator.

Dictator. **L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.**
G. of the Horse. **Q. Publius Philo.**
Prætor. **CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.**
Curule Ædiles. **C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.**
L. Valerius Potitus.
Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Juventius Thalna.**
Q. Canuleius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. **L. Plautius Venno.**
L. Plætorius.
L. Fulcinus.
C. Numitorius.
M. Mæcilius.
C. Plætorius.
C. Racilius.
E. Statius.
C. Antius Restio.
C. Lucerius.
Quæstors of Rome. **L. Papirius Mugillanus.**
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.
Military Quæstors. **L. Julius Libo.**
M. Aulus Ciceretanus.
419. Y. of R.
121. Consulship. **T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.**
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Dictator. **P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.**
G. of the Horse. **M. Antonius.**
Prætor. **M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.**
Curule Ædiles. **L. Cornelius Lentulus.**
M. Geganius Macerinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. **Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.**
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. **P. Sallonius Sagra.**
T. Metilius.
M. Scaptius.
M. Mamilius.
C. Memmius.
L. Racilius.
M. Sellius.
P. Silius.
Q. Cæcilius Nocuta.
P. Furius.
Quæstors of Rome. **Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.**
Ap. Claudius Crass. Sabin. Regillensis.
Military Quæstors. **C. Antius Nepos.**
T. Pontificius Nepos.

420. Y. of R.
122. Consulship. **L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.**
C. POFTELIUS LIBO VISO LUS.
Prætor. **C. VALETIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.**
Curule Ædiles. **M. Valerius Corvus.**
L. Vetustus Græssus Cicurinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. **L. Plautius Vinno.**
C. Plautius Decianus.
Tribunes of the People. **L. Genucius Aventinensis.**
C. Popilius Lænas.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
Q. Hortensius.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Lætorius.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Terentius.
M. Juventius Thalna.
Quæstors of Rome. **Q. Fabius Maximus Rullicenus.**
Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Military Quæstors. **C. Fostius Flaccinator.**
Q. Mamilius Titulus.

421. Y. of R.
123. Consulship. **A. CORNELIUS COSSUS,**
 a second time.
CN. DOMITTIUS CALVINUS.
Dictator. **M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.**
G. of the Horse. **P. Valerius Poplicola.**
Censors. **Q. Publius Philo.**
Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

The twenty-third Lustrum.

Prætor. **L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.**
Curule Ædiles. **L. Plætorius.**
C. Plætorius.
Plebeian Ædiles. **C. Racilius.**
L. Fulcinus.
Tribunes of the People. **L. Fulvius Curvus.**
L. Hortensius.
A. Opulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
L. Atilius Pætus.
M. Lætorius.
M. Otacilius Crassus.
Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Curius Dentatus.
Quæstor of Rome. **M. Flavius.**
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Military.

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES;

Military Quæ- *M. Fabius Ambustus.*
stors. *C. Aquilius Florus.*

422. Y. of R.

124. *Consulship.* **M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-**
LUS.

Dictator. **C. VALERIUS POTITUS.**
CN. QUINTILIUS VA-
RUS.

G. of the Horse. **L. Valerius Potitus.**

Prætor. **M. VALERIUS CORVUS.**

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.*
M. Æbutius Elva.

Plebeian Æ- **L. Racilius Nepos.**
diles. **M. Mamilius Vitulus.**

Tribunes of the **Q. Aulus Cerretanus.**
People. **L. Pupius Nepos.**

C. Livius Denter.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

M. Pomponius Matho.

D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Cn. Fulvius Centuncius.

M. Martius Nepos.

Quæstors of **L. Valerius Flaccus.**
Rome. *Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.*

Military Quæ- **M. Æmilius Popus.**
stors. **L. Plantius Vennus.**

423. Y. of R.

125. *Consulship.* **L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS,** a
second time.

Prætor. **L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.**

Curule Ædiles. **P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.**

C. Popilius Lænas.

C. Lætorius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- **C. Manlius Capitolinus.**
diles. **C. Minucius Augurinus.**

Tribunes of the **M. Livius Denter.**
People. **L. Fulvius Curvus.**

A. Allienius Nepos.

M. Racilius Nepos.

A. Trebonius Asper.

M. Aulus Cerretanus.

L. Appuleius Nepos.

L. Plætorius Nepos.

L. Fulcinius Nepos.

P. Numitorius Pullus.

Quæstors of **C. Plautius Hypsæus.**
Rome. **C. Pætillius Nepos.**

Military Quæ- **L. Horatius Pulvillus.**
stors. **L. Æmilius Mamercinus.**

424. Y. of R.

126. *Consulship.* **L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCI-**
NUS PRIVERNAS, a se-
cond time.

C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
Both triumph over the Pri-
vernates.

Prætor. **L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.**

Curule Ædiles. **L. Papirius Mugillanus.**

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- **M. Curius Dentatus.**
diles. *Q. Decius Mus.*

Tribunes of the **C. Plætorius Nepos.**
People. **C. Fescennius Nepos.**

T. Pontificius Nepos.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Sp. Antius Restio.

C. Auccius Nepos.

P. Silius Nepos.

Sex. Manlius Nepos.

M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæstors of **M. Fostius Flaccinator.**
Rome. **L. Furius Camillus.**

Military Quæ- **M. Popilius Lænas.**
stors. **P. Villius Nepos.**

425. Y. of R.

127. *Consulship.* **C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.**
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Prætor. **D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.**

Curule Ædiles. **M. Valerius Corvus.**

C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.

Plebeian Æ- **C. Fulvius Curvus.**
diles. *Q. Aulus Cerretanus.*

Tribunes of the **M. Aulus Cerretanus.**
People. **M. Titinius Nepos.**

Cn. Apronius Nepos.

C. Sextilius Nepos.

L. Mænius Nepos.

T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

C. Curatius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Quæstors of **L. Papirius Crassus.**
Rome. *Q. Æmilius Barbula.*

Military Quæ- **P. Ælius Pætus.**
stors. **C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.**

426. Y. of R.

128. *Consulship.* **L. CORNELIUS LENTU-**
LUS.

Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a
second time.

Dic-

Or, CONSULAR CALENDARS.

599

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

G. of the Horse. Sp. Pothumius Albinus.

Prator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RVL-
LIANVS.

Curule/Ediles. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian /Ediles. L. Fulvius Curvus.

M. Livius Dentor.

Tribunes of the People. M. Flavius Nepos.

C. Lætorius Nepos.

C. Minucius Augurinus.

C. Aquillius Florus.

C. Otacilius Nepos.

C. Cæcilius Metellus.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Rabulecius Nepos.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Q. Decius Mus.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Pætelius Libo Visolus.

M. Fostius Flaccinator.

Military Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.

L. Romulecius Nepos.

427. Y. of R.

129. Consulship. C. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISO-
LUS, a second time.

L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLA-
NUS.

Prator. C. PLAUTIVS DECIVS.

Curule/Ediles. L. Valerius Flaccus.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian /Ediles. Sex. Manilius Nepos.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Petillius Nepos.

M' Curius Dentatus.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

Ti. Coruncanius.

L. Icilius Ruga.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

C. Antistius Nepos.

Sex. Tullius Nepos.

T. Sempronius Blæsus.

L. Marcius Rutilius.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Mælius Nepos.

L. Manlius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors. P. Manlius Vulfo.

T. Claudius Cicero.

Proconsul. Q. Publius Philo. He tri-
umphs over the Samnites and
Palæopolitani.

Pro-Quæstor. L. Romuleius.

428. Y. of R.

130. Consulship. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a
second time.

D. JUNIVS BRVTVS SCÆ-
VA.

Dictator. L. PAPPRIUS CURSOR.

G. of the Horse. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullia-
nus, who abdicates; and
L. Papprius Crassius is chosen
in his room.

Prator. L. FVLVIVS CVRVVS.

Curule/Ediles. C. Fostius Flaccinator.

M. Emilius Popu.

Plebeian /Ediles. M. Flavius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Plautius Vennus.

C. Plautius Hypæus.

C. Confidius Nepos.

L. Numitorius Nepos.

Sp. Mæcius Nepos.

C. Popilius Lænius.

L. Albinus Nepos.

L. Fulcinius Tilio.

T. Roscius Nepos.

A. Lucius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Quintus Capitolinus.

M. Antistius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. P. Valerius Poplicola.

P. Plautius Hypæus.

429. Y. of R.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
He triumphs over the Sam-
nites.

G. of the Horse. L. Papiarius Crassus

Censors. M. Valerius Corvus.

C. Pætelius Libo Visoli

The twenty-fourth Lustrum.

Prator. M. FABIVS AMBVSIVS.

Curule/Ediles. L. Papiarius Crassus.

L. Furius Camillus.

Plebeian /Ediles. C. Cæcilius Metellus.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. P. Atilius Pætus.

C. Fulvius Curvus.

Sex. Terentianus Nepos.

L. Apronius Limo.

C. Mænius Nepos.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

Sp. Metilius Nepos.

L. Villius Nepos.

L. Sextilius.

P. Virginius.

Quæstors

Quæstors of *Sp. Nautilus Rutilus.*
Rome. Q. Fabius Ambustus.
 Military Quæ- *P. Valerius M.*
 stors. *T. Pomponius Nepos.*

430. Y. of R.

131. *Consulship.* **C. SURIPICIUS LONGUS.**
Q. AUDUS CERRETANUS.
Prætor. Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.
Curule/Ediles. M. Fostius Flaccinator.

Q. Æmilius Barbula.
 Plebeian Æ- *L. Marcius Rutilus.*
 diles. *T. Sempronius Blæsus.*

Tribunes of the *M. Flavius Nepos.*
People. M. Poetelius Libo.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M' Curius Dentatus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Popillius Lænas.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Ælius Pætus.
Ti. Coruncanus Nepos.

Quæstors of *L. Cæcilius Nepos.*
Rome. Q. Marcius Rutilus.
 Military Quæ- *M. Valerius Maximus.*
 stors. *A. Virginus Tricostus Rutilus.*

431. Y. of R.

132. *Consulship.* **Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RVL-
 LIANVS.** He triumphs o-
 ver the Samnites and Apu-
 lians.
L. FVLVIVS CVRVVS. He
 triumphs over the Samnites.

Dictator. **A. CORNELIVS COSSVS
 ARVINA.**

G. of the Horse. M. Fabius Ambustus.
Prætor. L. PLAUTIVS.

Curule/Ediles. C. Plautius Hypsæus.
A. Lucerius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
 diles. *L. Albinus Nepos.*

Tribunes of the *C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.*
People. Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Petillius Nepos.
C. Condidius Nepos.
M. Trebonius Flavius.
A. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Albinus Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Numitorius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flamma.

Quæstors of *P. Sestius Capitolinus.*
Rome. Q. Pubilius Philo.
 Military Quæ- *M. Sergius Fidenas.*
 stors. *C. Apuleius Panfa.*

432. Y. of R.

133. *Consulship.* **T. VETURIVS CALVINVS,**
 a second time.
**SP. POSTHUMIVS ALPI-
 NVS,** a second time.

Dictators. **Q. FABIVS AMBUSTVS.**
M. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.

Generals of the *P. Ælius Pætus.*
Horse. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Prætor. M. VALERIVS PAVVS.

Curule/Ediles. M. Popillius Lænas.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- Sex. Tempanius Nepos.
 diles. *L. Villius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the *M. Poetelius Libo.*
People. C. Mamilius Vitulus.

L. Sextilius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
T. Roscius Nepos.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
L. Canuleius Nepos.

Quæstors of *Cn. Furius Pacilus.*
Rome. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
 Military Quæ- *Sp. Papirius Crassus.*
 stors. *Cn. Lucerius Nepos.*

433. Y. of R.

134. *Consulship.* **L. PAPIRIVS CVRSOR,** a
 second time.
Q. PVBILIVS PHILO, a
 third time.

Dictators. **C. MÆNIVS NEPOS.**
**L. CORNELIVS LEN-
 TVLVS.**
**T. MANLIVS IMPERI-
 OSVS TORQVATVS.**

Generals of the *M. Fostius Flaccinator.*
Horse. L. Papirius Cursor.

Prætor. L. Papirius Crassus.

Curule/Ediles. Q. ÆMILIVS BARBULA.
L. Quintus Capitolinus.
Sp. Nautilus Rutilus.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Junius Bubulus Brutus.*
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Livius Dentor.*
Q. Mælius Nepos.

P. Numicius Nepos. These were all three obliged to abdicate, in order to go to Caudium, as Hostages for the Performance of the Treaty concluded at the Caudian Forks.

P. Decius Mus.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
P. Mænius Nepos.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Cædicius Nepos.
P. Virginius Nepos.
T. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
T. Juventius Nepos.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Volumnus Flamma.
P. Fundanius Mendulus.
M. Fabius Dorso.
Q. Antonius Merenda.

Quæstors of Rome.
 Military Quæstors.

434. Y. of R.

135. Consulship. *L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR*, a third time. He triumphs over the Samnites.

Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, a second time.

Censors.

C. Sulpicius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus. They both abdicate.

Prætor. *M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.*
 Curule Ædiles. *M. Valerius Maximus.*
C. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Volumnus Flamma.*
M. Trebonius Flavius.

Tribunes of the People. *M. Antistius Nepos.*
M. Poetelius Libo.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Corninius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Martius Rutilus.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
 Quæstors of Rome. *Q. Mæcius Tremulus.*
L. Genucius Macerinus.

VOL. II.

Military Quæstors. *Q. Claudius Siculus.*
L. Emilius Magnus.

435. Y. of R.

136. Consulship. *L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.*
M. FOSTIUS FLACCINUS TOR.

Censors.

L. Papirius Crassius.
C. Mælius.

The twenty-fifth Lustrum.

Prætor. *L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.*
 Curule Ædiles. *M. Valerius Corvus.*
M. Sergius Eidenus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Decius Mus.
T. Roscius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mælius Nepos.
C. Claudius Hortator.
C. Fabricius Lufcinus.
P. Pupius Nepos.
Q. Pubilius Philo.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Mucius Scaevola.
C. Iulius Ruga.
Sextus Titius Nepos.
C. Plautius Hortator.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Sp. Claudius Cæcus.

Military Quæstors.

M. Fulvius Curvus Patinus.
T. Minucius Augurinus.

436. Y. of R.

137. Consulship. *Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.*
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Prætor. *L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.*
 Curule Ædiles. *M. Papirius Libo.*
L. Livius Dentor.

Plebeian Ædiles. *T. Numicius Nepos.*
M. Antistius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.

L. Corninius Nepos.
C. Apuleius Panfa.
M. Trebonius Flavius.
Q. Mæcilius Nepos.
Cn. Sellius Nepos.
A. Trebjius Nepos.
Cn. Lucerius Nepos.
Sp. Metellius Nepos.
A. T. Appianus.
L. Villius Nepos.
P. Cornilius Aruina.
L. Papirius Mæso.

Quæstors of Rome.

FL

Military

Military Quæ- C. Lutatius Catulus.
stors. M. Fulcinius Nepos.

437. Y. of R.

138. Consulship. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. P. PULIUS LÆNAS.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMER-
CINUS PRIVERNAS.

G. of the Horse. L. Fulvius Curvus.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Mælius Nepos.

C. Marcus Rutilus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Apronius Lino.

diles. L. Sextilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the P. Decius Mus.

People. M. Titinius Nepos.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

L. Cædicius Nepos.

P. Mænius Nepos.

C. Volumnus Flamma.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Genucius Aventinensis.

M. Cædicius Nepos.

C. Furius Nepos.

Quæstors of C. Cornelius Lentulus.

Rome. L. Atilius Regulus.

Military Quæ- L. Volumnus Flamma.

stors. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

438. Y. of R.

139. Consulship. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
fourth time.

Q. PUBLIUS PHILO, a
fourth time.

Dictator. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS.

G. of the Horse. Q. Aulus Cæretanus, who
was killed in Battle; and
C. Fabius Ambustus chosen
in his room.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

M. Fabius Dors.

Plebeian Æ- L. Cominius Nepos.

diles. Q. Publius Philo.

Tribunes of the L. Livius Dors.

People. M. Amilius Nepos.

L. Volumnus Flamma Violens.

Q. Canus Nepos.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

T. Nuthicus Nepos.

Q. Marcus Tremulus.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

P. Lælius Nepos Stolo.

L. Domitius Aenobarbus.

C. Marcus Rutilus.

M. Decius Mus.

M. Livius Dentor.

L. Æmilius Barbula.

Quæstors of
Rome.

Military Quæ-
stors.

439. Y. of R.

140. Consulship. M. PÆTELIUS LIBO.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, a
third time. He triumphs over
the Samnites.

Dictator. C. MÆNIUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Follus Flaccinator.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Geganus Macerinus.

Q. Clælius Siculus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Appuleius Pansa.

diles. A. Trebius Nepos.

Tribunes of the Q. Mælius Nepos.

People. Ti. Minucius Augurinus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

C. Claudius Hortator.

P. Mucius Scævola.

M. Trebius.

M. Fulvius Curvus Pætinus.

M. Domitius Calvinus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Quæstors of P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.

Rome. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Military Quæ- L. Domitius Aenobarbus.

stors. P. Sempronius Longus.

440. Y. of R.

141. Consulship. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a
fifth time.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS
BRUTUS, a second time.

Dictator. C. PÆTELIUS LIBO VI-
SOLUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Pætelius Libo.

Prætor. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Arvina.

Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Plebeian Æ- M. Titinius Nepos.

diles. Sex. Titius Nepos.

Tribunes of the L. Cominius Nepos.

People. M. Marcus Tremulus.

Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Q. Pub.

Q. Papilius Philo.
Q. Petilius Nepos.
L. Livius Dent.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Aemilius Longus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
C. Lucatius Catulus.
E. Posthumius Megellus.
C. Furius Nepos.
P. Subiticius Saverrio.
M. Titinius Nepos.

441. Y. of R.
 142. *Consulship.* **M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.**
 He triumphs over the Samnites and Sorani.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Dictator. **C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.**
G. of the Horse. **C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.**
Censors. **Ap. Claudius Crecus.**
C. Plautius Venox.

The twenty-sixth Lustrum.
Prætor. **M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.**
Curule Ædiles. **M. Valerius Corvus.**
L. Papirius Majo.
Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Fulvius Curvus Patinus.**
L. Volumnii Flaminius Violens.
Tribunes of the People. **L. Genucius Aventinensis.**
A. Trebius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nepos.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
M. Fulcinus Nepos.
A. Acutius Nepos.
L. Volumnii Flaminia.
C. Pompilius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
Quæstors of Rome. **M. Papirius Crassus.**
Military Quæstors. **Cn. Sempronius Gracchus.**
Q. Appulcius Pansa.

442. Y. of R.
 143. *Consulship.* **C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS,** a third time.
 He triumphs over the Samnites.
Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, a second time. He triumphs over the Hæturians.
Prætor. **M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.**

Curule Ædiles. **Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.**
Ti. Cornelius Lentulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. **C. Fabricius Pictor.**
P. Mucius Scævola.
Tribunes of the People. **L. Attilius Regulus.**
C. Marcius Rutilus.
M. Decius Mus.
T. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Iulius Nepos.
M. Antonius Nepos.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Livius Dent.
L. Titius Nepos.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
Quæstors of Rome. **L. Ogulnius Gellus.**
M. Fulvius Patinus.
Military Quæstors. **Cn. Domitius Calvinus.**
C. Pætelius Libo Vifolus.

443. Y. of R.
 144. *Consulship.* **Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS,** a second time.

C. MARCIUS RUTILVS, who was afterwards called Censorinus.
Prætor. **P. CORNELIVS ARVINA.**
Curule Ædiles. **P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.**
L. Æmilius Barbula.
Plebeian Ædiles. **C. Lucatius Catulus.**
Q. Petillius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. **P. Sempronius Sophus.**
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Fulvius Curvus Patinus.
P. Curatius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Quæstors of Rome. **Q. Attilius Prænestinus.**
M. Minucius Fessius.
Military Quæstors. **T. Popilius Nepos.**
Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

444. Y. of R.
 Dictator. **L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.**
 He triumphs over the Samnites.
G. of the Horse. **C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.**
Pro-Consuls. **Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus.**

mus. He triumphs over the
Hemians.

Prætor. P. J. Aelius Arvina.
Curule/Ediles. M. Valerius Corvus.
Plebeian Æ-
diles. Q. Manius Tremulus.
Tribunes of the
People. L. Atilius Regulus.
F. Manius Porcius Cato.
M. Titinius Nepos.
C. Atinius Labeo.
P. Publius Philo.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Livius Dentor.
C. Lucius Dentor.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Marcus Nepos.
C. Regillius Nepos.
L. Atilianus Nepos.

Quæstors of
Rome. P. Valerius Falto.
Military Quæ-
stors. L. Cornilius Balbo.
P. Licinius Varus.
M. Dyllius Nepos.

445. Y. of R.
145. Consuls. P. DECIUS MUS, a second
time.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
RULLIANVS, a third time.
Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMVS.
Curule/Ediles. L. Posthumus Megellus.
P. Sulpicius Saverrius.
Plebeian Æ-
diles. M. Decius Mus.
M. Antonius Nepos.
Tribunes of the
People. L. Furius Nepos.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
M. Fulvius Curvius Pætinus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Q. Appuleius Pansa.
M. Platorius Nepos.
M. Trebellius Nepos.
M. Cossutius Nepos.
M. Fulvius Nepos.
M. Manlius Tullius.
Quæstors of
Rome. L. Cornilius Balbo.
Military Quæ-
stors. M. Atilius Regulus.
S. Paterius Varus.
M. Lucius Paulus.

446. Y. of R.
146. Consuls. APPIVS CLAVDIVS CÆ-
CIVS.
L. VOLUMNIVS FLAMMA
VIOLENS.

Censors. M. Valerius Maximus.
C. Julius Babulcus Brutus.

The twenty-second year.

Pro-Consul. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullia-
nus.

Prætor. T. Menucius AUGURINVS.
Curule/Ediles. C. Marcus Rutilius.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Plebeian Æ-
diles. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.
Tribunes of the
People. C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Livius Dentor.
L. Lucerius Nepos.
L. Volscius Fictor.
P. Silius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
Cn. Fabyius Pætinus.
M. Acutius Nepos.
P. Villius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Turinus.

Quæstors of
Rome. Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
Military Quæ-
stors. M. Atilius Regulus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

447. Y. of R.
147. Consuls. Q. MARCIUS TREMVLVS.
He triumphs over the Sam-
nites, and the inhabitants of
Anagnia.

Dictators. P. CORNELIVS ARVI-
NA.
P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO
BARBATVS.

G. of the Horse. P. Decius Mus.

Prætor. SER. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.
Curule/Ediles. M. Cornelius Corvus.
P. Valerius Falto.
Plebeian Æ-
diles. P. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Tribunes of the
People. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Furius Nepos.
L. Furius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Antonius Nepos.

P. Curatius.

Quæstors of Rome. **G. Cornelius Maximus.**
 Military Quæstors. **L. Julius Libo.**
 438. Y. of R.
 143. Consulship. **L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELUS.**

TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is killed fighting with the Samnites; and
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS chosen in his room.
 The latter triumphs over the Samnites.

Prætor. **AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.**
 Curule Ædiles. **M. Æmilius Paulus.**
 Plebeian Ædiles. **L. Cornelius Blasio.**
 Tribunes of the People. **M. Livius Denther.**
Q. Appuleius.
C. Marcus Rutilius.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Duilius Nepos.
M. Minucius Fessius.
M. Juventius Thalna.
P. Licinius Varus.
Q. Aulus Corretanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. **Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.**
 Military Quæstors. **M. Mamilius Vitulus.**
C. Sergius Fidenas.
M. Geganus Macerinus.
 449. Y. of R.
 149. Consulship.

C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
 *He triumphs over the Æqui.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
 He triumphs over the Samnites.

Censors. **Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.**
P. Decius Mus.

The twenty-eighth Eastman.

Prætor. **P. VALERIUS FALTO.**
 Curule Ædiles. **Cn. Fabius Nepos.**
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. **Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.**
L. Furius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. **Cn. Flavius Nepos.**
Q. Papirius Pærdus.

Quæstors of Rome. **D. Junius Pera.**
 Military Quæstors. **M. Pomponius Matho.**
M. Sempronius Terecanus.
T. Popilius Ædus.
Q. Pætehus Libo Vifolus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Ræculus.
 450. Y. of R.
 150. Consulship. **L. Papirius Censor.**
M. Curius Dentatus.
L. Ælius Pætus.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Prætor. **M. VALERIUS CORVUS.**
 Curule Ædiles. **L. Cornelius Scipio.**
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.
 Plebeian Ædiles. **L. Genucius Aventinensis.**
P. Furius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. **Q. Fulvius Flaccus.**
L. Pyrrhus Malleolus.
M. Atilienus Nepos.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Racilius Nepos.
Sex. Staius Nepos.
L. Confidius Nepos.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apustius Fullo.
C. Numitorius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. **L. Cornelius Scipio.**
 Military Quæstors. **C. Fabius Cæpæ.**
M. Valerius Flaccus.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

451. Y. of R.
 151. Consulship. **M. LIVIUS DENTER.**
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Dictator. **C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.** He triumphs over the Æqui.

Quæstors of the Horse. **M. Titinius Nepos.**
 Prætor. **Q. APULIUS PANS.**
 Curule Ædiles. **L. Titinius Megellus.**
T. Man. Torquatus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Fulvius Pætinus.**
C. Minucius Augurinus.
 Tribunes of the People. **L. Furius Nepos.**
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Atilius Regulus.

C. Metilius

C. Metilius Nepos.
 A. Sellius Nepos.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 Q. Fulvius Centumalus.
 T. Pontificius.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 L. Antonius Nepos.
 Q. Cædicius Noctua.
 C. Acilius Nepos.
 C. Fostius Flaccinator.
 Q. Fabius Ambustus.
 452. Y. of R.
 Dictators.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS
 RULLIANVS.

M. VALERIUS CORVVS.
 He triumphs over the Hetrurians.

Generals of the Horse.
 P. Sempronius Sophus.
 Prætor.
 Curule Ædiles. C. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
 D. Junius Pera.

Plebeian Ædiles.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 C. Fannius Volesus.

Tribunes of the People.
 Q. Apicius Prænestinus.
 Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
 L. Genucius Aventinensis.
 M. Lætorius Plancianus.
 M. Minucius Fessus.
 C. Memmius Nepos.
 P. Furius Nepos.
 C. Lætorius Nepos.
 C. Mælius Capitolinus.
 M. Terentius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.
 Q. Hortensius Nepos.
 Military Quæstors.
 C. Cædicius Noctua.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.

453. Y. of R.
 152. Consulship. Q. APULEIVS PANSÆ.
 M. VALERIUS CORVVS, a fifth time.

Prætor.
 C. N. FVLIVS MAXIMVS CENTVMALVS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Iulus.
 L. Julius Iulus.

Plebeian Ædiles.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 Q. Fulvius Placcus.

Tribunes of the People.
 Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
 M. Mamilius Vitulus.

T. Juventius Thalna.
 C. Cæcilius Crassus.
 C. Carvilius Maximus.
 Q. Terentius Arsa.
 M. Cæcilius Crassus.
 Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
 Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
 Q. Fabius Gurgæ.
 M. Aquilius Florus.
 C. Ælius Patus.
 L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

454. Y. of R.

153. Consulship. M. FVLIVS PÆTINVS.
 He triumphs over the Samnites and Nequinates.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, who dies in his office.

And to supply his room,
 M. VALERIUS CORVVS is chosen Consul a sixth time.

Censors.

P. Sempronius Sophus.
 P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

The twenty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætor.
 Curule Ædiles. L. POSTHUMIVS MEGELLVS.
 Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
 L. Papirius Cursor.

Plebeian Ædiles.
 L. Antonius Nepos.
 C. Metilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People.
 L. Ælius Pætus.
 M. Atilius Regulus.
 D. Junius Brutus Scæva.
 M. Aulius Cerretanus.
 D. Junius Pera.
 C. Fulvius Curvus.
 C. Cæcilius Mæstellus.
 L. Pupius Nepos.
 M. Volscius Fictor.
 C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Quæstors of Rome.
 P. Cornelius Rufinus.
 Military Quæstors.
 M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
 M. Livius Dentor.
 C. Claudius Canina.

455. Y. of R.

154. Consulship. L. CORNELIVS SCIPIO.
 C. N. FVLIVS CENTVMALVS. He triumphs over the Samnites and Hetrurians.

Prætor.

M. LVIIVS DENTER.

Curule

Curule Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Valerius Flaccus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Lætorius Plancianus.*
C. Lætorius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Curius Dentatus.*
Q. Papirius Turdus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Atilius Calatinus.
M. Marcius Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Flavius Nepos.
M. Atilius Regulus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Plautius Venno.
Quæstors of Rome. *C. Trebonius Asper.*
M. Scantius Nepos.
Military Quæstors. *L. Cæcilius Metellus.*
A. Manlius Vulfo Longus.
456. Y. of R.
155. *Consulship.* *Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS* a fourth time.
P. DECIVS MVS, a fourth time.
Prætor. *L. JULIVS IVLVS.*
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Felivs Ambivstus.*
M. Sergivs Fidenus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Atilivs Regulus.*
D. Junivs Brutus Scæva.
Tribunes of the People. *Q. Hortensivs Nepos.*
Q. Cædicius Noctua.
C. Plautivs Hypsæus.
C. Petillivs Nepos.
A. Alienvs Nepos.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
M. Æmilivs Regulus Serranus.
M. Pætelivs Libo.
L. Apuleivs Saturnivus.
C. Pontificivs Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *M. Fufivs Pætinus.*
Ti. Sempronivs Blasivs.
Military Quæstors. *L. Manlivs Capitolinivs.*
Ser. Corneliivs Rufinus.
457. Y. of R.
156. *Consulship.* *AP. CLAVDIVS CÆCVS,* a second time.
L. VOLUMNIIVS FLAMMA VIOLENS, a second time.
Prætor. *P. SEMPRONIIVS SOPHVVS.*
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Ogulnivs Gallivs.*
Cn. Ogulnivs Gallivs.
Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Ælivs Pætivs.*
C. Fulvivs Curvovs.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Junivs Brutus Bubulcivs.*
Q. Papirivs Turdus.
P. Numitorivs Scipivs.
Q. Salloniivs Larra.
M. Curivs Dentatus.
M. Claudiivs Marcellivs.
M. Raciliivs Nepos.
Sp. Antivs Restivus.
M. Acutivs Nepos.
M. Mætilivs Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *C. Nautivs Rutilivs.*
M. Valerivs Maximivs Potitivs.
Military Quæstors. *L. Flamminivs Cibi.*
Cn. Domitivs Calvovus.
Pro-Consuls in Samnium. *Q. Fabivs Maximivs Rullianivs.*
P. Deciv Mus.
458. Y. of R.
157. *Consulship.* *Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS RULLIANVS,* a fifth time.
He triumphs over the Samnites, the Hetrurians, and the Gauls.
P. DECIVS MVS, a third time.
Prætor. *AP. CLAVDIVS CÆCVS.*
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabivs Gurgivs.*
L. Pætivs Crassivs Cicuminivs.
Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Hortensivs Nepos.*
L. Plautivs Fennivs.
Tribunes of the People. *Q. Cædicius Noctua.*
P. Villivs Nepos.
Sex. Pompiliivs Nepos.
L. Siciniivs Dentativs.
Sex. Titivs Nepos.
C. Ælivs Pætivs.
P. Silvivs Nepos.
C. Manlivs Nepos.
Q. Titiniivs Nepos.
Cn. Aproniivs Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. *Sp. Nautivs Rutilivs.*
Cn. Æmilivs Pætivs.
Military Quæstors. *C. Ælivs Pætivs.*
C. Fabricivs Lufcinivs.
Pro-Consuls. *L. Volumnivs Flamminivs Violens.*
L. Corneliivs Scipio.
Cn. Fulvivs Maximivs Centumalivs.

L. Posthu-

459. Y. of R.
158. *Consulship.* L. **POSTHUMIUS MEGEL.**
S. a second time. He triumphs over the Samnites and the Hetrurians.

Prætor. M. **ATILIUS REGULUS.**
He triumphs over the Volturnenses and the Samnites.

Censors. C. **Cornelius Arvina.**
C. **Marcus Rutilus.**

Prætor. D. **Junius Brutus Scæva.**
Curule/Ediles. M. **Papirius Maximus Corvinus.**

Plebeian/Ediles. M. **Cornelius Dentatus.**
M. **Claudius Marcellus.**
Tribunes of the People. C. **Tiberius Asper.**
M. **Lucius Denter.**

C. **Claudius Canina.**
C. **Sexcius Nepos.**
L. **Mannius Nepos.**
A. **Virginus Nepos.**
C. **Sexcius Calvinus.**
C. **Curatius Nepos.**
T. **Mannius Nepos.**
M. **Laetanius Plancianus.**

Quæstors of Rome. C. **Mannius Philippus.**
Military Quæstors. M. **Publius Lepidus.**
C. **Sextius Tucca.**

460. Y. of R.
159. *Consulship.* L. **PAPIRIUS CURSOR.**
SP. **CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.** They both triumph over the Samnites.

Prætor. M. **ATILIUS REGULUS.**
Curule/Ediles. C. **Junius Rutilius Brutus.**
C. **Publius Noctua.**

Plebeian/Ediles. C. **Publius Pullus.**
C. **Publius Rutilius.**
Tribunes of the People. M. **Publius Nepos.**
C. **Publius Nepos.**
C. **Publius Florus.**
C. **Publius Gallus.**
C. **Publius Cicero.**

Quæstors of Rome. L. **Publius Quæstus.**
Military Quæstors. C. **Publius Nepos.**
C. **Publius Rutilius.**

461. Y. of R.
160. *Consulship.* C. **PAPIUS MAXIMUS GERGES.**
D. **JUNIUS BRUTUS CÆVA.**

Dictator. **APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.**

G. of the Horse. C. **Marcus Rutilus.**
Prætor. L. **PAPIRIUS CURSOR.**

Curule/Ediles. C. **Publius Pætus.**
C. **Claudius Canina.**
Plebeian/Ediles. C. **Apronius Nepos.**
P. **Silius Nepos.**
Tribunes of the People. C. **Rabulcius Nepos.**
M. **Claudius Marcellus.**
M. **Pupius Nepos.**
M. **Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.**
L. **Flaminius Chilo.**
L. **Hortensius Nepos.**
L. **Scipio Ruga.**
Sex. **Tullius Nepos.**
C. **Flavius Nepos.**
M. **Atilius Nepos.**

These ten abdicated, because their election was deemed defective; and in their room were chosen

L. **Tullius Nepos.**
M. **Antistius Nepos.**
L. **Albinus Nepos.**
C. **Confidius Nepos.**
M. **Racilius Nepos.**
C. **Junius Pullus.**
P. **Publius Hypsæus.**
L. **Allicenius Nepos.**
M. **Platorius Nepos.**
L. **Publius Trio.**

Quæstors of Rome. L. **Publius Pætus.**
Military Quæstors. C. **Publius Stupula.**
P. **Publius Mili.**

462. Y. of R.

161. *Consulship*. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGEL-
LUS, a third time.

C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BU-
BULCUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
Curule Ædiles. C. Nautius Rutilus.

M. Valerius Maximus Petitus.

Plebeian Æ- M. Livius Dent.
diles. C. Trebonius Asper.

Tribunes of the Q. Cædicius Noctua.
People. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

M. Trebonius Flavius.

T. Roscius Nepos.

Sex. Tempanius.

Q. Hortensius.

C. Fabricius Lucinus.

L. Numitorius Pullus.

Cn. Lucerus Nepos.

C. Scaptius Nepos.

Quæstors of P. Cornelius Dolabella Maxi-
Rome. mus.

L. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæ- C. Antius Reffio.
stors. Sp. Mæcilius.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fabius Maximus Gur-
Samnium. ges. He triumphs over the
Samnites.

Pro-Quæstor. L. Aurelius Cotta.

463. Y. of R.

162. *Consulship*. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M' CURIUS DENTATIUS.

The latter triumphs over the
Samnites and Sabines at two
different times.

Prætor. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Cæcilius Metellus.
diles. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Tribunes of the C. Ælius Pætus.
People. Q. Marcus Philippus.

C. Mamilius Vitulus.

L. Antonius Nepos.

L. Cominius Nepos.

A. Atilius Bulbus.

C. Volumnius Flamma.

Cn. Apronius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

M. Cædicius Nepos.

Quæstors of P. Valerius Lævinus.
Rome. L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

Military Quæ- C. Genucius Clepsina.
stors. Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

464. Y. of R.

163. *Consulship*. M. VALENIUS MAXIMUS
CORVINUS.

Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.

Consors. M. Æmilius Paulus.

L. Volumnius Flamma Vio-
lens.

The thirty-first Lustrum.

Prætor. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

C. Servilius Tucca.

Plebeian Æ- Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

diles. C. Fabricius Lucinus.

Tribunes of the L. Papirius Turdas.

People. C. Ælius Pætus.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

P. Virginius Nepos.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Cæcilius Nepos.

C. Ælius Canna.

P. Curatius Nepos.

C. Furius Aculeo.

T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors of P. Sulpicius Saverrius.

Rome. Sp. Papirius Cursus.

Military Quæ- L. Papirius Cursus.

stors. C. Mænius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in M' Curius Dentatus. He
Lucania. enjoys the honours of an O-
vation, after having subdued
the Lucani.

Pro-Quæstor. C. Genucius Clepsina.

465. Y. of R.

164. *Consulship*. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Both the second time.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS PO-
TITUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Furius Camillus.

C. Furius Paulus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Marcus Philippus.

diles. M. Trebonius Flavius.

Tribunes of the L. Cæcilius Metellus.

People. Q. Romulus Nepos.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

C. Ælius Pætus.

P. Mucius Sparvola.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Oppius Cornicen.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
 C. Claudius Hortator.
 C. Cæcilius Ruga.
 Quæstors of *M. Æmilius Cælius.*
Rome. M. Fabius Dufa.
 Military Quæ- *L. Domitius Ænobarbus.*
 stors. *T. Antonius Merenda.*
 466. Y. of R.
 165. Consulship. **M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-**
LUS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Dictator. **Q. HORTENSIVS NE-**
POS. He dies in his office.
G. of the Horse. M. Livius Denter, who ab-
dicated after the death of
Hortensius.

Dictator. **Q. FABIVS MAXIVS**
RVLIVIANVS.
G. of the Horse. L. Volumnivs Flammæ Viol-
ens.

Prætor. C. CLAVDIVS CANINA.
 Curule Ædiles. *Q. Æmilius Papus.*
C. Cornelivs Scapula.
 Plebeian Æ- *Ti. Cornucanius Nepos.*
 diles. *P. Decivs Mus.*
 Tribunes of the *P. Mænivs Nepos.*
 People. *P. Pupivs Nepos.*
C. Fabricivs Luscinivs.
L. Livivs Denter.
Q. Marcivs Tremulus.
C. Iutativs Catulus.
Cn. Domitivs Calvinus.
L. Antistivs Nepos.
L. Aurelivs Cotta.
L. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors of *M. Fabivs Curvus.*
Rome. L. Anivs Regules.
 Military Quæ- *Cn. Quincitilius Varus.*
 stors. *P. Quincitilius Varus.*

467. Y. of R.
 166. Consulship. **M. VALERIVS MAXIVS**
POTITIVS.

Prætor. C. ÆLIVS PÆTIVS.
 Curule Ædiles. *C. SERVILIVS TVCCA.*
P. Cornelivs Dolabella.
L. Æmilius Barbula.
 Plebeian Æ- *L. Papirivs Turdus.*
 diles. *C. Furius Aculeo.*

Tribunes of the *L. Cæcilius Metellus.*
 People. *C. Genucivs Clepsina.*
M. Plætorivs Nepos.
A. Trebivs Nepos.
Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
Q. Marcivs Philippus.
M. Albinivs Nepos.
C. Antivs Nepos Restio.
M. Trebonivs Flavus.
M. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of *M. Sempronivs Tuditanus.*
Rome. M. Metilivs Nepos.
 Military Quæ- *M. Fostivs Flaccinator.*
 stors. *C. Fabivs Ambustus.*

468. Y. of R.
 167. Consulship. **C. CLAVDIVS CANIN**
M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS.
CN. DOMITIVS CALVINVS.

Prætor. P. Valerivs Lævinus.
 Curule Ædiles. *T. Geganius Macerinus.*
 Plebeian Æ- *M. Oppivs Cornicen.*
 diles. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus.*
 Tribunes of the *C. Fabricivs Luscinivs.*
 People. *P. Decivs Mus.*
M. Titinivs Nepos.
L. Genucivs Aventinensis.
C. Mænivs Nepos.
T. Cornucanius Nepos.
L. Volumnivs Flammæ Violens.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
C. Claudivs Hortator.
P. Curativs Nepos.

Quæstors of *L. Cornelivs Lentulus.*
Rome. L. Papirivs Mæso.
 Military Quæ- *L. Sextivs Lateranus.*
 stors. *M. Antonivs Nepos.*

469. Y. of R.
 168. Consulship. **C. SERVILIVS TVCCA.**
L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

Prætor. Q. ÆMILIVS PAPVS.
 Curule Ædiles. *P. Sulpicivs Saverrio.*
Sp. Papirivs Curvor.
 Plebeian Æ- *C. Genucivs Clepsina.*
 diles. *L. Aurelivs Cotta.*
 Tribunes of the *Q. Marcivs Philippus.*
 People. *Q. Canulcivus Nepos.*
M. Licinivus Calvus.
L. Domitivs Ænobarbus.
P. Mucivus Scævola.
Ti. Minucivus Augurinus.
P. Licinivus Stolo.
C. ÆLIVS PÆTIVS.

M. Clau-

M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Icilius Ruga.
Quæstors of *Rome.* Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.
Military Quæstors. L. Genucius Clepsina.
M. Decius.
470. Y. of R.
159. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
Prætor. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He was killed in a battle with the Hetrurians; and
M. CURIUS DENTATUS was chosen in his room.
Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Cursor.
M. Fabius Dorso.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Albinus Nepos.
M. Platorius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
C. Junius Pullus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Atinius Longus.
Q. Petillius Nepos.
P. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Curvus.
L. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
M. Trebonius Flavius.
Quæstors of *Rome.* Sp. Furius Purpureo.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Military Quæstors. L. Lutatius Catulus.
A. Posthumius Albinus.
471. Y. of R.
170. *Consulship.* C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
He triumphs over the Samnites, Lucani, and Brutii.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
Prætor. M. LIVIUS DENTER DRUSUS.
Curule Ædiles. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
P. Quinctilius Varus.
Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fundanius Fundulus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Tribunes of the People. C. Genucius Clepsina.
L. Trebius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
Q. Silius Nerva.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
M. Trebius Nepos.
C. Acutius Nepos.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.

C. Pompilius Nepos.
M. Titinius Nepos.
Quæstors of *Rome.* Q. Ogulnius Genucius.
Q. Lælius Felsus.
Military Quæstors. Ti. Claudius Nero.
P. Cælius Siculus.
472. Y. of R.
171. *Consulship.* L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
He triumphs over the Hetrurians.
Prætor. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
Curule Ædiles. M. Fufius Flaccator.
C. Fabius Amblyllus.
Plebeian Ædiles. T. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Titus Nepos.
P. Læcius Varus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
C. Sempronius Gracchus.
P. Publius Philo.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Aulus Cæcilianus.
Cn. Fufius Nepos.
C. Marcus Rutilius.
T. Popilius Nepos.
Quæstors of *Rome.* C. Quinctius Claudus.
P. Sempronius Sphus.
Military Quæstors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
C. Valerius Petrus Flaccus.
473. Y. of R.
172. *Consulship.* P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Volscinenses, and Volcæntes.
Censors. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgus.
The thirty-second Lustrum.
Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Papirius Maffus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fufius Curvus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Genucius Clepsina.
C. Atinius Longus.
Q. Petillius Nepos.
Q. Apuleius Pansa.
M. Pletorius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
C. Plautius Decianus.
4 I 2 C. Pæte-

C. Pœtelius Libo Vifolus.
 M. Albinus Nepos.
 Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
 Quæſtors of *Rome.* Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 Sp. Curvilius Ruga.
 Military Quæſtors. M. Atinius Regulus.
 L. Publicius Mallucolus.
 Pro-Conſul againſt the Samnites, Tuentini, and Salentini. L. Æmilius Barbula. He triumphs over the Tarentini, Samnites, and Salentini.
 Pro-Quæſtor. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
 474. Y. of R.
 173. Conſulſhip. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
 P. DECIUS MUS.
 Prætor. Ti. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
 Curule-Ædiles. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.
 C. Fabius Dæſo Licinus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. M. Trebius Nepos.
 Q. Silius Nerva.
 Tribunes of the People. L. Genucius Clepsina.
 P. Sallomus Sarra.
 L. Villius Nepos.
 Q. Silius Nerva.
 Q. Manilius Nepos.
 L. Trebius Nepos.
 A. Acutius Nepos.
 L. Voluminus Flamma Violens.
 C. Pompius Nepos.
 Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
 Quæſtors of *Rome.* C. Fabius Piclor.
 D. Junius Pera.
 Military Quæſtors. Q. Mamilius Titinus.
 Cn. Cornelius Blaſio.
 475. Y. of R.
 174. Conſulſhip. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani, Brutii, Tarentini, and Samnites.
 Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, a ſecond time.
 Prætor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
 Curule-Ædiles. L. Titius Nepos.
 T. Popilius Nepos.
 Plebeian Ædiles. P. Lucius Nepos.
 C. Sempronius Titinus.
 Tribunes of the People. M. Titinius Nepos.
 N. Sextus Sextinus.
 L. Furius Nepos.
 T. Minucius Augurinus.
 M. Aulus Cerretanus.
 M. Titius Rufus.
 C. Curatius Nepos,

T. Veturius Calvinus.
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
 C. Ictius Ruga.
 Quæſtors of *Rome.* Ap. Claudius Craſſus.
 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
 Military Quæſtors. L. Manilius Vitulus.
 T. Clælius Siculus.
 476. Y. of R.
 175. Conſulſhip. P. CORNELIUS RUPINUS, a ſecond time.
 C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BULCUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
 Prætor. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
 Curule-Ædiles. P. Clælius Siculus.
 Q. Valerius Falſus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Apuleius Paſſa.
 C. Plautius Dectanus.
 Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
 Sp. Ictius Ruga.
 Q. Pomponius Nepos.
 M. Fulvius Curvus.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 Q. Fulvius Placcus.
 Cn. Pupius Nepos.
 M. Lavius Denter.
 Cn. Fulvius Patinus.
 C. Atinius Labeo.
 Quæſtors of *Rome.* C. Popilius Maſſo.
 A. Poſthumius Albinus.
 Military Quæſtors. Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
 M. Duilius Nepos.
 477. Y. of R.
 176. Conſulſhip. Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the Lucani and Brutii.
 C. GENUCIUS.
 Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
 G. of the Horſe. C. Ælius Pætus.
 Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
 Curule-Ædiles. C. Quinctius Claudus.
 C. Valerius Petitus Flaccus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. L. Genucius Clepsina.
 P. Sallomus Sarra.
 Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Sophus.
 C. Atinius Longus.
 T. Popilius Nepos.
 C. Pœtelius

C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
 Cn. Apuleius Panfa.
 M. Fulvius Pætinus.
 M. Marcius Nepos.
 Q. Petilius Nepos.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.
 L. Alienius Nepos.
 Quæstors of *M. Fulvius Flaccus.*
Rome. N. Fabius Piclor.
 Military Quæ- *L. Julius Libo.*
 stors. Cn. Apronius Lim.
 47th. Y. of R.
 177. *Consulship.* M. CURIUS DENTATUS,
 a second time. He triumphs
 over the Samnites and King
 Pyrrhus.
 L. CORNELIUS LENTU-
 LUS, who has the Surname
 of Caudinus given him. He
 triumphs over the Samnites
 and Lucani
Consors. C. Fabricius Luscinus.
 Q. Anilius Papus.
The thirty-third Iustrum.
Prætor. C. FABIVS DORSO LICINVS.
Curule Ediles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 Q. Servilius Cæpio.
 Plebeian Æ- *M. Titius Rufus.*
 diles. N. Sextius Lateranus.
Tribunes of the M. Atilius Regulus.
People. Q. Condidius Nepos.
 L. Trebius Nepos.
 L. Lucius Nepos.
 L. Volscius Fictor.
 L. Publicius Malleolus.
 L. Amicus Præcilius.
 M. Trebius Nepos.
 M. Acutius Nepos.
 Ti. Villius Tappulus.
 Quæstors of *C. Otacilius Crassus.*
Rome. M. Otacilius Crassus.
 Military Quæ- *L. Quinctius Cæcilius.*
 stors. L. Papirius Crassus.
 479. Y. of R.
 178. *Consulship.* M. CURIUS DENTATUS,
 a third time.
 SER. CORNELIUS MÆ-
 RENDA.
Prætor. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
Curule Ediles. C. Fabius Piclor.
 Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

Plebeian Æ- *Q. Ogulnius Galus.*
 diles. P. Sæmpronius Scipio.
Tribunes of the D. Junius Pera.
People. M. Minucius Festus.
 C. Curatius Nepos.
 Q. Papirius Turdus.
 C. Minucius Augurinus.
 Q. Mamilius Turrinus.
 M. Titianus Nepos.
 P. Furius Nepos.
 T. Veterius Calvinus.
 C. Minucius Rutilus.
 Quæstors of *Ap. Claudius Cædix.*
Rome. Q. Mamilius Turrinus.
 Military Quæ- *L. Sæmpronius Atratinus.*
 stors. L. Flaminius Celsus.
 480. Y. of R.
 179. *Consulship.* C. FABIVS DORSO LICINVS.
 C. CLAUDIVS CANINA, a
 second time. He triumphs
 over the Lucani, Samnites,
 and Brutii.
Prætor. C. QUINCTIVS CLAVDIVS.
Curule Ediles. L. Cælius Sabinus.
 Ap. Claudius Cræpus.
 Plebeian Æ- *M. Fulvius Pætinus.*
 diles. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
Tribunes of the L. Mamilius Vitulus.
People. M. Juventius Thalna.
 Q. Aulus Cretianus.
 L. Pomponius Nepos.
 Cn. Havius Nepos.
 M. Aquilius Florus.
 Sp. Carvilius Max. Ruga.
 L. Atilius Petus.
 M. Pomponius Matho.
 Cn. Fulvius Pætinus.
 Quæstors of *M. Cornelius Cælepus.*
Rome. T. Manlius Torquatus.
 Military Quæ- *T. Otacilius Cræpus.*
 stors. Q. Ogulnius Galus.
 481. Y. of R.
 180. *Consulship.* L. PAPIRIVS CURSOR, a
 second time. He triumphs
 over the Tarentini, Sam-
 nites, Lucani, and Brutii.
 SP. CURVILIUS MAXI-
 MUS, a second time. He
 triumphs over the Lucani,
 Brutii, Samnites, and Taren-
 tini.

Consors.

Censors.

M. Curius Dentatus.
L. Papirius Cursor.

The thirty-fourth Lustrum.

Prætor.

CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Publicius Malleolus.
Q. Confidius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Atilius Regulus.
D. Junius Pera.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Alienus Nepos.
M. Duilius Nepos.
CN. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.
M' Marcus Nepos.
Q. Prætorius Libo Vifolus.
L. Confidius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.

Q. Fabius Ambustus.
M' Valerius Maximus.

Military Quæstors.

CN. Minucius Fessus.
C. Duilius Nepos.

482. Y. of R.

181. Consulship.

C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Prætor.

C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Julius Libo.
N. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Q. Mamilius Turinus.
M. Minucius Fessus.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
C. Otacilius Crassus.
C. Racilius Nepos.
L. Flaminius Chilo.
CN. Apronius Limo.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Apustius Fullo.
C. Numitorius Nepos.
L. Posthumus Megellus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
D. Junius Brutus Sæva.
C. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Posthumus Megellus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Military Quæstors.

D. Junius Brutus Sæva.
C. Aquilius Florus.

483. Y. of R.

182. Consulship.

C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA,
a second time.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
He triumphs over the Sarrinates

Prætor.

AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles.

L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Papinius Crassus.Plebeian Ædiles.
Tribunes of the People.L. Mamilius Vitulus.
M. Aquilius Florus.
D. Junius Pera.
A. Acutius Nepos.
C. Volscius Fictor.
A. Silius Nepos.
Q. Racilius Nepos.
M' Otacilius Crassus.
Ti. Pontificius Nepos.
C. Metilius Nepos.
C. Sallonium Sarra.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
M. Junius Brutus.
CN. Cornelius Scipio Asina.
A. Atilius Calatinus.
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Quæstors of Rome.

M. Junius Brutus.
CN. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

Military Quæstors.

A. Atilius Calatinus.
Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

484. Y. of R.

183. Consulship.

Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Silver first coined at Rome.

Prætor.

M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Curule Ædiles.

AP. Claudius Caudex.
L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Duilius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Tribunes of the People.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Confidius Nepos.
M. Alienus Nepos.
C. Plautius Proculus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Confidius Nepos.
L. Publicius Malleolus.
M' Marcus Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.

L. Apustius Fullo.
C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.

Military Quæstors.

L. Manlius Torquatus.
L. Pinarius Natta.

485. Y. of R.

184. Consulship.

P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHIUS.
He triumphs over the People of Picenum.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
He triumphs over the same Nation.

Prætor.

N. FABIUS PICTOR.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Apustius Fullo.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Otacilius Crassus.*
C. Volscius Tuller.
 Tribunes of the People. *T. Otacilius Crassus.*
M. Pomponius Mitho.

M. Curius Dentatus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Aulus Cerretanus.
M. Flavius Nepos.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
L. Carvilius Maximus.

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Cornelius Scipio.*
C. Sulpicius Paterculus.
 Military Quæstors. *M. Lætorius Plancianus.*
Q. Cædicius Nepos.

486. Y. of R.

185. *Consulship.* **M. ATILIUS REGULUS.**
L. JULIUS LIBO. They both triumph over the Salentini.

Prætor. *L. Mamilius Vitellus.*
Curule Ædiles. *M. Valerius Maximus.*

Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Posthumus Megellus.*
M. Otacilius Crassus.

Tribunes of the People. *Cn. Sallustius Sura.*
Cn. Minucius Fessius.
C. Cecilius Metellus.

Sp. Oppius Cornicen.
Q. Terentius Arsa.
C. Abarius Carnus.
C. Dulcius Nepos.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
T. Juventius Thalna.
M. Minucius Fessius.
P. Melius Capitolinus.

Quæstors of Rome. *Ti. Sempronius Blasius.*
Ser. Fulcius Patinus Nollus.

Military Quæstors. *Q. Hortensius Nepos.*
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

487. Y. of R.

186. *Consulship.* **N. FABIVS PICTOR.** He triumphs twice. 1st. Over the Sassinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Messapii.

D. JUNIVS PERA. He triumphs twice. 1st. Over the Sassinates. 2dly. Over the Salentini, and Messapii.

Prætor. *Ap. Claudius Caudex.*

Curule Ædiles. *L. Valerius Flaccus.*
Q. Fabius Ambustus

Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Mamilius Titulus.*
Cn. Apronius Linc.
 Tribunes of the People. *M. Fulvius Tullus.*
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

C. Cædicius Necha.
C. Mamilius Nepos.
C. Antonius Nepos.
C. Aquilius Florus.
L. Memmius Nepos.
M. Antonius Nepos.
L. Mamilius Nepos.
M. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Mamilius Titulus Longus.*
C. Sempronius Blasius.

Military Quæstors. *A. Mamilius Titulus Longus.*
Q. Alacius Plautinus.

488. Y. of R.

187. *Consulship.* **Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS GURGES,** a third time.
L. MAMIVS VITVIVS.
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
C. Marcus Rutilius, who was then surname Centonius.

Censors.

The thirty fifth Lustrum.

Prætor. *M. Otacilius Crassus.*
Curule Ædiles. *Cn. Cornilius Scipio Asina.*

Q. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *T. Otacilius Crassus.*
C. Aulus Calatinus.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Titus Nepos.*
M. Junius Brutus.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
A. Atilius Calatinus.
C. Oppius Cornicen.
C. Lælius Nepos.
Cn. Decatius Calvinus.

Quæstors of Rome. *C. Aulus Gellus.*
Q. Aulus Pætus.

Military Quæstors. *C. Claudius Centonius.*
M. H. et in Plebeia.

Four new Quæstors created for the Provinces in Italy, which were become subject to the Republick.

489. Y. of R.

188. *Consulship.* **AP. CLAVDIVS CAVDEX.**
M. FVLVIVS FLACCVS.

He

He triumphs over the Vol-
sientes.

Prætor. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Pinarius Natta.

L. Manlius Torquatus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Duilius Nepos.

diles. Cn. Minucius Fessus.

Tribunes of the C. Atilius Regulus Serranus.

People. C. Ælius Carus.

M. Popilius Lænas.

L. Acilius Glabrio.

M. Pœtelius Libo.

Q. Terentius Arsa.

M. Marcius Nepos.

T. Juventius Thalna.

C. Plautius Hypsæus.

M. Racilius Nepos.

Quæstors of M. Æmilius Paulus.

Rome. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Military Quæ- L. Cæcilius Metellus.

stors. Sp. Furius Philus.

Provincial C. Marcius Censorinus.

Quæstors. P. Minucius Rufus.

T. Albutius Elva.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

490. Y. of R.

189. *Consulship.* M^r VALERIUS FLACCUS,
who was then surnamed
MESSALA. He triumphs
over the Carthaginians, and
King Hiero.

M^r OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Dictator. CN^r FULVIUS MAXI-
MUS CENTUMALUS.

! G. of the Horse. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.

C. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Aquilius Florus.

diles. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Tribunes of the Cn. Atilius Calatinus.

People. M. Lætorius Plancianus.

L. Apustius Fullo.

L. Fecennius Nepos.

M. Acutius Nepos.

Q. Scellius Nepos.

Q. Cæditius Nepos.

Sp. Antius Rettio.

C. Sallonium Sarra.

C. Pontificius Nepos.

Quæstors of Q. Servilius Geminus.

Rome. M. Licinius Drusus.

Military Quæ- C. Flaminius Nepos.

stors. L. Junius Pullus.

Provincial L. Opimius Pansa.

Quæstors. A. Trebonius Asper.

Q. Sallonium Sarra.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

491. Y. of R.

190. *Consulship.* L. POSTHUMIUS MEGEL-
LUS.

Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Prætor. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-
SINA.

Curule Ædiles. M. Junius Brutus.

C. Oppius Cornicen.

Plebeian Æ- A. Atilius Calatinus.

diles. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Tribunes of the Ti. Sempronius Blæsus.

People. Q. Titinius Nepos.

L. Sextilius Rufus.

Q. Hortensius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Ser. Fulvius Petinus Nobilior.

M. Antonius Nepos.

C. Cædicius Noctua.

L. Memmius Nepos.

T. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors of Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Rome. P. Servilius Geminus.

Military Quæ- M. Sergius Fidenus.

stors. L. Sicinius Dentatus.

Provincial Cn. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors. C. Nautius Rutilus.

Sex. Titius Nepos.

C. Julius Iulus.

492. Y. of R.

191. *Consulship.* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Manlius Vulso.

A. Manlius Vulso Longus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Atilius Regulus.

diles. M. Popilius Lænas.

Tribunes of the C. Aquilius Florus.

People. C. Sempronius Blæsius.

L. Lætorius Mergus.

A. Ogulnius Gallus.

L. Acilius Glabrio.

C. Canuleius Nepos.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

Ti. Claudius Cicero.

M. Pupius Nepos.

Quæstors

Or, CONSULAR CALENDARS.

Quæstors of *Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgæ,*
Rome. L. Minucius Thermus.
 Military Quæ- *C. Fabricius Lucinus,*
 stors. *C. Livius Drusus,*
 Provincial *C. Furius Pacilus.*
 Quæstors. *C. Sempronius Atratinus,*
Sp. Veturius Crassus.
C. Ælius Patus.

493. Y. of R.

192. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.

C. DUILIUS. He was the first who obtained the Honour of a Naval Triumph, for having destroyed the Carthaginian Fleet.

Prætor. C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Curule/Ediles. Ti. Sempronius Blæsus. *Q. Cædicius Nepos.*

Plebeian /Ediles. L. Apustius Fullo, M. Lætorius Placidianus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Atilius Calatinus.
 C. Aurelius Cotta.
 C. Flavius Nepos.
 C. Plautius Hypsæus.
 P. Apuleius Saturninus.
 L. Tullius Nepos.
 C. Claudius Canina.
 M^r Marcius Nepos.
 L. Ahenius Nepos.
 L. Trebonius Flavius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Claudius Pulcher.
 Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

Military Quæstors. P. Popillius Lænas.
Q. Patillius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors. P. Cornelius Rutilus.
 P. Plautius Iussæus.

C. Fulcinius Tætor.
 L. Veturius Philo.

494. Y. of R.

193. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

He triumphs over the Carthaginians, Sardinians, and Corcicans.

C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Prætor. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SER-
 RANUS.

Curule/Ediles. M. Æmilius Paulus.
Sp. Furius Philus.

Plebeian /Ediles. T. Æbutius Carus.
 Ser. Fufcius Patinus Nobilior.

VOL. II.

Tribunes of the People. C. Marcius Censorius.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

Q. Sallomies Sarræ.

M. Acutius Nepos.

L. Cæcilios Metellus.

P. Ælius Patus.

Sp. Antius Restio.

C. Lucenius Nepos.

P. Minucius Rutilus.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Marcus Terquinius Sincæ.

Ser. Cornelius Aspinus.

Military Quæstors. C. Cornelius Sappia.

L. Numitorius Pullo.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Antius Restio.

L. Reginus Nepos.

L. Antius Iulbus.

P. Cæcilius Dehibita.

495. Y. of R.

194. *Consulship.* A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.

C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sardinians.

Consuls. C. Duilius Nepos.

Appius Claudius Caudex.

The thirty-sixth Lustrum.

Prætor. L. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.

Curule/Ediles. L. Aurelius Cotta.

L. Lætorius Mergus.

Plebeian /Ediles. A. Ogurnius Gallus.

C. Sempronius Blaesus.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Cædicius Nepos.

A. Trebonius Asper.

Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

M. Livius Drusus.

L. Sextius Calvinus.

L. Junius Pullus.

P. Silius Nepos.

Q. Titinius Nepos.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

C. Genucius Clephina.

Quæstors of Rome. N. Fabius Buteo.

C. Antius Bulbus.

Military Quæstors. L. Flaminius Nepos.

T. Antonius Merenda.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Pomptilius Nepos.

Q. Antonius Merenda.

L. Volumentius Flamma Violens.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

4 R

Pro-Consul.

The CAPITOLINE MARBLES;

Pro-Consul. C. Aquilius Florus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.
Pro-Quæstor. L. Roscius Nepos.

496. Y. of R.
 195. *Consulship.* C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at Sea.
 CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Dictator. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
G. of the Horse. M. Lætorius Plancianus.
Prætor. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Curule/Ediles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
 P. Servilius Geminus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Aurelius Cotta.
 C. Claudius Canina.
Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.

L. Cominius Nepos.
 P. Curatius Nepos.
 P. Virginius Nepos.
 Q. Mælius Capitolinus.
 Cn. Apronius Dentatus.
 M. Cædicius Nepos.
 C. Mænius Nepos.
 L. Papirius Turdus.
 T. Aebutius Carus.

Quæstors of Rome. T. Geganius Mucrinus.
 C. Cominius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
 M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Sulpicius Longus.
 L. Æmilius Barbula.
 P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
 P. Furius Aculeo.

Pro-Consul. A. Atilius Calatinus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians.

497. Y. of R.

196. *Consulship.* A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at Sea.

Q. CÆDICIVS, who died in his Office; and in his room
 T. ATILIUS REGULI'S was chosen *Consul* a second time.

Prætor. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Curule/Ediles. Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgæ.
 Sp. Pæturius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Marcius Censorinus.
 M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Minucius Thermus.
 T. Numicius Nepos.

Q. Romuleius Nepos.
 L. Hortensius Nepos.
 L. Aurelius Cotta.
 C. Claudius Cicero.
 L. Canuleius Nepos.
 M. Oppius Cornicen.
 P. Ælius Pætus.
 C. Fabricius Lucinus.
Quæstors of Rome. C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.
 C. Fundanius Fundulus.
Military Quæstors. M. Veturius Crassus.
 M. Canuleius Nepos.
Provincial Quæstors. Cn. Quintilius Varus.
 P. Decius Mus.
 L. Domitius Aenobarbus.
 M. Licinius Calvus.

498. Y. of R.

197. *Consulship.* SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Prætor. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
 T. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Curule/Ediles. C. Furius Pacilus.
 P. Claudius Pulcher.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Junius Pullus.
 L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Aurelius Cotta.
 C. Claudius Hortator.
 Cn. Bæbius Tarnphilus.
 P. Plautius Hypsæus.
 M. Antistius Nepos.
 C. Rabuleius Nepos.
 Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
 P. Popilius Lænas.
 Q. Petillius Nepos.
 C. Fulcivius Trio.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Fabius Licinus.
 M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
 P. Quintilius Varus.

Provincial Quæstors. P. Mucius Scævola.
 L. Papirius Mæso.
 Q. Æmilius Barbula.
 L. Livius Dentor.

Pro-Consul. M. Atilius Regulus.

Pro-Quæstor. M. Canuleius Nepos.

499. Y. of R.

198. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA, a second time.

A. ATI-

A. ATILIUS CALATINUS,
a second time.
Prætor. P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
Curule/Ediles. A. Manlius Torquatus.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.
Plebeian Æ- L. Papirius Turdus.
diles. C. Mænius Nepos.
Tribunes of the C. Marcius Censorinus.
People. C. Flaminius Nepos.
C. Atilius Bulbus.
C. Antius Restio.
M. Tullius Nepos.
L. Marcius Philippus.
L. Numitorius Pullus.
J. Roscius Nepos.
L. Antistius Nepos.
M. Albinus Nepos.
Quæstors of M. Fabius Buteo.
Rome. M. Calpurnius Flamma.
Military Quæ- C. Sulpicius Gallus.
stors. C. Lutatius Catulus.
Provincial M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Quæstors. Sp. Papirius Curser.
L. Papirius Curser.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Pro-Consuls. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. He triumphs over the
Corycæans and Carthaginians, whom he had beaten at
Sea.
M. Æmilius Paulus. He triumphs over the same Nations.
500. Y. of R.
199. Consulship. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
He triumphs over the Carthaginians.
Censors. D. Junius Pera.
L. Posthumius Megellus. He died in his Office, and after his death his Collegue abdicated according to custom.
Prætor. L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, who was Censor at the same time.
Curule/Ediles. N. Fabius Buteo.
T. Antonius Merenda.
Plebeian Æ- C. Fabricius Luscinus.
diles. L. Minucius Thermus.
Tribunes of the L. Cæcilius Metellus.
People. C. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Flaminius Nepos.

C. Pompilius Nepos.
L. Genacius Aventhenfis.
L. Menius Nepos.
Q. Furdannus Furdulus.
L. Volminius Flamma Violens.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
Quæstors of L. Lutatius Cerco.
Rome. P. Valerius Lævinus.
Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpicius Lægan.
stors. L. Sextus Lævinus.
Provincial L. Geminus Alacerius.
Quæstors. Dæ. Julius Cæsar.
A. Iugurinus Rutulus.
Pro-Consul. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Afina.
He triumphs over the Carthaginians.
Pro-Quæstor. Sp. Papirius Curser.
501. Y. of R.
200 Consulship. C. AURELIUS COTTA. He triumphs over the Carthaginians and Sicilians.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
Censor. M. Valerius Maximus Metalla.
P. Sempronius Sophus.

The thirty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætor. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Curule/Ediles. L. Æmilius Barbula.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Plebeian Æ- Cn. Babius Tampilus.
diles. P. Popilius Lanæ.
Tribunes of the L. Junius Pullus.
People. L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Numitorius Pullus.
C. Antius Restio.
P. Furius Aculeo.
M. Albinus Nepos.
M. Trebius Gallus.
L. Roscius Nepos.
L. Mecilius Tullus.
Quæstors of M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Rome. L. Genacius Clesina.
Military Quæ- Ser. Sulpicius Severio.
stors. L. Æmilius Lepidus.
Provincial L. Adamilius Turinus.
Quæstors. L. Quinctius Flaminius.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.
L. Albinus Nepos.

502. Y. of R.

201. *Consulship.*

I. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

C. FURIVS PACILVS.

A. MANLIVS TORQVATVS
ATTICVS.

Curule Ædiles.

R. Atilius Bulbus.

C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles.

M. Tullius Nepos.

L. Marcus Philippus.

Tribunes of the
People.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Licinius Calvus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Q. Silius Nerva.

C. Titinius Nepos.

M. Canuleius Nepos.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Metilius Nepos.

C. Pompilius Nepos.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

Quæstors of
Rome.

A. Posthumus Albinus.

C. Claudius Centho.

Military Quæstors.

P. Licinius Crassus.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Provincial

Q. Petillius Spurinus.

Quæstors.

C. Cornucanius Nepos.

L. Cornucanius Nepos.

Sp. Furius Camillus.

503. Y. of R.

202. *Consulship.*C. ATILIVS REGULVS, a
second time.L. MANLIVS VULSO, a second
time.

Prætor.

N. FABIVS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Licinus.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

C. Atilius Bulbus.

L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the
People.

P. Mucius Scævola.

N. Sextius Lateranus.

L. Mænius Nepos.

Ti. Minucius Augurinus.

M. Decius Mus.

L. Livius Denter.

L. Cædicius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

C. Licinius Stolo.

Cn. Domitius Calvilius.

Quæstors of
Rome.

Q. Valerius Falto.

C. Mamilius Turinus.

Military Quæstors.

C. Quinctius Claudus.

Sp. Furius Purpureo.

Provincial

C. Licinius Varus.

Quæstors.

M. Æmilius Numida.

C. Fostius Flaccinator.

Q. Mucius Scævola.

Pro-Consul.

L. Cæcilius Metellus. He triumphs
over the Carthaginians.

Pro-Quæstor.

Q. Petillius Spurinus.

504. Y. of R.

203. *Consulship.*

P. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER.

L. JUNIVS PVLVS.

Dictator.

M. CLAVDIVS GLICIA.

He was forced to abdicate,
andA. ATILIVS CALATINVS
chosen in his room.

G. of the Horse.

L. Cæcilius Metellus.

Prætor.

C. FURIVS PACILVS.

Curule Ædiles.

M. Fabius Buteo.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

P. Furius Tullus.

L. Mæcilius Trullus.

Tribunes of the
People.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

M. Calpurnius Flamma.

Sp. Icilius Ruga.

C. Sempronius Tuditanus.

C. Lutatius Catulus.

C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.

L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

M. Tullius Nepos.

Papius Nepos.

Quæstors of
Rome.

Ti. Claudius Nero.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Military Quæstors.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

P. Sempronius Sæphus.

Provincial

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Quæstors.

C. Atilius Longus.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

L. Quinctius Claudus.

Pro-Consul.

L. Manlius Vulso.

Pro-Quæstor.

Sp. Furius Purpureo.

505. Y. of R.

204. *Consulship.*

C. AURELIVS COTTA.

P. SERVILIVS GEMINVS.

Both a second time.

Prætor.

M. FABIVS LICINVS.

Curule Ædiles.

Q. Fundanius Fundulus.

P. Decius Mus.

Plebeian

Plebeian Æ- *M. Licinius Calvus.*
diles. *Q. Silius Nerva.*
Tribunes of the *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.*
People. *L. Sextius Lateranus.*
P. Publius Philo.
C. Scantius Nepos.
C. Pompidius Nepos.
Q. Lutatius Cerco.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.
Q. Apuleius Panfa.
Q. Pleterius Nepos.
Q. Mamilius Nepos.
Quæstors of *L. Publius Malleolus.*
Rome. *P. Valerius Falto.*
Military Quæ- *Sp. Carvilius Maximus.*
stors. *L. Marcius Rutilius.*
Provincial *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Quæstors. *M. Valerius Potitus.*
T. Popillius Sabellus.
P. Clælius Siculus.
506. Y. of R.
205. *Consulship.* *L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS,*
a second time.
M. FABIVS BUTEO.
Censors. *A. Atilius Calatinus.*
A. Manlius Torquatus At-
ticus.

The thirty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætor. *C. ATILIVS BVLBVS.*
Curule Ædiles. *P. Mutius Scævola.*
L. Livius Dentor.
Plebeian Æ- *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
diles. *C. Licinius Stolo.*
Tribunes of the *M. Sempronius Tuditanus.*
People. *Q. Mamilius Turinus.*
C. Titinius Nepos.
L. Genucius Clepsina.
N. Sextius Lateranus.
M. Anicius Gallus.
C. Siciptius Nepos.
M. Titius Rufus.
L. Albinus Nepos.
L. Genucius Aventinenfis.
Quæstors of *M. Publius Malleolus.*
Rome. *L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.*
Military Quæ- *T. Villius Tappulus.*
stors. *T. Clælius Siculus.*
Provincial *M. Claudius Glia.*
Quæstors. *C. Papirius Maso.*

L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Sextius Capitanius.
Pro-Consul. *C. Aurelius Cotta.*
Pro-Quæstor. *Sp. Carvilius Maximus.*
507. Y. of R.
206. *Consulship.* *M. OTACILIUS CRASSVS*
a second time.
M. FABIVS LICINVS.
Dictator. *TI. CORUNCANIUS*
NEPOS.
G. of the Horse. *M. Fulvius Flaccus.*
Prætor. *C. Sulpicius Gallus.*
Curule Ædiles. *A. Posthumius Albinus.*
C. Claudius Cento.
Plebeian Æ- *C. Fundanius Fandulus.*
diles. *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.*
Tribunes of the *Q. Petillius Spurius.*
People. *M. Fulvius Flaccus.*
M. Genucius Aventinenfis.
C. Cornelius Nepos.
L. Coruncanius Nepos.
L. Trebius Nepos.
P. Licinius Crassus.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Decius Mus.
K. Duilius Nepos.
Quæstors of *Cn. Servilius Cæpio.*
Rome. *C. Calpurnius Piso.*
Military Quæ- *M. Genucius Cipo.*
stors. *P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.*
Provincial *C. Fabius Pittor.*
Quæstors. *A. Posthumius Albinus.*
Cn. Furius Brochus.
Ser Sulpicius Galba.
508. Y. of R.
207. *Consulship.* *M. FABIVS BUTEO*
C. ATILIVS BVLBVS.
Prætor. *L. AURELIUS COTTA.*
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Valerius Falto.*
M. Æmilius Numida.
Plebeian Æ- *Q. Lutatius Cerco.*
diles. *P. Publius Philo.*
Tribunes of the *C. Mamilius Turinus.*
People. *Cn. Pupius Nepos.*
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Q. Atidius Prænestinus.
Cn. Apuleius Panfa.
C. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
C. Atinius.

- C. Atinius Labeo.
M. Anicius Gallus.
Q. Hostelius Libo Visolus.
Quæstors of Rome. D. Junius Pera.
L. Veturius Philo.
Military Quæstors. L. Furius Bibaculus.
M. Pomponius Matro.
Provincial Quæstors. Q. Sulpicius Rufus.
Cn. Pomponius Rufus.
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.
M. Livius Dentor.
509. Y. of R.
208. Consulship. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, a second time.
Prætor. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Curule Ædiles. M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
C. Cornelius Nepos.
Plebeian Ædiles. L. Coruncanius Nepos.
Q. Petillius Spurinus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Sempronius Sophus.
C. Atinius Longus.
Q. Plætorius Nepos.
P. Silius Nerva.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
Q. Confidius Nepos.
L. Trebius Nepos.
M. Silius Nerva.
Quæstors of Rome. L. Posthumius Albinus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Military Quæstors. M. Junius Pera.
N. Fabius Piclor.
Provincial Quæstors. P. Claudius Nero.
L. Titinius Nepos.
T. Virginius Rutilus.
Cn. Apronius Limo.
110. Y. of R.
205. Consulship. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
Prætor. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
Curule Ædiles. P. Valerius Falto.
M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.
Plebeian Ædiles. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Mamilius Turinus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Publius Malleolus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga.

- T. Popillius Sabellus.
T. Veturius Calvinus.
M. Manilius Nepos.
L. Titus Rufus.
Q. Lutatius Catulus.
L. Marcus Rutilius.
Q. Sicinius Nepos.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
Quæstors of Rome. M. Aemilius Lepidus.
M. Pomponius Trebatius.
Military Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
Ap. Claudius Crassus.
L. Anicius Gallus.
Provincial Quæstors. L. Papirius Crassus.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
Q. Servilius Alaba.
511. Y. of R.
210. Consulship. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Prætors. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. VALLERIUS FALTO.

The Establishment of a second Prætorship.

- Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
C. Papirius Majo.
Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Licinius Varus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Publius Malleolus.
L. Mamilius Vindex.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
L. Pomponius Nepos.
Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Ti. Villius Tapulus.
Sex. Curatius Nepos.
L. Ælius Pætus.
Q. Fulvius Pætinus.
M. Claudius Glidia.
Quæstors of Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.
C. Valerius Lavinius.
Military Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
C. Minucius Rufus.
Provincial Quæstors. M. Minucius Fissus.
M. Otacilius Crassus.
M. Juventius Thalna.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
512. Y. of R.
211. Consulship. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, a second time. He triumphs over the Falisci.
Q. LUTATIUS

Consors. Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.
He triumphs over the Falisci.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Fabius Buteo.

The thirty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætors. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
P. VALERIUS FALTO.
Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Fabius Piclor.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Sempronius Sophus.
M. Genucius Cipus.
Cn. Furius Brochus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Atilius Regulus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
C. Plautius Proculus.
M. Falvius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Marcius Racca.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Minucius Fessus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Military Quæstors. C. Aquilius Florus.
C. Otacilius Crassus.
Provincial Quæstors. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
P. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. C. Lutatius Catulus. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at Sea.
Pro-Prætor. Q. VALERIUS FALTO. He triumphs over the Carthaginians, who were beaten at Sea.
Pro-Quæstors. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
C. Minucius Rufus.

513. Y. of R.
212. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTTUS.

Curule Ædiles. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Q. Sulpicius Rufus.
L. Furius Bibaculus.
Dramatic pieces, composed by Livius Andronicus, now first acted at Rome.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Publicius Malleolus.
M. Publicius Mædellus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Pomponius Matho.
Cn. Pomponius Rufus.
Q. Pætelius Libo Visolus.
C. Confidius Nepos.
Sex. Staius Nepos.
D. Junius Pera.
M. Lavius Denter.
M. Alhenius Nepos.
C. Plætorius Nepos.
M. Claudius Glia.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Aemilius Barbula.
Cn. Otacilius Nepos.
Military Quæstors. C. Duilius Nepos.
M. Mammius Vitulus.
Provincial Quæstors. L. Apustilius Fullo.
M. Pupinius Cassus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
L. Atilius Glabrio.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Pro-Quæstor. Cn. Cornelius Blasio.
514. Y. of R.
213. *Consulship.* C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætors. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Posthumus Albinus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga.
Q. Aulius Cæcetanus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Junius Pera.
Tribunes of the People. C. Arennius Nepos.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Sextius Curatius Nepos.
Ti. Veturius Calvinus.
C. Numitorius Nepos.
C. Volscius Fictor.
L. Titinius Nepos.
L. Papirius Turdus.
Cn. Apronius Lino.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Fabius Verrucius.
C. Atilius Regulus.
Military Quæstors. L. Posthumus Megellus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.
Provincial Quæstors. P. Numitorius Nepos.
A. Posthumus Albinus.
C. Sallustius Sarras.
Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Pro-Consul

Consul in Q. Lutatius Cerco.

515. Y. of R.

214. Consulship. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Prætors. P. VALERIUS FALTO.
C. FABIVS PICTOR.
M. GENUCIVS CIPVS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Ap. Claudius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Pomponius Matro.
C. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Anicius Gallus.

M. Aquilius Florus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M. Curius Dentatus.
M. Pomponius Matho.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Claudius Glicia.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Servilius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Cethegus.

Military Quæstors. M. Lætorius Plancianus.
T. Quinctius Flaminius.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. Cassius Longinus.
Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus.

M. Pinarius Natta.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Pro-Consul. Q. Valerius Falto.
Pro-Quæstor. C. Atilius Regulus.

516. Y. of R.

215. Consulship. L. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS CAVDINVS. He triumphs over the Ligures.

Prætors. Q. FVLVIVS FLACCVS.
L. PVBLCIVS MALLEOLVS.
L. FVRIVS BIBACVLVS.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Cornelius Blæsus.
Q. Fabius Verrucosus.

Plebeian Ædiles. D. Junius Pera.
Cn. Pomponius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Minucius Rufus.
M. Juventius Thalna.

Q. Pomponius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus.
M. Marius Ralla.
M. Mirucius Fessus.
M. Otacilius Crassus.
D. Junius Brutus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

M. Allienius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Atilius Calatinus.
C. Flaminius Nepos.

Military Quæstors. P. Valerius Flaccus.
Sp. Furius Philus.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Lælius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

A. Manius Vulso Longus.
L. Manlius Torquatus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Valerius Falto.

Pro-Quæstor. C. Atilius Regulus.

517. Y. of R.

216. Consulship. P. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS CAVDINVS.

C. LICINIUS VARVS.

The Secular Games celebrated a third time under the direction of M. Æmilius, and

M. LIVIVS SALINATOR.

Censors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Q. Lutatius Cerco. The latter died before his office expired.

Prætors. L. POSTHUMIVS ALBINVS.
SP. CARVILIVS MAXIMVS RUGA.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Turdus.
M. Junius Pera.

Plebeian Ædiles. Ti. Veturius Calvinus.
Cn. Apronius Lino.

Tribunes of the People. M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Æbutius Carus.

L. Staius Nepos.
Cn. Minucius Fessus.

C. Otacilius Crassus.
C. Aquilius Florus.

L. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Metilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Valerius Messalla.
Q. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors. M. Junius Brutus.
L. Junius Brutus.

Provincial Quæstors. Ser. Fulvius Petinus Nobilior.
L. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Pinarius Natta.
C. Apustius Fullo.

Pro-Consul.

Or, CONSULAR CALENDARS.

625

Pro-Consul. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Pro-Quæstor. Sp. Furius Philus.

518. Y. of R.

217. *Consulship.* T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. He triumphs over the Sardinians.

C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Prætors. M' POMPONIUS MATHO.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Barbula.

M. Papirius Crassus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Tribunes of the People. L. Apustius Fullo.

C. Manilius Nepos.

Q. Cædicius Noctua.

L. Memmius Nepos.

L. Acilius Glabrio.

M. Pontificius Nepos.

C. Antonius Nepos.

C. Cædicius Noctua.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

C. Duilius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Valerius Flaccus.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Military Quæstors. C. Servilius Capio.

M. Horatius Pulvillus.

Provincial Quæstors. L. Manilius Nepos.

M. Antonius Nepos.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

M. Minucius Rufus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Pro-Quæstor. Sp. Furius Philus.

519. Y. of R.

218. *Consulship.* L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the Sardinians.

Censors. C. Atilius Bulbus.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

The fortieth Lustrum.

Prætors. M. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. Posthumius Megellus.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

VOL. II.

Theatrical Pieces of Cn. Navius.

Plebeian Ædiles. M' Juvenius Thalna.

M' Otacilius Crassus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Atilius Regulus.

P. Numitorius Nepos.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

M. Terentius Nepos.

C. Oppius Cornicinus.

M. Manlius Vitulus.

C. Sillomus Sarra.

Q. Minucius Thermus.

T. Juventius Thalna.

Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Scævinius Capitolinus.

L. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors. M. Æmilius Paulus.

M. Livius Salinator.

Provincial Quæstors. C. Centenius Penula.

D. Lætorius Morgus.

L. Sergius Fidenus.

L. Flaminius Cilo.

Pro-Consul. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-Quæstor. M. Minucius Rufus.

520. Y. of R.

219. *Consulship.* Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS.

He triumphs over the Ligures.

M' POMPONIUS MATHO.

He triumphs over the Sardinians.

Prætors. C. PAPIRIUS MASON.

M. JUNIUS PERA.

Curule Ædiles. C. Otacilius Crassus.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Aquilius Florus.

M. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People. T. Æbutius Carus.

C. Æbutius Carus.

M. Lætorius Plancianus.

P. Mælius Capitolinus.

Cn. Minucius Follus.

L. Hortentius Nepos.

C. Servilius Nepos.

Q. Cassius Longinus.

C. Aquilius Florus.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Subpicius Paterculus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Military Quæstors. P. Furius Philus.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

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Provincial

Pro-Consul.
Quæstor.

Q. Ælius Pætus.
T. Sempronius Longus.
C. Atilius Glabrio.
Q. Baebius Tamphilus.

Pro-Consul. A. Posthumius Albinus.
Pro-Quæstor. C. Centenius Penula.

521. Y. of R.

220. Consulship. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Prætors. M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. Valerius Flaccus.

Sp. Furius Philus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Apustius Fullo.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Cædicius Noctua.

C. Flaminius Nepos.
C. Carvilius Maximus.
M. Atilius Calatinus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
M. Cæcilius Metellus.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
C. Claudius Canina.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Lutatius Catulus.
P. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

Military Quæstors. Sex. Pomponius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors. L. Quinctius Flaminius.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

L. Furius Philus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily. M. Junius Pera.

Pro-Quæstor. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

522. Y. of R.

Consulship. M. POMPONIUS MATHERO.

C. PAPIRIUS MÆC. He triumphs over the Corsicans, on the hill of Alba.

Dictator. C. DUILIUS.

G. of the Horse. C. Aurelius Cotta.

Censors. L. Manlius Torquatus.

Quintus Fabius Flaccus. Their section was defensive, and they abdicated.

Prætors. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.

M. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Valerius Messalla.

Q. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Atilius Regulus.
Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Apustius Fullo.
M. Junius Brutus.
Ti. Claudius Canina.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.
C. Flavius Nepos.
Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior.
L. Junius Brutus.
C. Claudius Asellus.
L. Tullius Nepos.
P. Popillius Lænas.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Provincial Quæstors.

T. Annius Læsus.
L. Manlius Vulso.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Junius Pullus.
M. Livius Drusus.
C. Sergius Fidenas.
L. Valerius Messalla.
Sp. Furius Philus.

Pro-Consul in Sicily.

Pro-Quæstor. P. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

523. Y. of R.

222. Consulship. M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

M. JUNIUS PERA.

Censors. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

The forty-first Lustrum.

Prætors. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

M. ATILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Servilius Cæpio.

M. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Servilius Nepos.

Q. Cassius Longinus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Minucius Rufus.

L. Manilius Nepos.

A. Atilius Bulbus.

M. Antiquius Nepos.

M. Fulvius Nobilior.

M. Marcius Nepos.

C. Marcius Censorinus.

Q. Petillius Nepos.

P. Plautius Hypsæus.

P. Apuleius Saturninus.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Terentius Guleo.

L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.

Military Quæstors. P. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Provincial

Provincial *L. Marcius Philippus.*
 Quæstors. *Q. Sulpicius Paternulus.*
C. Furius Pacilus.
C. Sulpicius Longus.
 Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*
 Pro-Consul in Sardinia and Corfica. *M. Pomponius Matho.*

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Manlius Vulfo.*
T. Annius Luscus.

524. Y. of R.

223. Consulship. *L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS,* a second time
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.

Prætors. *P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Æmilius Papus.*
M. Æmilius Paulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*
T. Æbutus Carus.

Tribunes of the People. *C. Scantinius Capitolinus.*
C. Centenius Penula.

L. Apuleius Saturninus.
L. Racilius Nepos.
L. Roscius Nepos.
M. Livius Salinator.
L. Lætorius Mergus.
L. Allienius Nepos.
L. Trebonius Flavius.
M. Antius Restio.

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Æmilius Paulus.*
M. Æmilius Barbula.

Military Quæstors. *C. Atilius Serranus.*
Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Provincial Quæstors. *L. Opimius Pansa.*
C. Fulcinius Trio.

Cn. Furius Pacilus.
Q. Servilius Geminus.

Pro-Consul in Liguria. *M. Æmilius Barbula.*

Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*

Pro-Consul in Corfica and Sardinia. *M. Pomponius Matho.*

Pro-Quæstors. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Manlius Vulfo.
T. Annius Luscus.

525. Y. of R.

224. Consulship. *SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS,*
 a second time.

*Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS VER-
 RUCOSUS,* a second time.

Prætors. *M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.*
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Furius Philus.*
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Apustius Fullo.*
M. Junius Brutus.

Tribunes of the People. *M. Minucius Rufus.*
Q. Ælius Petus.

Q. Babius Tamphilus.
C. Acilius Glabrio.

A. Silius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.
A. Trebonius Asper.

C. Lucius Nepos.
C. Scaptius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. *L. Veturius Philo.*
M. Fabius Licinus.

Military Quæstors. *P. Claudius Pulcher.*
C. Terentius Varro.

Provincial Quæstors. *C. Lætorius Mergus.*
M. Marcius.

Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.
P. Servilius Geminus.

Pro-Consul in Illyricum. *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.*

Pro-Consul in Sicily. *Sp. Furius Philus.*

Pro-Consul in Sardinia and Corfica. *M. Pomponius Matho.*

Pro-Quæstors. *Cn. Pupius Nepos.*
L. Manlius Vulfo.
T. Annius Luscus.

526. Y. of R.

225. Consulship. *P. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*
M. ATILIUS REGILLUS.

Prætors. *L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.*
C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Sicily and Sardinia made a Prætor.

Prætor in Sicily. *C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.*

Prætor in Sardinia. *M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.*

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Curule

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina.*
K. Quæſtius Flamininus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *A. Atilius Bulbus.*
P. Plautius Hypſæus.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Sex. Pomponius Nepos.
L. Sextius Calvinus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
L. Villius Tappulus.
T. Otacilius Craſſus.
L. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Voluminius Flamma.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
Q. Titius Nepos.
Quæſtors of Rome. *M. Valerius Lævinus.*
Cn. Servilius Geminus.
Military Quæſtors. *C. Genucius Clepſina.*
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
Provincial Quæſtors. *C. Voluminius Flamma Violens.*
N. Fabius Buteo.
M. Pomponius Nepos.
T. Antonius Merenda.
Pro-Quæſtors. *C. Lætorius Mergus.*
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
527. Y. of R.
226. Conſulſhip. *M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.*
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Prætors of Rome. *M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.*
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. *C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.*
T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
Curule Ædiles. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Minucius Rufus.*
L. Lætorius Mergus.
Tribunes of the People. *T. Annius Lufcus.*
Q. Ælius Pætus.
L. Cæcilius Mætellus.
M. Livius Drufus.
A. Cædicius Nepos.
M. Livius Salinator.
Pi. Seropronius Longus.
L. Junius Pullus.
C. Cominius Nepos.
P. Curatius Nepos.
Dictator of the People. *P. Cornelius Merenda.*
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Quæſtor of Rome. *Q. Mucius Sævola.*
Military Quæſtors. *C. Fannius Strabo.*
Provincial Quæſtors. *G. Livius Drusus.*
L. Petillius Geminus.

T. Geganius Macerinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Pro-Quæſtors. *N. Fabius Buteo.*
T. Antonius Merenda.

The war between the Romans and the inhabitants of Gallia Cisalpine.

528. Y. of R.

227. Conſulſhip. *L. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.* He triumphs over the Gauls.

C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. Claudius Centho.
M. Junius Pera.

Censors.

The forty-second Lustrum.

Prætors of Rome. *P. FURIUS PHILUS.*
Cn. CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVUS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. *C. APUSTIUS FULLO.*
P. PLAUTIUS HYPſÆUS.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
L. Manlius Vulſo.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Lutatius Catulus.*
Q. Bæbius Tampilus.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Terentius Culeo.*
C. Centenius Penula.

L. Marcius Philippus.
C. Mænius Nepos.
P. Furius Aculeo.
L. Ælius Pætus Tubero.
M. Atilius Serranus.
P. Scantinius Capitolinus.
C. Virginius Nepos.
L. Papirius Turdus.

Quæſtors of Rome. *M. Antistius Nepos.*
T. Metilius Croto.

Military Quæſtors. *L. Apustius Fullo.*
L. Genucius Clepſina.

Provincial Quæſtors. *Ti. Veturius Philo.*
Q. Sulpicius Longus.

L. Papirius Cursor.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.
Pro-Quæſtors. *T. Geganius Macerinus.*
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

529. Y. of R.

228. Conſulſhip. *T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS,* a ſecond time.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a ſecond time.

Dictator.

Or, CONSULAR CALENDAR.

629

Dictator. L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS.

G. of the Horse. N. Fabius Buteo.

Prætors of Rome. K. QUINCTIVS FLAMINIVS.

A. ATILIVS BVLBVS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

P. CORNELIVS ASINVS.

Curule/Ediles. L. Æmilius Paulus.

M. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Livius Salinator.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Atilius Serranus.

C. Fulcinius Trio.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

M. Canuleius Nepos.

Cn. Papius Nepos.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

L. Opimius Pansa.

C. Numicius Nepos.

A. Ogulnius Gallus.

M. Oppius Cornicen.

Quæstors of Rome. A. Cornelius Mammula.

Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Military Quæstors. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Provincial Quæstors. M. Æmilius Regillus.

L. Porcius Licinus.

M. Aurelius Cotta.

Ser. Cornelius Rufinus.

Pro-Quæstors. T. Veturius Philo.

P. Cornelius Dolabella.

530. Y. of R.

229. Consulship. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the Gauls.

P. FURIUS PHILVS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors of Rome. M. MINUCIVS RVFVS.

C. LVTATIVS CATVLVS.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia. M. FABIVS LICINVS.

P. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER.

Curule/Ediles. Q. Ælius Patus.

C. Centenius Penula.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Terentius Varro.

T. Annius Luscus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Narcius Sermo.

C. Licinius Varus.

Q. Decius Mus.

T. Coruncanius Nepos.

M. Tullius Nepos.

Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Cn. Domicius Ænobarbus.

C. Livius Denter.

L. Flaminius Chilo.

Q. Claudius Flaminius.

L. Publius Bibulus.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Provincial Quæstors.

Pro-Quæstors.

531. Y. of R.

230. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO CALVINVS.

M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

He triumphs over the Gauls, Insubres, and Germans.

Prætors of Rome.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

Curule/Ediles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Provincial Quæstors.

Pro-Quæstors.

532. Y. of R.

231. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO CALVINVS.

M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

He triumphs over the Gauls, Insubres, and Germans.

Prætors of Rome.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

Curule/Ediles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Provincial Quæstors.

Pro-Quæstors.

533. Y. of R.

232. Consulship.

CN. CORNELIVS SCIPIO CALVINVS.

M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.

He triumphs over the Gauls, Insubres, and Germans.

Prætors of Rome.

Prætors in Sicily and Sardinia.

Curule/Ediles.

Plebeian Ædiles.

Tribunes of the People.

Quæstors of Rome.

Military Quæstors.

Provincial Quæstors.

Pro-Quæstors.

M. LIVIVS SALINATOR.

M. ÆMILIVS BARBVLVS.

Q. BÆIVS TAMPILLVS.

P. SERVILIVS GEMINVS.

L. Veturius Philo.

M. Valerius Lavinius.

Q. Terentius Culco.

L. Ælius Patus Tubero.

C. Lætorius Mergus.

M. Pompilius Nepos.

C. Genucius Clephina.

L. Antistilius Nepos.

P. Publicius Philo.

C. Voluminius Flamma Violens.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

M. Amicius Galus.

C. Popilius Sabellus.

M. Metellus Nepos.

Vibius Terentius Varro.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Nævius Priscus.

Ap. Claudius Cestus.

L. Papirius Mæso.

M. Fundanius Fundulus.

533. Y.

531. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO

ASINA. He triumphs over the Istrians.

M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Dictators. Q. FABIUS MAX. VER-
RUCOSUS.

M. ÆMILIUS BARBU-
LA.

Generals of the C. Flaminius Nepos.
Horse. Q. Ælius Pætus.

Prætors of L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Rome. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Prætors in Sici- C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
ly and Sardi- Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
nia.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Merenda.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Atilius Serranus.
diles. Cn. Pupius Nepos.

Tribunes of the Q. Mucius Scævola.
People. C. Fannius Strabo.

Q. Publius Philo.
C. Publicius Malleolus.

L. Albinus Nepos.

C. Livius Drusus.

L. Petillius Spurius.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

Q. Lutatius Cerco.

Q. Plætorius Nepos.

Quæstors of P. Cornelius Lentulus.
Rome. M. Ogulnius Gallus.

Military Quæ- L. Quinctius Flaminius.
stors. Sex. Julius Cæsar.

Provincial T. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæstors. L. Villius Tappulus.

L. Scribonius Libo.

Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

534. Y. of R. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

533. Y. of R. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

532. Y. of R. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus.

531. Y. of R. L. VETURIUS F. L. O.

C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
They abdicated, because there
was some defect in their elec-
tion, and in their room were
chosen

Censors.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a
second time, and
M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
L. Æmilius Papus.
C. Flaminius Nepos.

The forty-third Lustrum.

Prætors of T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Rome. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

Prætors in Sici- Q. TERENTIUS CULPEO.
ly and Sardi- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
nia.

Curule Ædiles. C. Terentius Varro.
T. Otacilius Crassus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Flaminius Cnbro.
diles. C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Tribunes of the M. Metilius Croto.
People. C. Petillius Spurius.

M. Marcius Sermo.

M. Antistius Nepos.

L. Apustius Fullo.

C. Antius Restio.

M. Anicius Gallus.

L. Genucius Clepsina.

A. Trebius Gallus.

L. Mæcilius Tullus.

Quæstors of P. Cornelius Lentulus Suræ.
Rome. Q. Fabius Maximus.

Military Quæ- M. Æmilius Lepidus.
stors. C. Oppius Salinator.

Provincial L. Pomponius Veientanus.
Quæstors. Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.

Q. Catius Nepos.

L. Porcius Licinus.

Prætors of L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
Rome. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

534. Y. of R.

233. Consulship. M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Prætors of L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS TUBERO.
Rome. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætors in Si- P. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
cily and Sar- Cn. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
dinia.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Regillus.
A. Cornelius Mamnula.

Plebeian Æ- C. Livius Drusus.
diles. C. Popilius Sabellus.

Tribunes of the Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
People. C. Lætorius Mergus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Ti.

Ti. Villius Tappulus.
C. Titinius Nepos.
L. Porcius Licinus.
M. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
Q. Silius Nerva.

Quæstors of
Rome.

Military Quæ-
stors.

Provincial
Quæstors.

Pro-Prætor in
Sicily.

Pro-Quæstors.

L. Hostius Mancinus.
L. Cincius Alimentus.
T. Fonticius Capito.
T. Popillius Sabellus.
Q. Fabius Piclor.
C. Arunculeius Cotta.
C. Papirius Mafp.
P. Licinius Varus.
Q. Terentius Culo.
L. Pomponius Vicentanus.
L. Æmilius Paulus.
Q. Catius Nepos.
M. Livius Salinator.

535. Y. of R.

234. Consulship.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LON-
GUS.

The second Punic War.

Prætors of
Rome.

Prætors in Si-
cily and Sar-
dina.

Curule Ædiles.

Plebeian Æ-
diles.

Tribuns of the
People.

C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. MANLIUS VULSO.
Q. Anicius Scaevola.
C. Fannius Strabo.
T. Metellius Cato.
L. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Claudius Flaminius.
L. Publius Vibulus.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.
M. Titinius Nepos.
C. Genucius Clepsina.
Q. Apronius Nepos.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.
N. Sextius Lateranus.

Quæstors of
Rome.

Military Quæ-
stors.

Provincial
Quæstors.

M. Genucius Cipus.
P. Licinius Cassius.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Lucretius Trio.
M. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Junius Silanus.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

536. Y. of R.

235. Consulship.

C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS,
second time. He was killed
in the battle of the lake
Thrasymenus; and in his
room was chosen
M. ATILIUS REGULUS, a
second time.

Dictator.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS
VERRUCOSUS.

G. of the Horse.

M. Minucius Rufus.

Dictator.

L. VETURIUS PHILO.

G. of the Horse.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Prætors of

M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.

Rome.

M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Prætors in Si-
cily and Sar-
dina.

T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

A. CORNELIUS MAMMIA.

Curule Ædiles.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ-
diles.

L. Porcius Licinus.

M. Anicius Nepos.

Tribuns of the
People.

M. Metellius Nepos.

Vibius Terentius Varro.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Nævius Cripus.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

C. Numicius Nepos.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

M. Mænius Nepos.

C. Iacinius Stolo.

Quæstors of

Ti. Sempronius Blæsius.

Rome.

P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.

Military Quæ-
stors.

C. Servilius Galla.

Q. Cassilius Metellus.

Provincial
Quæstors.

C. Claudius Nero.

P. Cornelius Rufinus.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

L. Carvilius Maximus.

Pro-Consul in

P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor in

C. Centenius Penulo.

G. of the Horse.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

C. Papirius Mafp.

537. Y. of R.

236. Consulship.

C. TERENTIUS VARRO

L. FAMILIUS PAULUS, a second time. He was killed in the battle of *Cannæ*.

Prætors. **M. JUNIUS PERA.**
M. FABIUS BUTEO.

G. of the Horse. **Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.**
He was then *Curule Ædile*.

Prætors of Rome. **M. POMPONIUS MATHO.**
P. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Sicily. **M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.**

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. **L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.** He was killed in a battle with the Gauls.

Curule Ædiles. **Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.**
G. Lælius Mergus.

Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Aurelius Cotta.**
M. Claudius Marcellus Otacili-

Tribunes of the People. **L. Scribonius Libo.**
Ti. Minucius Augurinus.

J. Villius Tappulus.

M. Ogulnius Gallus.

P. Decius Mus.

M. Claudius Glidia.

P. Pupius Nepos.

K. Duilius Nepos.

M. Domitius Calvinus.

C. Iulius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome. **T. Quintius Crispinus.**
Q. Mamilius Titulus.

Military Quæstors. **L. Atilius Bulbus.**
L. Furius Bibaculus. They were both killed in the battle of *Cannæ*.

Provincial Quæstors. **G. Arminius Neps.**
L. Manlius Acilius.
M. Cæcilius Metellus.
G. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Pro-Consuls. **Cn. Servilius Geminus.**
M. Atilius Regulus. They were both killed in the battle of *Cannæ*.

Pro-Consul in Spain. **P. Cornelius Scipio.**

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. **T. Otacilius Crassus.**

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. **A. Cornelius Mammula.**

Pro-Quæstors. **M. Cornelius Calpurnius.**
P. Cornælius Rapius.
S. Calpurnius Maximus.

538.Y. of R.

237. *Consulship.* **L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS**

was designed for Consul third time, but was killed before he enter'd upon his office.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, was elected in the room of **L. POSTHUMIUS**; but he abdicated, because he found his election defective, and in his room

Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRUCOSUS was chosen a third time.

Prætors of Rome. **Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.**

M. VALERIUS LAVINUS.

Prætor in Sicily. **AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.**

Prætor in Sardinia. **Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA.**

Curule Ædiles. **Q. Fabius Maximus**, the son of the Consul of the same name.

M. Aemilius Lepidus.

Plebeian Ædiles. **Q. Clauarius Flaminius.**

M. Atilius Regulus.

Tribunes of the People. **C. Oppius Salinator.**

M. Atinius Labeo.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

L. Pomponius Vientianus.

M. Pomponius Matho.

M. Atilius Bulbus.

M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.

L. Livius Denton.

Quæstors of Rome. **P. Villius Tappulus.**

M. Lucratius Gallus.

Military Quæstors. **P. Popillius Lænas.**

P. Manlius Vulso.

Provincial Quæstors. **L. Arerrius Nepos.**

M. Aemilius Papus.

L. Viturius Philo.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Pro-Consul at Picenum. **C. Terentius Varro.**

Pro-Consul in Campania. **M. Claudius Marcellus.**

Pro-Consul in Lucania. **Ti. Sempronius Longus.**

Pro-Consul in Spain. **P. Cornelius Scipio.**

Pro-Prætor

Pro-Prætor in *T. Otacilius Crassus*,
Sicily.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Pomponius Mathe*,
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Cornelius Cethegus*,
C. Antonius Nepos.

539. Y. of R.

238. *Consulship*. *Q. FABIUS MAX. VERRU-*
COSUS, a fourth time.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, a third time.

Consors. *M. Atilius Regulus*.
P. Furius Philus. He died be-

Prætor of *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. He
Rome. had no Collegue.

Prætor in A- *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the
pulia. son of the Consul.

Prætor in Si- *P. Cornelius Lentulus*,
cily.

Admiral of the *T. Otacilius Crassus*,
Roman Fleet
in Sicily.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*,
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Calpurnius Piso*,
diles. *M. Metellius Nepos*.

Tribunes of the *L. Cincius Alimentus*,
People. *T. Popillius Sabellus*.

M. Calpurnius Flamma,
Q. Pætilius Libo.

Cn. Apuleius Panfa,
C. Arunculeius Cotta.

T. Fonteius Capito,
C. Plautius Hypsæus.

M. Publius Malleolus,
Q. Confidius Nepos.

Quæstors of *P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*,
Rome. *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

Military Quæ- *L. Cæcilius Metellus*,
stors. *M. Valerius Messala*.

Provincial *L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*,
Quæstors. *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*.

C. Publius Bibulus,
Q. Mamilius Turinus.

Pro-Consul at *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus*,
Luceria.

Pro-Consul in *C. Terentius Varro*,
Picenum.

Pro-Consul in *Ti. Sempronius Longus*,
Lucania.

Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio*,
Spain.

Pro-Prætor in *Q. Marcus Scaevola*,
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Pomponius Mathe*,
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Prætor at *M. Valerius Lætinus*,
Brundisium.

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Aemilius Papus*,
L. Veturius Philo.

540. Y. of R.

239. *Consulship*. *Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS*,
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRAC-
CHUS, a second time.

Dictator. *C. CLAUDIUS CENTHIO*,
G. of the Horse. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*.

Prætors of *M. Atilius Regulus*,
Rome. *M. Aemilius Lepidus*.

Prætor in Cis- *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*,
alpine Gaul.

Prætor in Cam- *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*,
pania.

Curule Ædiles *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who was
afterwards surnamed *Africani-*
us.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Fuluius Tappulus*,
diles. *M. Fundanius Fundulus*.

Tribunes of the *L. Cæcilius Metellus*,
People. *L. Licinius Pollio*.

C. Mamilius Vitulus,
L. Porcius Licinius.

P. Lucius Crassus,
L. Lucretius Gallus.

A. Trebius Nepos,
Q. Cælius Nepos.

C. Fulvius Flaccus,
L. Anicius Gallus.

Quæstors of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*,
Rome. *M. Atilius Glabrio*.

Military Quæ- *A. Hostilius Cato*,
stors. *C. Hostilius Cato*.

Provincial *Ti. Claudius Asellus*,
Quæstors. *Sp. Lucretius Gallus*.

Sex. Julius Caesar,
L. Valerius Antias.

Pro-Consul in *C. Terentius Varro*,
Pisenum.

Pro-Consul in *M. Claudius Marcellus*,
Sicily.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor in P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Sicily.

The Prætor to T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

command the

Roman fleet.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Mucius Sævola.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in M. Valerius Lævinus.

Byundisium.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

M. Valerius Messalla.

C. Publicius Bibulus.

541. Y. of R.

240. *Consulship.* Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a
third time.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætor at P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS SUL-

Rome. I.A. He had no Collegue.

Prætor in He- M. JUNIUS SILANUS.

truria.

Prætor at Suef- C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

sula.

Prætor in Apu- CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS, bro-
ther to the Consul.

Curule/Ediles. C. Sulpicius Gallus.

P. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Æ- L. Cincius Alimentus.

diles. T. Popilius Sabellus.

Tribunes of the Sp. Cornelius Maximus.

People.

L. Carvilius Maximus.

C. Servilius Calpa.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

C. Sallonijs Sarra.

P. Silius Nerva.

Sex. Statius Nepos.

P. Licinius Varus.

M. Scantius Nepos.

M. Silius Nerva.

Quæstors.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

M. Junius Pennus.

M. Porponius Matho.

Q. Lutatius Catulus.

M. Aemilius Regillus.

Pro-Consul in Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Lucania.

Pro-Consul in M. Clædijus Marcellus.

Sicily.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.

Spain.

Pro-Prætor at P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Ariminum.

Pro-Prætor in P. Cornelius Lentulus.

Sicily.

Pro-Prætor Ad-T. Otacilius Crassus.

miral of the

flect.

Pro-Prætor at M. Valerius Lævinus.

Brundisium.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Mucius Sævola.

Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.

Ti. Claudius Asellus.

C. Publicius Bibulus.

Sp. Lucotius Gallus.

Sex. Julius Cæsar.

M. Aemilius Papus.

542. Y. of R.

241. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA
MAXIMUS.

C. FULVIUS CENTUMA-
LIUS.

Prætors of C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Rome. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætors in Sici- M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

ly and Sar-

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

dinia.

Curule/Ediles. P. Licinius Crassus.

L. Licinius Peltus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Arunculeius Cotta.

diles. C. Manilius Vitulus.

Tribunes of the C. Sempronius Blaesus.

People. C. Servius Pulex Geminus.

M. Aulius Cerretanus.

P. Villius Tappulus.

C. Sicinius Nepos.

Sex. Curatius Nepos.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

M. Manilius Nepos.

Cn. Apronius Lino.

L. Titius Rufus.

Quæstors. Tib. Claudius Nero.

C. Livius Salinator.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

P. Aelius Patus.

D. Junius Brutus.

L. Aemilius Papus.

M. Aemilius Ralla.

L. Scribonius Libo.

Or, CONSULAR CALENDARS.

635

Pro-Consul in Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Campania.

Pro-Consul in M. Claudius Marcellus. He
Sicily. triumphs on mount Alba, and
receives the honours of an
Ovation at Rome, for hav-
ing taken Syracuse.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Spain.

Pro-Consul be- C. Claudius Nero.
fore Capua.

Pro-Pretor in M. Junius Silanus.
Hitherio.

Pro-Pretor on T. Otacilius Crassus.
the Coast of
Sicily.

Pro-Pretor at M. Valerius Lavinius.
Brundisium.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
Ca. Octavius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Æmilius Papus.

543. Y. of R.

212. *Consulship.* M. VALERIUS LAVINUS,
a second time.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, a fourth time.

Dictators. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
G. of the Horse. P. Licinius Crassus.

Prætors of L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
Rome. C. LAETORIUS MERCUS.

Prætors in Sici- L. CINCIVS ATIMENFUS.
ly and Sar- P. MANLIUS VULSO.
dinia.

Curule/Ediles. L. Veturius Philo.
P. Lucinius Varus.

Plebeian Æ- Q. Cælius Nepos.
diles. L. Porcius Licinius.

Tribunes of the L. Atilius Regulus.
People. M. Lucretius Gallus.
C. Aternius Nepos.
L. Aternius Nepos.
M. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Silius Nerva.

Cn. Lætorius Plancianus.

Q. Mamilius Vitulus.

Cn. Furius Broechus.

C. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors. C. Flaminius Nepos.
P. Quintilius Varus.
M. Sextius Sabinus.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

Q. Fulvius Cotta.

P. Aulus Tubero.

C. Sulpicius Galba.

L. Lætorius Plancianus.

P. Sulpicius Galba.

Pro-Consul on
the jet-casts
of Greece.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Fulvius Centumulus.
Apulia.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fulvius Flaccus
Campania.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Spain.

Pro-Pretor in C. Calpurnius Piso.
Hitherio.

Pro-Pretor in M. Junius Silanus.
Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Servilius Pulch. Genialis.
P. Aulus Pater.
Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Sestonius Lato.

544. Y. of R.

243. *Consulship.* Q. FABIVS MAX. VERRU-
CORUS, a fifth time. He
triumphs over the Taronini.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, a
fourth time.

Consuls. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

C. Hostilius Tubulus.

Prætors of L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Prætors in Ca- T. QUINCIVS CRISPINUS.
pua and at C. ARUNCULEIVS COTTA.
Sardinia.

Curule/Ediles. L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinas.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Plebeian Æ- C. Servilius Pulch. Genialis.
diles. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the C. Publius Bibulus.
People. P. Clodius Atilius.

Q. Manlius Turrinus.

Ti. Claudius Atellus.

C. Veturius Calvinus.

C. Minucius Rufus.

M. Pomponius Matho.

Q. Cælius Longinus.

C. Minucius Augurinus.

M. Aquilius Florus.

Quæstors. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
T. Manlius Torquatus.

4 M 2

L. Licini

L. Licinius Lucullus.
M. Bæbii Tampilus.
M. Cincius Alimentus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.
C. Cornelius Lentulus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.
 Pro-Consul in *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
 Apulia.
 Pro-Consul in *M. Valerius Lævinus.*
 Sicily.
 Pro-Consul on *P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.*
 the sea-coasts
 of Greece.
 Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Prætor in *C. Calpurnius Piso.*
 Hetruria.
 Pro-Prætor in *L. Cincius Alimentus.*
 Sicily.
 Pro-Prætor in *M. Junius Silanus.*
 Spain.
 Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fulvius Gilla.*
C. Aurelius Cotta.
P. Ailius Tubero.

545. Y. of R.

244. Consulship. **M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.****T. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.**Dictator. **T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.**

G. of the Horse. *C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.*
 He was *Curule Aedile* at the
 same time.

Prætors of *P. LACINIUS VARUS.*
 Rome. *L. LICINIUS CRASSUS DIVES.*

Prætors in Si- *SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.*
 cily and at *Q. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.*
 Tarentum.

Curule Aediles. *Q. Cecilius Metellus.*
C. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Plebeian Aediles. *Q. Mamilius Titulus.*
M. Cecilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the *Ti. Claudius Asellus.*
 People. *Su. Lucretius Gallus.*
P. Villus Tappulus.

*M. Horatius Nepos.**Q. Ogulnius Gallus.**M. Aulus Cicerianus.**Q. Pomponius Nepos.**M. Aulus Glabrio.*

Quæstors.

M. Otacilius Crassus.
L. Carvilius Maximus.
T. Quinctius Flaminius.
M. Fabius Buteo.
M. Valerius Falto.
C. Tremellius Flaccus.
L. Æmilius Lepidus.
Q. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Minucius Rufus.

Pro-Consul at *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.*
 Capua.

Pro-Consul in *M. Valerius Lævinus.*
 Sicily.

Pro-Consul on *P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.*
 the coasts of
 Greece.

Pro-Consul in *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Spain.

Pro-Prætor in *C. Hostilius Tubulus.*
 Hetruria.

Pro-Prætor at *C. Terentius Varro.*
 Arctium.

Pro-Prætor in *L. Veturius Philo.*
 Cisalp. Gaul.

Pro-Prætor on *L. Cincius Alimentus.*
 board the Ro-
 man fleet.

Pro-Prætor in *C. Anunicus Cotta.*
 Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Junius Silanus.*
 Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Flaminius Nepos.*
C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Cincius Alimentus.
C. Cornelius Lentulus.

546. Y. of R.

245. Consulship. **C. CLAUDIUS NERO.****M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.**Dictator. **M. LIVIUS SALINATOR.**

G. of the Horse. *Q. Cecilius Metellus.*
P. Atr. at *C. Hostilius Cato.*

Rome. *Prætor in Cis-* *M. Porcius Licinus.*
 alpine Gaul.

Prætor in Sicily. *C. Mamilius Titulus.*

Prætor in Sardinia. *A. Hostilius Cato.*

Curule Aediles. *Cn. Sordanius Capito.*
Su. Claudius Lentulus.

Plebeian Aediles. *Q. Manilius Turinus.*
M. Pomponius Matbo.
 Tribunes of the People. *Cn. Helvius Blasio.*
Cn. Octavius Nepos.
Q. Lutatius Catulus.
Cn. Pompeius Rufus.
L. Flavius Timbria.
Q. Fulvius Pætinus.
M. Junius Pennus.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
D. Junius Brutus.
Q. Flavius Nepos.
 Quæstors. *L. Furius Purpureo, the son of Spurius.*
L. Furius Purpureo, the son of Lucius.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.
L. Terentius Miffi.
L. Villius Tappulus.
L. Cornelius Merula.
L. Atilius Regulus.
L. Cassius Longinus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
 Pro-Consul in Bruttium. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Pro-Consul in Sicily. *P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.*
 Pro-Consul on the coasts of Greece. *C. Hostilius Tubulus.*
 Pro-Prætor at Capua. *Q. Claudius Flamininus.*
 Pro-Prætor at Tarentum. *L. Mamilius Acidinus.*
 Pro-Prætor at Narnia. *M. Junius Silanus.*
 Pro-Prætor in Spain. *C. Terentius Veyro.*
 Pro-Prætor in Hetruria. *C. Flamininus Nepos.*
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Ælius Cælius.*
M. Lucius Salinator.
C. Claudius Nero.
 547. Y. of R.
 246. Consulship. *Q. CÆCILIUS MÆTEL-
 IUS.*
L. VETURIUS PHILO.
 Prætors at Rome. *M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.*
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
 Prætor in Sicily. *C. SERVILIUS PULEX GEM-
 NUS.*

Prætor in Sar- *Ti. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.*
 dinia.
 Curule Ædiles. *Ti. Claudius Nero.*
P. Quintilius Varus.
 Plebeian Aediles. *Sp. Lucretius Gallus.*
Cn. Octavius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. *M. Marcius Ralla.*
P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Pætilius Libo Vibolus.
A. Alphenius Nepos.
C. Licinius Salinator.
L. Scribonius Libo.
P. Villius Tappulus.
L. Flamininus Nepos.
C. Confidius Nepos.
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
 Quæstors. *L. Valerius Flaccus.*
Q. Quintilius Flamininus.
Q. Mucius Varrus.
M. Junius Gallus.
M. Helvius Pætus.
Cn. Sergius Pæmus.
M. Silius.
 Pro-Consul in Hetruria. *M. Lælius Salinator.*
 Pro-Consul in Spain. *P. Cornelius Scipio.*
 Pro-Consul on the coast of Greece. *P. Sulpicius Galba.*
 Pro-Prætor at Capua. *C. Hostilius Tubulus.*
 Pro-Prætor at Tarentum. *T. Quintius Flamininus.*
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Flamininus Nepos.*
L. Cassius Longinus.
 548. Y. of R.
 247. Consulship. *P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.*
F. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
 Dictator. *C. CÆCILIUS MÆTEL-
 IUS.*
 G. of the H. *L. Veturius Philo.*
 Prætor at Rome. *C. SERVILIUS PULEX.*
 Prætor at Asia. *Q. LUCILIUS GALLUS.*
 Prætor in Sicily. *L. ÆMILIUS PAPIR-
 IUS.*
 Prætor in Sar- *Cn. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.*
 dinia.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Ædiles. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Plæbeian Ædiles. Ti. Claudius Asellus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Papus.
 Q. Navius Pollio.
 Q. Trebellius Calca.
 M. Sextilius Sabinus.
 Q. Fulvius Gillo.
 L. Plætorius Nepos.
 L. Staius Nepos.
 C. Aurelius Cotta.
 P. Ælius Tubero.
 L. Lætorius Plancianus.
 P. Numitorius Pullus.
Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cethegus.
 Q. Babius Tamphilus.
 Ti. Sempronius Longus.
 L. Stertinius Nepos.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 M. Minucius Rufus.
 L. Quinctius Flamininus.
 C. Valerius Flaccus.
 M. Livius Salinator.
Pro-Consul in Hetruria. M. Valerius Lævinus.
Pro-Consul at Aretium. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
Pro-Consul in Bruttium. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus.
Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. P. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Pro-Consul on the coasts of Greece. T. Quinctius Flamininus.
Pro-Consul at Tarentum. C. Hostilius Tabulus.
Pro-Consul at Capua. Q. Pleminius Nepos.
Pro-Consul at Rhegium. M. Sergius Nepos.
 549. Y. of R.
 248. *Consulship.* M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
 P. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Consors. M. Livius Salinator.
 C. Claudius Nero.
The forty-fifth Lustrum.
Prætors at Rome. M. MARCIUS RALLA.
 L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Prætor in Sicily. M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
Prætor in Sardinia. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
Curule Ædiles. C. Livius Salinator.
Plæbeian Ædiles. M. Servilius Pulx Geminus.
 P. Ailius Pætus.
 P. Villius Tappulus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Claudius Marcellus.
 M. Cincius Alimentus.
 Cn. Bebius Tamphilus.
 L. Licinius Lucullus.
 C. Scantinius Capitolinus.
 M. Pontificius Nepos.
 P. Manlius Nepos.
 C. Duilius Nepos.
 L. Fescennius Nepos.
 Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
Quæstors. M. Porcius Catz.
 M. Pulvius Nobilior.
 C. Fabricius Lufinus.
 L. Manlius Vulfo.
 M. Porcius Læca.
 M' Curius Dentatus.
 C. Atinius Labeo.
 C. Scribenius Curio Maximus.
Pro-Consul in Gaul. M. Livius Salinator.
Pro-Consul in Bruttium. P. Licinius Craffus Dives.
Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus.
Pro-Consul in Sicily. P. Cornelius Scipio.
Pro-Prætor in Ariminum. Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
Pro-Prætor at Capua. C. Hostilius Tubulus.
Pro-Prætor at Tarentum. T. Quinctius Flamininus.
Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Sardinia. Cn. Octavius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor at Locris. Q. Pleminius.
Pro-Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cethegus.
 L. Stertinius Nepos.
 C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
 M. Minucius Rufus.
 L. Quinctius Flamininus.

550. Y. of R.

249. Consulship. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

G. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

Dictator. P. SULPICIUS GALBA
MAXIMUS.

G. of the Horse. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.

Prætor at Rome. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor at Ariminum. P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor in Sicily. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule/Ediles. M. Fabius Buteo.

M. Volcinius Falto.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Sextius Sabinus.

C. Tremellius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Oppius Cornicinus.

P. Titinius Nepos.

L. Apustius Fullo.

Q. Minucius Rufus.

C. Mamilius Turinus.

L. Titinius Nepos.

Q. Sennius Nepos.

C. Cominius Nepos.

C. Antonius Nepos.

Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Quæstors. M. Sargius Sitis.

Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

C. Julius Glaucis.

L. Pæcius Læca.

Q. Fabius Buteo.

Cn. Domitius Æneobarbus.

T. Juventius Thalna.

Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Pro-Consul in Bruttium. P. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Pro-Consul in Farth Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus.

Pro-Consul in Africa. P. Cornelius Scipio.

Pro-Prætor in Liguria. Sp. Lucretius Gallus.

Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Sardinia. M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Italy. M. Pomponius Matho.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Pæcius Læca.

C. Cornelius Cethegus.

M. Marcus Fulvius.

M. Pæcius Læca.

C. Sennius Nepos.

C. Sennius Nepos.

C. Sennius Nepos.

551. Y. of R.

250. Consulship. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

M. SERVILIUS PULEX
GEMINUS.

Dictator. C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.

G. of the Horse. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor at Rome. C. AURELIUS COFFA.

Prætor at Ariminum. M. SEXTIUS SABINUS.

Prætor in Bruttium. C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.

Prætor in Sicily. C. TRIMILLIUS FLACCUS.

Curule/Ediles. L. Lucius Lucullus.

Q. Fulvius Patinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Ælius Læca.

L. Lucius Plancianus.

M. Cælius Lamachus.

C. Sennius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Terentius Malla.

L. Villius Tappulus.

L. Memmius Gallus.

Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.

C. Abutius Cæus.

Sex. Ælius Pætus.

L. Cælius Longinus.

P. Mælius Capitolinus.

T. Abutius Cæus.

Sp. Veturius Calpurnius.

Quæstors. C. Labius Nepos.

P. Cælius Sennius Nepos.

Cn. Marcus Fulvius.

L. Oppius Salinator.

C. Ulpianus Nepos.

Sp. Claudius Nero.

C. Mælius Capitolinus.

L. Scribonius Libo.

Pro-Consul in Hetruria. C. Servilius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither gain.

Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Africa.

Pro-Prætor in Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
Liguria.

Pro-Prætor in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on P. Villius Tappulus.
the sea-coasts
of Sicily.

Pro-Prætor on Cn. Octavius Nepos.
the coasts of
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on M. Marcius Ralla.
the sea-coasts
of Italy.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cathegus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
T. Juventius Thalna.

552. Y. of R.

251. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTU-
LUS.

Prætors of P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Rome. M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in M. VALERIUS FALTO.
Campania.

Prætor in P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
Sicily.

Prætor in M. FABIUS BUTEO.
Sardinia.

Curule/Ediles. L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Quinctius Flamininus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Apustius Fullo.
diles. Q. Minucius Rufus.

Tribunes of the Q. Minucius Thermus.
People. M. Acilius Glabrio.

C. Helvius Blasio.

L. Atilius Regulus.

M. Minucius Rufus.

L. Canuleius Dians.

L. Hortensius Nepos.

M. Helvius Blasio.

M. Minucius Fessus.

C. Terentius Varro.

Quæstors. Q. Marcius Rex.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
P. Manlius Vulso.
Cn. Cornelius Merenda.
C. Atinius Labeo.

T. Romuleius Nepos.

M. Junius Brutus.

Q. Oppius Salinator.

Pro-Consul in M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
Hetruria.

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio.
Africa.

Pro-Prætor on Cn. Octavius Nepos.
the coasts of
Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor on M. Valerius Lævinus.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Cornelius Cathegus.
C. Lælius Nepos.

P. Cornelius Scipio.

L. Oppius Salinator.

Scipio triumphs over Hanni-
bal the Carthaginian, and
Syphax King of Numidia.

553. Y. of R.

252. *Consulship.* P. SULPICIUS GALBA
MAXIMUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The Macedonian War.

Prætor of CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.
Rome.

Prætor in Cis- L. FURIUS PURPUREO. He
alpine Gaul. triumphs over the Gauls.

Prætor in Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
Bruttium.

Prætor in Si- Q. FULVIUS GILLO.
cily.

Curule/Ediles. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Plebeian Æ- L. Terentius Aassa.
diles. Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Tribunes of the C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
People. M. Minucius Rufus.

L. Ogulnius Gallus.

Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Ti. Sempronius Longus.

M. Domitius Calvinus.

L. Stertinius Nepos.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

P. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors.

Quæstors.

L. Cornelius Scipio.
L. Valerius Tappus.
M. Junius Brutus.
D. Junius Brutus.
M. Valerius Messalla.
E. Porcius Licinus.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Pro-Consul in
Hither Spain. C. Cornelius Cethegus.

Pro-Consul in L. Manlius Acidinus.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Prætor on *M. Valerius Lævinus.*
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Valerius Falto.*
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. *M. Junius Brutus.*
Cn. Cornelius Merenda.
L. Cornelius Lentulus. Upon his
return from Spain he receives
the honours of an Ovation.

554. Y. of R.

253 Consulship. L. CORNELIUS LENTU-
LUS.

P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Censors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africa-
nus.

P. Ælius Pætus.

The forty-Sixth Lustrum.

Prætor of L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIVS.
Rome.

Prætor at Ari- Cn. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
minum.

Prætor in Si- L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
dinia.

Curule/Ediles. *C. Valerius Flaccus.*
C. Cornelius Cethegus.

Plebeian Æ- *M. Porcius Cato.*
diles. *C. Helvius Blasio.*

Tribunes of the *M. Porcius Læca.*
People. *M. Fulvius Nobilior.*

M. Curius Dentatus.
C. Scribonius Curio.
C. Fabricius Luscinius.
T. Otacilius Crassus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Ti. Claudius Canina.
L. Aurelius Orestes.
C. Flaminius Nepos.
Q. Ælius Tubero.

Quæstors.

VOL. II.

P. Sempronius Tudigæus.
P. Licinius Lucullus.
M. Bæbius Tamphilus.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
A. Cornelius Mamula.
C. Livius Salinator.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.

Pro-Consul in P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus.
Macedon.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Stertinius Nepos.
Farth. Spain.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Minucius Rufus.
Bruttium.

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Valerius Tappus.*
D. Junius Brutus.
L. Porcius Licinus.

555. Y. of R.

254. Consulship. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINI-
NUS.

SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CA-
TUS.

Prætor of L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
Rome.

Prætor in Cis- C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
alpine Gaul.

Prætor in Sici- M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS
ly.

Prætor in Sar- M. PORCIUS CATO.
dinia.

Curule/Ediles. Q. Minucius Thermus.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.

Plebeian Æ- C. Sempronius Tudigæus.
diles. M. Helvius Blasio.

Tribunes of the Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus.
People. Sex. Digintus Nepos.

C. Ælius Pætus.
C. Claudius Canina.

P. Rutilius Rufus.
T. Juventius Thalna.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
Cn. Domitius Calvus.

M. Porcius Læcinus.
C. Cossentius Nepos.

C. Licinius Lucullus.
C. Plautius Nepos.

C. Sallustius Sarra.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Cn. Fabius Flaccus.
C. Atinius Labeo.

C. Cornelius Blasio.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.

Quæstors.

Pro-Consul in L. Cornelius Lentulus.
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Consul in Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in L. Stertinius Nepos.
Farther Spain.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of
Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Licinius Lucullus.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
A. Cornelius Mammula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.

556. Y. of R.

255. Consulship. C. CORNELIUS CETHE-
GUS. He triumphs over the
Insubres and Cænomani.

Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. He
triumphs over the Ligures and
Boii, on the hill of Alba.

Prætors of M. SERGIUS SILUS.
Rome. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Sici- L. MANLIUS VULSO.
ly.

Prætor in Sar- L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- C. SEMPRONIUS TUBITANUS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Scipio Næscia.
Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Plebeian Æ- M. Acilius Glabrio.
diles. C. Lælius Nepos.

Tribunes of the L. Oppius Salinator.
People. Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

C. Acilius Glabrio.
C. Atinius Labeo.

C. Urfanius Nepos.
L. Porcius Læta.

L. Scribonius Libo.
C. Hostilius Rufus.

K. Dullius Nepos.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Quæstors.

L. Emilius Lepidus.
L. Aemilius Paullus.

L. Aemilius Paullus.
Q. Fabius Labeo.

M. Cæcilius Metellus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Q. Marcius Philippus.
Sex. Pompeius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Macedon.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Sallustius Sarra.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.
Cn. Cornelius Blasio.

557. Y. of R.

256. Consulship. L. FURIUS PURPUREO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS. He triumphs over the
inhabitants of Coma and the
Insubres.

Prætor at L. ARUSTIUS FULLO.
Rome. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Prætor in Sici- C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
ly.

Prætor in Sar- T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
dinia.

Prætor in Hi- Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- Q. FABIVS BUTEO.
ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
C. Flaminius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus.
diles. C. Scribonius Curio.

Tribunes of the Q. Marcus Rex.
People. C. Atinius Labeo.

M. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Atilius Serranus.

M. Junius Brutus.
Q. Oppius Salinator.

Sex. Tullius Nepos.
L. Flavius Nepos.

L. Marcius Censorinus.
C. Livius Drusus.

Quæstors. Q. Fabius Labeo.
L. Aurelius Cotta.

So. Posthumius Albinus.
F. Sempronius Blasius.

C. Stertinius Nepos.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.

M. Furius Luscus.
T. Manius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Macedon.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the sea-coasts
of Greece.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Sallustius Sarra.
Cn. Cornelius Merula.
L. Arunculeius Cotta.

Cn. Cor-

Gn. Cornelius Blasio.
Gn. Cornelius Lentulus. He re-
 ceives the honours of an O-
 vation.

558. Y. of R.

257. *Consulship.* M. PORCIUS CATO.
 L. VALLERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors of C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
 Rome. C. ATINIUS LABEO.

Prætor in Si- CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
 cily.

Prætor in Hi- P. MANLIUS VULSO.
 ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- AP. CLAUDIUS NERO.
 ther Spain.

Prætor in He- P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
 truria.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
 M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Æ- M. Juvenius Thalna.
 diles. Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Tribunes of the M. Fundanius Fundulus.
People. L. Valerius Tappus.

M. Junius Brutus.
 D. Junius Brutus.

L. Porcius Licinus.
 C. Æbutius Carus.

Q. Minucius Thermus.
 Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

M. Marcus Ralla.
 C. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors. P. Claudius Pulcher.
 L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

M. Furius Crassipes.
 C. Sempronius Blasius.

C. Calpurnius Piso.
 Q. Fabius Pictor.

Q. Nevius Matho.
 C. Afranius Sallio.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Greece.

Pro-Prætor on L. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of

Greece.
Pro-Consul in Ti. Sempronius Longus.
Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Salloniæ Sarra.
 C. Aulus Scaurus.

Gn. Cornelius Merula.
 M. Helvius Blasio, Pro-Prætor

in Hither Spain. He receives
 the honours of an Ovation.

Minucius Thermus. He tri-
 umphs over Hither Spain.

559. Y. of R.
 258. *Consulship.*

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-
 FRICANUS, a second time.
 TI. SEMPRONIUS LON-
 GUS.

Consors. Sextius Ælius Pætus Catus.
 C. Cornelius Cethegus.

The forty-seventh Lustrum.

Prætors of CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
 Rome. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætor in Si- CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
 cily.

Prætor in Hi- SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
 ther Spain.

Prætor in Far- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
 ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. C. Atilius Serranus.
 L. Scribonius Libo.

Plebeian Æ- M. Junius Brutus.
 diles. Q. Oppius Salinator.

Tribunes of the Q. Ælius Tubero.
People. C. Livius Salinator.

L. Arunculeius Cotta.
 Q. Salloniæ Sarra.

C. Lutatius Catulus.
 P. Popilius Lænas.

M. Tuccius Nepos.
 A. Atilius Serranus.

M. Bæbius Tampilus.
 Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Quæstors. L. Posthumius Tympanus.
 Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

P. Sulpicius Galba.
 P. Sempronius Gracchus.

C. Sempronius Rutilus.
 Q. Terentius Culeo.

C. Decimius Flavius.
 C. Atilius Serranus.

Pro-Consul in L. Valerius Flaccus.
Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Consul in M. Porcius Cato.
Hither Spain.

Pro-Consul in T. Quinctius Flaminius.
Greece. He triumphs over Macedon,

and King Philip, for three
 days together.

Pro-Consul on I. Quinctius Flaminius.
the coasts of

Greece.

Pro-Quæstors *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*.
C. Sallustius.
C. Crassus.
M. Furius Crassipes.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
Q. Nevius Matro.
Marcus Porcius Cato. He triumphs over Hither Spain.

560. Y. of R.

259. Consulship. *L. CORNELIUS MERULA*.
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Prætors of *C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO*.
 Rome. *M. VALERIUS MESSALLA*.

Prætors in Sicily. *L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO*.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain. *C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS*.

Prætor in Farther Spain. *M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR*.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Æmilius Lepidus*.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Oppius Salinator*.

M. Junius Brutus.

Tribunes of the People. *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

M. Titinius Nepos.

C. Titinius Nepos.

M. Licinius Lucullus.

Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.

L. Juvenius Thalna.

C. Antistius Nepos.

L. Poblilius Bibulus.

L. Plautius Hypsæus.

C. Licinius Lucullus.

Quæstors. *C. Valerius Toppus*.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

P. Cornutius Sulla.

L. Quinctius Crispinus.

M. Claudius Marcellinus.

P. Sempronius Longus.

L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. *Ti. Sempronius Longus*.

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Decimus Flaccus*.

C. Crassus.

Q. Nevius Matro.

C. Atilius Serranus.

561. Y. of R.

260. Consulship. *L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS*.

CN. DOMITIUS AENOBARBUS.

Prætors of *C. ENNIUS CENTUMALUS*.
 Rome. *L. SCRIBONIUS LISO*.

Prætor in Sicily. *L. VALERIUS TAPPUS*.

Prætor in Sardinia. *Q. SALLONIUS SARRA*.

Prætor in Bruttium. *M. BÆBIUS TAMPFILUS*.

Prætor in Farther Spain. *A. ATILIUS SERRANUS*.

Curule Ædiles. *M. Tuccius Nepos*.
D. Junius Brutus.

Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Livius Salinator*.

C. Arunculeius Cotta.

Tribunes of the People. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

C. Atinius Labeo.

P. Puppius Nepos.

Sex. Pomponius Nepos.

L. Bæbius Dives.

Q. Marcius Philippus.

M. Cæcilius Metellus.

P. Plautius Hypsæus.

L. Apuleius Saturninus.

Q. Petilius Spurinus.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

P. Cornelius Cethegus.

M. Abarius Geminus.

A. Terentius Varro.

L. Mummius Nepos.

L. Puppius Nepos.

Pro-Consul in Liguria. *Q. Minucius Thermus*.

Pro-Prætor in Hith. Spain. *C. Flaminius Nepos*.

Pro-Prætor in Farth. Spain. *M. Fulvius Nobilior*.

Pro-Prætor on the coasts of Italy. *L. Oppius Salinator*.

Pro-Quæstors. *L. Quinctius Crispinus*.

Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

L. Posthumius Tympanus.

C. Atilius Serranus.

War with Antiochus the Great.

562. Y. of R.

261. Consulship. *M. ACILIUS GLABRIO*.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. He triumphs over the Boii.

Prætor

Prætor of Rome. **M. JAVES BRUTUS.**
 Prætor in Bruttium. **L. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.**
 Prætor in the fleet sent against Antiochus. **C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.**
 Prætor in Sicily. **M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.**
 Prætor in Sardinia. **L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.**
 Prætor in Farther Spain. **L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.**
 Curule Ædiles. **Sp. Posthumius Albinus.**
 Plebeian Ædiles. **L. Plautius Hypsæus.**
 Tribunes of the People. **M. Sempronius Tuditanus.**
P. Sempronius Blæsus.
C. Stertinius Nepos.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
L. Albinus Nepos.
M. Allienius Nepos.
C. Centenius Penula.
T. Mænius Nepos.
C. Terentius Maffa.
C. Albius Carrinas.
L. Apustius Fullo.
 Quæstors. **Q. Fulvius Flaccus.**
Sp. Posthumius Albinus Paululus.
C. Terentius Istra.
L. Cæcilius Dentler.
L. Durenus Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Petillius Spurius.
Q. Mummius Nepos.
 Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. **Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.**
 Pro-Consul in Liguria. **Q. Minucius Thermus.**
 Pro-Prætor in Sicily. **L. Valerius Tappus.**
 Pro-Prætor in Hith. Spain. **C. Flaminius Nepos.**
 Pro-Prætor in Epirus and Greece. **M. Bæbius Tampilus.**
 Pro-Prætor on the sea-coasts of Greece. **A. Atilius Serranus.**
 Pro-Quæstors. **L. Quintilius Crispinus.**
L. Posthumius Tympanus.

L. MAMMIUS NEPOS.
L. MAMMIUS GERMANICUS.
M. FULVIUS MABILIS. He receives the honours of an Ovation at his return from Farther Spain.
 563. Y. of R.
 262. Consulship. **L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.**
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
 Prætors of Rome. **L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.**
Cn. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
 Prætor in Hetruria. **D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.**
 Prætor in Apulia and Bruttium. **M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.**
 Prætor in Sicily. **L. ATINIUS LABEO.**
 Prætor on board the fleet designed to act against Antiochus. **L. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.**
 Curule Ædiles. **P. Claudius Pulcher.**
L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. **M. Claudius Marcellus.**
Q. Marcianus Philippus.
 Tribunes of the People. **L. Aurelius Cotta.**
T. Sempronius Rutilus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Ogulnius Gallus.
Ti. Sempronius Rutilus.
M. Furius Crassipes.
M. Furius Luscus.
M. Atilius Nepos.
P. Petillius Nepos.
M. Cossidius Nepos.
C. Furius Aulus.
Ti. Minucius Augurinus Molliculus.
M. Valerius Lævinus.
L. Julius Cæsar.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
P. Cornelius Sijenna.
A. Manlius Vulsus.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
 Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. **E. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.**
 Pro-Consul in Greece. **M. Acilius Glabrio.** He triumphs over King Antiochus, and the Ætolians.
 Pro-Consul.

Pro Consul in Q. MANNIUS THARMUS
Liguria.
Pro Consul in D. AULIUS PAULUS.
Farth. Spain.
Pro Prætor in A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
Ætolia.
Pro-Prætor in L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
Sicily.
Pro-Prætor in L. OPIIUS SALLIATOR.
Sardinia.
Pro-Prætor in C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
Hith. Spain.
Pro-Quæstors. Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
L. POSTHMIUS TYMPANUS.
M. ABBYIUS GEMINUS.

564. Y. of R.

263. Consulship. CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
Censors. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

The forty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætor of SP. POSTHMIUS ALBINUS.
Rome.
Prætor in Si- M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITA-
cily.
Prætor in Sar- Q. FABIVS PICTOR.
dinia.
Prætor in Hi- L. PLAUTIUS HYPERÆUS.
ther Spain.
Prætor in Far- L. B. RINUS DYES.
ther Spain.
Prætor on the Q. FABIVS LABEO.
sea-coasts of
Greece.
Curule-Ediles. Ap. CLAUDIUS PULHER.
Plebeian Ediles. P. SUBIRIUS GALBA.
P. LUCIUS FLACCUS.
Tribunes of the C. CASSIUS MATELIUS.
People. C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILIUS.
C. L. A. CALEOT.
C. A. STRABUS.
C. A. SPURINUS.
C. FANNIUS NEPOS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
C. FLAMINIUS FLAVIUS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
C. ABBYIUS CRIPUS.
Quæstors. Q. L. B. RINUS DYES.

Quæstors.

Cn. Si.

Pro Consul in Q. MAMMULA.
Liguria.
Pro Consul in D. AULIUS PAULUS.
Farth. Spain.
Pro Prætor in A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
Ætolia.
Pro-Prætor in L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
Sicily.
Pro-Prætor in L. OPIIUS SALLIATOR.
Sardinia.
Pro-Prætor in C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
Hith. Spain.
Pro-Prætor in D. AULIUS BRUTHUS.
Hith. Spain.
Pro-Prætor in M. TUCIDIUS NEPOS.
Brutum.
Pro-Prætor in L. OPIIUS SALLIATOR.
Sardinia.
Pro-Quæstors. C. FANNIUS LAVINUS.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
P. CORNELIUS CRABEGUS.
Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.
A. MANIUS VULSO.
P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.
L. EMILIUS REGILLUS has a Na-
val Triumph for having beat-
en Antiochus's fleet.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS tri-
umphs for having vanquished
Antiochus.
Q. FABIVS LABEO triumphs after
his happy expedition in the
island of Crete.

565. Y. of R.

264. Consulship. G. L. L. SALINATOR.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
Prætor of M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Rome.
Prætor in Si- Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
cily.
Prætor in Sar- C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
dinia.
Prætor in Hi- L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FUL-
ther Spain. VIANUS.
Prætor in Far- C. ATERIUS LABEO.
ther Spain.
Curule-Ediles. P. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.
Plebeian Ediles. M. LUCIUS LUCILLUS.
T. MANIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the C. VALERIUS NEPOS.
People. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS.
Q. NEVIUS MATHO.

Cn. Si.

Quæstors.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Elatius Crassus.
R. Licinius Crassus.
C. Claudius Nero.
P. Mucius Scaevola.
M. Titinius Nepos.
T. Hostilius Cassius.
M. Aemilius Lepidus.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Pro-Consul in *Ætolia.*
Pro-Consul in *Cn. Manlius Vulso.*
Asia.
Pro-Prætor in *M. Tullius Nepos.*
Bruttium.
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Mucius Scaevola.*
P. Cornelius Sisenna.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
L. Posthumius Albinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
566. Y. of R.
265. Consulship. *M. Aemilius Lepidus.*
C. Flaminius Nepon.
Prætors at *Ser. Sulpicius Galba.*
Rome. *Q. Terentius Culeo.*
Prætor in Cis- *M. Furius Crassipes.*
alpine Gaul.
Prætor at Ta- *Ap. Claudius Pulcher.*
rentum.
Prætor in Si- *L. Terentius Massa.*
cily.
Prætor in Sar- *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.*
dinia.
Curule Ædiles. *P. Cornelius Cethegus.*
A. Posthumius Albinus.
C. Sempronius Blaesus.
M. Furius Læsus.
Tribunes of *Q. Petillius Spurius, the son of*
People. *Quinctus.*
Q. Petillius Spurius, the son
of Caius.
M. Cælius Crispus.
C. Manucius Augurinus.
L. Munatius Nepos.
Q. Munatius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.

Quæstors.
Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Elatius Crassus.
R. Licinius Crassus.
C. Claudius Nero.
P. Mucius Scaevola.
M. Titinius Nepos.
T. Hostilius Cassius.
M. Aemilius Lepidus.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Pro-Prætor in *L. Manlius Acidus Fulvius.*
Hib. Spain.
Pro-Prætor in *C. Atinius Lætes.*
Farth. Spain.
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Maximus.*
C. Licinius Crassus.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
M. Fulvius Nobilior. He tri-
umphs over the Ætolians and
Cephalenians.
Cn. Manlius Vulso. He tri-
umphs over the Attack
Gauls.
567. Y. of R.
266. Consulship. *SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-*
NUS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
Prætor of
Rome.
Prætor in Si- *P. Cornelius Sylla.*
cily.
Prætor in Sar- *G. Aurelius Scaurus.*
dinia.
Prætor in Hi- *L. Quinctius Crispinus.*
ther Spain.
Prætor in Far- *C. Calpurnius Piso.*
ther Spain.
Curule Ædiles *P. Cornelius Sisenna.*
Sp. Posthumius Albinus Palatus.
Plebeian Æ- *Q. Naevius Matho.*
diles. *C. Decimius Flaccus.*
Tribunes of the *M. Fulvius Flaccus.*
People. *M. Quinctius Callus.*
C. Terentius Iltra.
L. Acilius Gæbrius.
Q. Quinctius Nepos.
Q. Opellius Parila.
A. Terentius Varro.
L. Cæcilius Dentey.
L. Durocius Nepos.
M. Trebonius Flavius.

Quæstors.

Questões

1. *Publius*
 2. *Publius*
 3. *Publius Albinus*
 4. *Publius Longus*
 5. *Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*
 6. *Valerius Iuvencus*
 7. *Lucretius Trigu*
 8. *Cluvius Saxula*

Pro-Prætors in The same as the last year.

Spain.

Pro-Quarters.

Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Placcus.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the son of
Publius.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the son of
Marcus.
A. Manlius Vulfo.

668. Y. of R.

267. *Consulship.* A. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors.

P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
C. AFRICANIUS STELLIO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLI-
NUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. AETILIUS SERRANUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles.

Ma. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
Co. Sordidus *Linnaeus*.
Lo. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
M. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
Q. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
A. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
C. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
L. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.
T. Pinnatus *Linnaeus*.

100

Colinus
Colinus Neps.
Colinus Gallus.
Spizella Cilio.
Spizella Cilio.

Quæstors.

G. *Arctostaphylos*
 G. *Arctostaphylos*
 G. *Arctostaphylos*
 T. *Arctostaphylos*
 G. *Arctostaphylos*
 C. *Arctostaphylos*
 T. *Arctostaphylos*

Pro-Prætor

Thither and Thence
Farth. Spain

Pro-Questors

L. Manlius.
L. Manlius.
L. Manlius.
L. Manlius.
 He receives the Honours of
 an *Orator*, at his return
 from his *Pro-Prætorship* in
 Spain.

569. \mathbb{Z} . of R

268. C. *fulvius*. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
Censors. L. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Porcius Cato.

The forty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætors at Rome.

C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

cily.

- Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.

Prætor in Sardinia.

- Q. NEVIUS MATHO.
i. A. TERENTIUS VARRO.
r. P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS

Curule Ædile

Q. Pulvius Flaccus.
M. Ogulnius Gallus.
L. Mummius Nepos.
T. Cæcilius Denter.
M. Titinius Curvius.
L. Minucius Thermus.
P. Vilius Tappulus.
M. Fannius Strabo.
C. Fundanius Fundulus.

Quæstors.

C. Scordilius Capto.
A. Claudius Gomb.
C. Paternus Turdus.
S. Cornelius Sylla.
C. Caffius Argentinus.
M. Atilius Varianus.
C. Valerius Lævinus.
M. Mæstrenius Nepos.

Pro-Pætor

Pro-Praetor in *Tarentum*.

Pro-Quaestors. *P. Papius Mafso.*

C. Papius Mafso.

M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.

C. Cicereus Nepos.

L. Claudius Asellus.

C. Cornelius Dolabella.

C. Marcellus Nepos.

L. Porcius Licinus.

L. Valerius Crispinus.

L. Julius Caesar.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Cn. Scribinius Nepos.

A. Manlius Vulsus.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

L. Durenius Nepos.

M. Pinarius Posca.

P. Mucius Scaevola.

T. Fonteius Capito.

C. Furius Acuto.

Q. Antonius Balbus.

M. Genucius Cipus.

P. Aelius Ligus.

C. Licinius Crassus.

L. Atius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calpinus.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Q. Aelius Pater.

L. Papius Mafso.

M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.

C. Cicereus Nepos.

L. Claudius Asellus.

C. Cornelius Dolabella.

C. Marcellus Nepos.

L. Porcius Licinus.

L. Valerius Crispinus.

L. Julius Caesar.

Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Cn. Scribinius Nepos.

A. Manlius Vulsus.

Q. Fabius Maximus.

L. Durenius Nepos.

M. Pinarius Posca.

P. Mucius Scaevola.

T. Fonteius Capito.

C. Furius Acuto.

Q. Antonius Balbus.

M. Genucius Cipus.

P. Aelius Ligus.

C. Licinius Crassus.

L. Atius Nepos.

C. Sextius Calpinus.

A. Virginius Nepos.

Q. Aelius Pater.

L. Papius Mafso.

M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.

C. Cicereus Nepos.

L. Claudius Asellus.

Pro-Consuls in *Hither and Forth Spain.*

Pro-Quaestors. *Ser. Cornelius Sylla.*

C. Valerius Laevinus.

C. Arminius Nepos.

M. Matienus Nepos.

T. Metilius Dron.

571. Y. of R.

270. Consulship.

L. Aemilius Paulus.

Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

M. Octavius Gallus.

M. Valerius Laevinus.

Prator in Si-

cily.

Prator in Sar-

dinia.

Prator in Hi-

ther Spain.

Prator in Far-

ther Spain.

Curule Aediles

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

A. Hostilius Mancinus.

Plebeian A-

diles.

T. Minucius Augurinus Melon-

lus.

C. Manius Nepos.

T. Aedius Catus.

C. Numilius Nepos.

P. Licinius Crassus.

C. Genucius Clepsina.

M. Titinius Nepos.

M. Popilius Laenas.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

P. Licinius Stolo.

M. Bonillus Nepos.

M. Licinius Crassus.

N. Fabius Buteo.

M. Junius Pannus.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Cn. Sicius Nepos.

Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.

Sp. Chremas Saxilla.

L. Arminius Nepos.

G. Furius Bibaculus.

Pro-Consuls in

Liguria and

Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Praetor in

Apulia.

Pro-Quaestors.

L. Claudius Asellus.

L. Cornelius

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L. Cornelius

L. Cornelius

L. Cornelius

570. Y. of R.

269. Consulship.

Q. Fabius Labeo.

M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prators of

Rome.

Prator in Apu-

lia.

Prator in Cis-

alpine Gaul.

Prator in Si-

cily.

Prator in Sar-

dinia.

Curule Aediles.

Plebeian A-

diles.

Tribunes of the

People.

Quaestors.

Pro-Consul in

Liguria.

Vol. II.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

M. Cato.

M. C. Nepos.

C. Arrius Nepos.

A. Terentius Varro. He receives
the Honours of an Ovation,
after having conquered the
Celtiberians.

572. Y. of R.

271. Consulship. P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors at Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

Rome. Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.

Prætor in Cis. Q. FABIVS BUTEO.

alpine Gaul.

Prætor in Apu- L. DURONIUS NEPOS.

lia.

Prætor in Si- C. CLAVDIUS NERO.

cily.

Prætor in Sar- M. PINARIUS POSCA.

dinia.

Curule/Ediles. Cn. Cornelius Scipio.

C. Valerius Leuvinus.

Plebeian Æ-

C. Mucius Scaevola.

diles.

P. Mucius Scaevola.

Tribunes of the

C. Octavius Nepos.

People.

L. Paullus Gallus.

C. Popilius Lenas.

Cn. Titius Boecchus.

C. Valerius Calvinus.

M. Aquilius Florus.

C. Cluvius Sulpia.

D. Quinctius Nepos.

T. Numenius Nepos.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Quæstors.

C. Cornelius Scipio.

P. Titius.

C. Lucius Gallus.

P. Terentius Nepos.

C. Fabius Buteo.

C. Fabius Buteo.

Pro-Consuls in C. Bæbius Tampophilus.

Liguria.

D. Bæbius Pabulus. He tri-

Pro-Prætors in P. Titius.

Huber and P. Titius.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Fabius Buteo.

Farth. Spain.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Fabius Buteo.

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C. Fabius Buteo.

573. Y. of R.

272. Consulship. P. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

P. Piso dies in his Office,

and is succeeded by

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

P. FULVIUS MANCINUS.

P. FULVIUS AUGURINUS

MOLLICULUS.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

Prætors in Si- P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

cily.

Prætor in Sar- C. MARIUS NEPOS.

dinia.

Prætors in Hi- T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

ther and Far-

ther Spain. L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule/Ediles.

T. Claudius Nero.

C. Claudius Flaminius.

Plebeian Æ- M. Titius Curvus.

diles.

P. Titius Ligus.

Tribunes of the L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

People.

C. Caninius Rebilus.

M. Caninius Rebilus.

M. Cæcilius Denter.

Q. Bæbius Sulca.

T. Annius Luscus.

M. Marcus Ralla.

T. Metilius Croto.

C. Memmius Gallus.

C. Arrenius Nepos.

Q. Marcus Figulus.

T. Lucius Gallus.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.

P. Fulvius Torquatus.

Q. Marcus Nepos.

M. Cornelius Mammula.

C. Lucius Garco.

C. Titius Ligus.

Pro-Consuls in P. Cornelius Cethegus.

Liguria.

M. Bæbius Tampophilus. They

both triumph over the Li-

gures.

Pro-Prætor in P. Fabius Buteo.

Cisalpe. Gaul.

Pro.

Pro-Prætor at *L. Duronius Nepos*.
Tarentum.
Pro-Prætor in *M. Fulvius*.
Sardinia.
Pro-Prætors in *M. Fulvius*.
Hither and *M. Manlius Vulso*. The former.
Earth. Spain. triumphs for having conquer-
ed *M. Fulvius* Spain.
Pro-Quæstors. *Sp. Lucretius Gallus*.

Sp. Lucretius Paternulus.
P. Lucius Varus.
L. Cornelius Dolabella.
C. Claudius Nepos.
C. Fulvius Albius.
M. Fulvius.

574. Y. of R.
273. Consulship. *L. MANLIUS ACILIUS*
FULVIANUS.

Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS,
brothers. The latter triumphs
over the Ligures.
Censors. *M. AELIUS LEPIDUS*.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.

The fifth *Legnum*.
Prætors of *P. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA*.
Rome. *CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIS-*
PALUS.

Prætor in Sici- *Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA*.
ly.
Prætor in Sar- *C. VALERIUS LEVINUS*.
dinia.

Curule Ediles. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*.
Ap. Claudius Cæpio.
Plebeian Æ- *C. Numilius*.
diles. *M. Popilius Lanæ*.
Tribunes of the *T. Juventius Thalna*.
People. *A. Terentius Varro*.
C. Cassius Longinus.
L. Minucius Thermus.
C. Mattienus Nepos.
P. Aquilius Gallus.
M. Atilius Serjanus.
C. Lucetius Trio.
P. Manlius Nepos.
T. Gracchus Crassus.
Cn. Fulvius Lampilius.
L. Fulvius.
M. Fulvius.
L. Porcius Cato.
M. Fulvius.
C. Sulpicius Galba.

Quæstors. *L. Duronius Nepos*.
P. Pontius Capito.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
Hither and *L. Posthumus Albinus*.
Earth. Spain. He tri-
umphs over the Lusitan and
Races.

Pro-Quæstors. *T. Manlius Torquatus*.
L. Furius.
M. Fabius Dorsio.
L. Fabius.
P. Fen-

L. Furius Philus.
P. Pontius Capito.
Pro-Prætors in *T. Sempronius Gracchus*.
Hither and *L. Posthumus Albinus*.
Earth. Spain.
Quæstors. *T. Manlius Torquatus*.
M. Fabius Dorsio.
C. Fabius Licinus.
L. Cornelius Dolabella.

575. Y. of R.
274. Consulship. *M. JUNIUS BRUTUS*.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
Prætors at *M. TITINIUS CURVUS*.
Rome. *TI. CLAUDIUS NERO*.
Prætor in Si- *P. AELIUS LIGUS*.
cily.

Prætor in Sar- *T. Aebutius Carus*.
dinia.
Prætors in Hi- *M. TITINIUS NEPOS*.
ther and Far- *T. FONTEIUS CAPITO*.
ther Spain.

Curule Ediles. *L. Papirius Mafio*.
M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis.
Plebeian Æ- *C. Popilius Lanæ*.
diles. *L. Aquilius Gallus*.
Tribunes of the *A. Licinius Nerva*.
People. *C. Papirius Turdus*.
Q. Aelius Pætus.
L. Egilius Nepos.
C. Cicereius Nepos.
L. Capuleius Dives.
C. Mattienus Nepos.
M. Mattienus Nepos.
L. Claudius Asellus.
M. Ræcius Nepos.

Quæstors. *Sex. Julius Cæsar*.
Q. Cassius Longinus.
Q. Apulianus Pansa.
C. Servilius Geminus.
T. Manlius Torquatus.
C. Papirius Cæpio.
P. Pontius Balbus.
C. Decimius Flavius.

Pro-Prætors in *T. Sempronius Gracchus*. He tri-
Hither and triumphs over the Celtiberians.
Earth. Spain. *L. Posthumus Albinus*. He tri-
umphs over the Lusitan and
Races.

Pro-Quæstors. *T. Manlius Torquatus*.
L. Furius.
M. Fabius Dorsio.
L. Fabius.
P. Fen-

576. Y. of R.

275. Consulship of **CLAUDIUS PULCHER**.

He triumphs over the Ligures

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUSPrætors at Rome. **P. ELIUS TUBERO**.
C. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.Prætors in Cisalpine Gaul. **C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO**.Prætor in Sicily. **P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS**.Prætor in Sardinia. **C. NUMISIUS NEPOS**.Prætor in Sardinia. **L. MUMMIUS NEPOS**.Curule Ædiles. **Ser. Cornelius Sylla**.**N. Fabius Buteo**.Plebeian Ædiles. **T. Annius Lælius**.**Q. Mancinus Gallus**.Tribunes of the People. **C. Fulvius Flaccus Nobilior**.**C. Sallustius Sarra**.**L. Terentius Massia**.**M. Claudius Marcellus**.**Sp. Carvilius Maximus**.**Ca. Stannius Nepos**.**L. Flavius Nepos**.**M. Iunius Pennus**.**C. Marcus Plavius**.**Sp. Cluvius Saxula**.Quæstors. **M. Cæcilius Lentulus**.**L. Lucius Sesternius**.**M. Ponticus Capito**.**L. Titius Ponticus**.**G. Lucius Nerva**.**M. Lucius Ralla**.**C. Sulpicius Gallus**.**R. Terentius Lævanus**.Pro-Consuls at **M. Junius Brutus**.Aquilaia and **A. Manlius Vulfo**.

in Istria.

Pro-Consul at **T. Claudius Nero**.

Pisa.

Pro-Consul in **T. Claudius Carus**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **T. Claudius Carus**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **T. Claudius Carus**.

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Pro-Prætor in **T. Claudius Carus**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **T. Claudius Carus**.

Sardinia.

577. Y. of R.

276. Consulship of **CORNELIUS SCIPIO**.

He triumphs over the Ligures

P. PELLICIUS SPURIUS. The former dies in his office, and is succeeded by**C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS**. The latter was killed in Li-

guria.

Prætors at Rome. **L. PAPIRIUS MASO**.Prætors in Sicily. **M. ARRIUS GEMINUS**.Prætor in Sardinia. **L. AQUILLIUS GALLUS**.Prætor in Sardinia. **M. PONTIUS LÆNAS**.Prætors in Hispania. **P. LICINIUS CRASSUS**.Curule Ædiles. **M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MA-****LUGINENSIS**.Plebeian Ædiles. **P. FABIUS PHILUS**.**N. Fabius Buteo**.Tribunes of the People. **C. Cassius Longinus**.**M. Atilius Serranus**.**C. AURIUS GEMINUS**.**L. Hortensius Nepos**.**C. Munatius Plancus**.**P. Licinius Varus**.**C. Servilius Casca**.**Sp. Lucretius Gallus**.**A. Pompeius Nepos**.**Cn. Licinius Nerva**.**M. AURELIUS COTTA**.**Ser. Pompeius Nepos**.Quæstors of **M. Atilius Enobarbus**.Rome. **M. Atilius Terquatus**.**M. Atilius Glabrio**.**M. Claudius Marcellus**.**M. Fulvius Nobilior**.**C. Titius Nepos**.**M. Lucius Ralla**.**C. Sulpicius Gallus**.Pro-Consul in **L. Claudius Pulcher**.

Cisalpine Gaul.

Pro-Consul at **T. Claudius Nero**.

Pisa.

Pro-Consul in **T. Sempronius Gracchus**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **T. Claudius Carus**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **M. Titius Nepos**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Prætor in **M. Titius Nepos**.

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Pro-Prætor in **M. Titius Nepos**.

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Pro-Prætor in **M. Titius Nepos**.

Sardinia.

Pro-Questors. *M. Fulvius Capito.*

M. Fulvius Capito.

C. Decimus Brutus.

L. Junius Brutus.

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Prators of C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
Rome. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Prator in Si- L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.
cily.

Prator in Sar- M. APPIUS SERRANUS.
dinia.

Prator in Hi- P. FULVIUS PHILUS.
ther Spain.

Prator in Far- CN. SERVILIUS CAPIO.
ther Spain.

Curule Ediles. C. Sulpicius Galba.
L. Furius Philus.

Plebeian E- C. Sicinius Nepos.
diles. M. Junius Pennus.

Tribunes of the Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.
People. P. Fonteius Capito.

Cn. Octavius Nepos.
C. Racius Nepos.

M. Marcius Sermo.
L. Anicius Gallus.

M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.
L. Porcius Licinus.

Q. Marcius Figulus.
L. Pubilius Philo.

Q. Vocenius Saxo.
P. Cornutius Scipio Nasica.

P. Cornutius Lentulus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.

M. Claudius Albinus.
C. Servilius Cerealis.

Cn. Albinus Nepos.
P. Rutilius Calvus.

Pro-Prator in Si- Cn. Cornelius Sulla.
Sardinia.

Pro-Prator in Ap- Cn. Claudius Centho. He van-
Hish. Spain. quished the Celtiberians, and
received the honours of an

Ovation.

Pro-Questors. Ti. Claudius Nero.
C. Titius Nepos.

P. Claudius Siculus.
P. Quinctilius Varus.

M. Junius Ebo.

580. Y. of R.
279. Consulship. L. POSTHUMIUS ALB-
NUS.

M. POSTHUMIUS LENAS.

Prators at Rome. M. APPIUS SERRANUS.
C. CLAUDIUS SAXOLA.

Prator in Siel- M. FULVIUS PHILUS.
ly.

Prator in Sar- C. CICILIUS NEPOS.
dinia.

Prator.

578. Y. of R.

277. Consulship.

M. MUCIUS SCAEVOLE.

M. ANILIUS LEPIDUS, a

second time. He triumphs

over the Ligures.

Prators.

C. PORCEIUS LENAS.

TI. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.

C. CLAUDIUS SAXOLA.

Prator in Sar-

SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

dinia.

Prator in Far-

AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

ther Spain.

Curule Ediles.

L. Canuleius Divo.

C. Licinius Crassus.

Plebeian E-

L. Villius Tappalus.

diles.

C. Caninius Robilus.

Tribunes of the

C. Marcus Figulus.

People.

Q. Maenius Nepos.

M. Decimus Flavius.

T. Memmius Nepos.

Sex. Marcius Rex.

C. Lucretius Gallus.

C. Lutarius Cerco.

Cn. Apuleius Panfa.

C. Furius Bruchus.

Questors.

P. Decius Subulo.

M. Juvencius Thalna.

M. Cornelius Cethegus.

C. Posthumius Albinus.

C. Fannius Strabo.

Sex. Sulpicius Galba.

Ti. Claudius Nero.

P. Quintilius Varus.

P. Cornelius Blasio.

Pro-Questors.

C. Titius Nepos.

P. Claudius Siculus.

M. Junius Ebo.

579. Y. of R.

278. Consulship.

SP. POSTHUMIUS ALB-

NUS.

Censors.

Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLE.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

A. Posthumius Albinus.

584. Y. of R.
283. Consulship. **A. HOSTILIUS MANCI-**
NUS.
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
Quæstors.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
M. ANILIUS LEPIDUS.
Ti. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
Ti. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA.
L. NAVIUS BALBUS.
M. SERGIUS SILUS.
Pro-Quæstors.
L. CINCIVS ALIMENTVS.
Q. NAVIUS POLLIO.
583. Y. of R.
282. Consulship.
A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.
Prætors at Rome.
Prætor on the sea-coasts of Greece.
Curule Ædiles.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
C. Posthumius Albinus.
Q. Cassius Longinus.
Cn. Fulvius Gilla.
M' Juventius Thalna.
Cn. Aufidius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Mamilius Vitulus.
M. Titius Rufus.
P. Cominius Nepos.
L. Silius Nerva.
Q. Manilius Nepos.
C. Apronius Limo.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
Ch. Cornelius Dolabella.
C. Mammius Turrinus.
Ti. Veturius Calvinus Semproni-
anus.
Ser. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Emilius Lepidus.
Q. Fabius Falto.
M. Rutilius Ragillus.
R. Cæcilius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Macedon.
Pro-Consul on board the fleet.
C. Lucetius Gallus.

Pro-Quæstors.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Ti. Sempronius Musca.
L. Cincius Alimentus.
584. Y. of R.
283. Consulship.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS
a second time.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. Claudius Pulcher.
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
The fifty-second Lustrum.
Prætors at Rome.
C. SULPICIVS GALLVS.
C. DECIMIUS FLAVVS.
Prætor on the coasts of Greece.
C. MARCIUS FIGULVS.
Prætor in Sicily.
SER. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.
Prætor in Sardinia.
P. FONTEIVS CAPITO.
Prætor in Spain.
M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.
Curule Ædiles.
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.
Plebeian Ædiles.
A. Licinius Nerva.
L. Livius Dentor.
Tribunes of the People.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.
M. Claudius Flaminius.
P. Rutilius Calvus.
Q. Voconius Saxa.
L. Anicius Gallus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Scribonius Curio.
C. Oracilius Crassus.
M. Licinius Lucullus.
Quæstors of Rome.
Q. Optimus Nepos.
L. Pompeius Nepos.
T. Minucius Rufus.
L. Atilius Lepidus.
I. Licinius Pollio.
Q. Aulius Cærenatus.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
Pro-Consul in Macedon.
A. Hostilius Mancinus.
Pro-Quæstors.
Ti. Veturius Calvinus Semproni-
anus.
M. Emilius Ragillus.
P. Curius Nepos.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the Gauls and Ligures.

Prætors. **L. LIVIUS DENTER.**
A. LICINIUS NERVA.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
L. APULIUS SATURNINUS.
P. RUTILIUS CALVUS.
M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.

Curule Ædiles. **M. Fulvius Nobilior.**
M. Acilius Glabrio.

Plebeian Ædiles. **L. Anicius Gallus.**
C. Sulpicius Rufus.

Tribunes of the People. **L. Aurelius Orestes.**
Ti. Sempronius Musca.
C. Urfanius Nepos.
Sex. Statius Nepos.
C. Fescennius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Longus.
C. Nævius Balbus.
T. Pædanius Nepos.
C. Numitorius Pullus.
P. Salloniæ Sarræ.

Quæstors. **L. Posthumus Albinus.**
L. Licinius Lucullus.
L. Cornelius Marula.
M. Acilius Glabrio.
Q. Marcus Philistus.
M. Mamilius Nepos.
C. Aulus Tubero.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

Pio-Quæstors. **M. Helvius Blafio.**
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

588. Y. of R.
 287. *Consulship.* **T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.**
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
Prætors. **P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.**
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
M. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule Ædiles. **Sex. Julius Cæsar.**
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Plebeian Ædiles. **Q. Voconius Saxa.**
P. Decimius Flavius.

Tribunes of the People. **C. Mamilius Turinus.**
P. Curatius Nepos.
C. Pontificius Nepos.
C. Tarquinius Flaccus.

P. Sestius Nepos.
C. Cædicius Noctua.
Q. Scantius Nepos.
M. Urbinius Nepos.
L. Tuccius Nepos.
L. Julius Sequetris.
Quæstors. **M. Fostius Nepos.**
Sex. Potitius Nepos.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæpianus.
Cn. Tremellius Flaccus.
P. Cornelius Lentulus.
M. Manlius Acidinus.
G. Helvius Blafio.
M. Fundanius Fundulus.

Pro Prætor in **M. Fonteius Capito.**
Farth. Spain.

Pio-Quæstors. **M. Helvius Blafio.**
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

589. Y. of R.
 288. *Consulship.* **A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.**
Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
 He dies during his Office.
Consors. **L. Æmilius Paulus.**
Q. Marcus Philippus.

The fifty-third Lustrum.

Prætors. **M. VALERIUS MESSALA.**
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Curule Ædiles. **M. Antonius Nepos.**
M. Pomponius Matro.

Plebeian Ædiles. **C. Tremellius Flaccus.**
L. Posthumus Tympanus.

Tribunes of the People. **L. Pomponius Nepos.**
T. Minucius Rufus.
L. Licinius Pollio.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
M. Servilius Geminus.
C. Anænius Nepos.
Q. Opimius Nepos.
Q. Minucius Rufus.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.
C. Æbutius Carus.

Quæstors. **L. Mutius Nepos.**
L. Atilius Regulus.
M. Atilius Balbus.

L. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Cornelius Merenda.
L. Rutilius Placcus.
L. Furius Purpureo.
C. Rutilius Rufus.
 P10-Quæstors. *M. Manlius Acidinus.*
M. Fundanius Fundulus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
 590. Y. of R.
 289. Consulship. **TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS**, a second time.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.
 Prætors. *M. Cornelius Cethegus.*
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
M. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Anicius Gallus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.
Q. Publius Rirulus.
 Curule/Ediles. *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.*
L. Valerius Placcus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. *Ti. Sempronius Longus.*
L. Aurelius Orestes.
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Stertinius Nepos.*
L. Marcius Censorinus.
M. Minucius Fessius.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Decius Mus.
T. Annius Luscus.
Q. Marcius Rex.
C. Terentius Culeo.
C. Oppius Cornicinus.
M. Cælius Rufus.
 Quæstors. *M. Porcius Cato.*
A. Posthumius Albinus.
T. Veturius Philo.
M. Opimius Nepos.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Licinius Stolo.
L. Pinarius Natta.
M' Minucius Thermus.
 Pro-Quæstors. *C. Rutilius Rufus.*
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
 591. Y. of R.
 290. Consulship. **P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.**
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
 But there was some defect in their election; and in their room were chosen
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNO. BARBUS.
 Prætors. *M. Æmilius Lepidus.*
Q. Voconius Saxa.
L. Ræbius Dives.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
A. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
 Curule/Ediles. *L. Manlius Acidinus.*
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.
 Plebeian Ædiles. *C. Mamilius Turrinus Limitanus.*
L. Pomponius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior.*
C. Afranius Stellio.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
M. Helvius Blasio.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
P. Licinius Muræna.
P. Porcius Læca.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
 Quæstors. *T. Quinctius Flaminius.*
C. Livius Drusus.
Sp. Posthumius Albinus.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
A. Gabinius Nepos.
L. Æmilius Regillus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
L. Fabritius Luscinius.
 Pro-Consul in Sardinia. **Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.**
 Pro-Prætor in Sicily. *M' Acilius Glabria.*
 Pro-Quæstors. *M. Opimius Nepos.*
L. Pinarius Natta.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Minucius Thermus.
 592. Y. of R.
 291. Consulship. **M. VALERIUS MESSALA.**
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
 Prætors. **M' POMPONIUS MATHO.**
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.
P. SEXTIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
 Plebeian Ædiles. *Q. Opimius Nepos.*
C. Antonius Nepos.
 Tribunes of the People. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*
M' Acilius Glabrio.
M' Mamilius

592. Y. of R.
292. Consulship. M. MAMILIUS NEPOS.
 C. AELIUS TUBERO.
 Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
 Sex. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
 Ti. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.
 Sex. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
 L. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
 L. ATILIUS BULBUS.
Quæstors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
 C. TITUS NEPOS.
 Q. AELIUS PÆTUS.
 M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
 Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
 P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSIUS.
 M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
 C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Pro-Quæstors. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
 L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

593. Y. of R.
292. Consulship. L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
 M. CORNELIUS CETHE-
 GUS.
Prætors. L. ORELIUS ORESTES.
 T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
 L. JULIUS SEQUESTRIUS.
 L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
 LUPUS.
 T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
 L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
Curule Ædiles. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
 L. MARCIUS CASSINUS.
Plebeian Æ- T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
diles. L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the Cn. TITMELLIUS FLACCUS.
People. Sex. POTITIUS NEPOS.
 L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.
 M. FOLLIS NEPOS.
 M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
 L. AHTISTIIUS LABEO.
 C. ALBIUS CARINUS.
 C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
 Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
 P. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.
Quæstors. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
 P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
 C. VETILLIUS NEPOS.
 C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSIUS.
 C. ATINIUS LABEO.
 Cn. HELVIUS BLASIO.
 L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.
 M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.
Pro-Quæstors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
 L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

594. Y. of R.
293. Consulship. CN. CORNELIUS DOLA-
 BELLA.
 M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
Censors. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
 M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

The fifty-fourth Lustrum.

Prætors. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS
 L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
 L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.
 L. MANLIUS ACIDIUS.
 C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
 L. LICINIUS POLLIO.
Curule Ædiles. Q. MARCIUS REX.
 P. LICINIUS AHRANA.
Plebeian Æ- C. AFRANIUS STILLO.
diles. L. PORCIUS LÆCA.
Tribunes of the L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
People. M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
 C. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
 C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
 C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
 L. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
 L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS.
 L. RUFUS PURPUREO.
 A. BÆCULONIUS NEPOS.
 Q. FICTIONIUS NEPOS.
Pro-Prætor in M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
Fourth Spain.

Quæstors. L. AURELIUS COTTA.
 Ser. SULPICIUS GALBA.
 C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
 Cn. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
 Sp. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
 A. TARENTIUS VARRO.
 Q. BALIUS TAMPHILUS.
 C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Pro-Quæstors. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.
 C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSIUS.
 C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

595. Y. of R.
294. Consulship. M. AEMILIUS LEPIDUS.
 C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a se-
 cond time.
Prætors. Q. OPTIMIUS NEPOS.
 L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
 L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
 C. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
 M. ACILIUS GLABRIUS.
 Q. OCTAVIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles. *A. Posthumius Albinus.*
Ti. Veturius Philo.
Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*
M. Manilius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. *M. Porcius Cato.*
M. Opimius Nepos.
M. Lucinius Stolo.
M. Nævius Crispus.
M. Urbinius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Rutilus.
L. Oppius Salinator.
Cn. Nævius Crispinus.
C. Platorius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flammaria.
Quæstors. *M. Junius Brutus.*
Q. Nævius Mathe.
L. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Fabius Buteo.
Cn. Cicinius Nepos.
Q. Catius Nepos.
Q. Catius Achilles.
C. Numisius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Liguria. *M. Fulvius Nobilior.* He triumphs over the Ligures.
Pro-Quæstors. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*
C. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Catius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
596. Y. of R.
295. Consulship. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
L. AURELIUS ORÆSTES.
Prætors. *L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.*
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
Curule Ædiles. *T. Quinctius Flamininus.*
Sp. Posthumius Albinus Magnus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *Cn. Tremellius Flaccus.*
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.
Tribunes of the People. *C. Livius Drusus.*
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
T. Villius Tappulus.
C. Silius Nerva.
C. Lætorius Mergus.
A. Gabinus Nepos.
M. Minucius Thermus.
L. Fabricius Luscinus.
T. Mænius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.

Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus.*
Claudius Unimanus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.
Q. Fabius Piclor.
M. Aurelius Scaurus.
L. Valerius Tappus.
L. Cornelius Blafio.
Pro-Prætor in Fourth Spain. *Q. Ogulnius Gallus.*
Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Catius Nepos.*
C. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Catius Achilles.

597. Y. of R.
296. Consulship. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, a second time.

Prætors. *Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.*
Q. MARCIUS REX.
P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
P. LICINIUS MURÆNA.
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Mummius Nepos.*
L. Atilius Regulus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *M. Atilius Balbus.*
L. Rutilius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. *Q. Aelius Pætus.*
M. Fufius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
C. Titius Nepos.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Serranus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
M. Junius Silanus.
P. Sempronius Blæsius.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
Quæstors. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio.*
C. Lælius Nepos.
L. Hostilius Mancinus.
C. Nigidius Figulus.
C. Valerius Tappus.
Sir. Fabius Piclor.
P. Cornelius Sylla.
L. Posthumius Tympanus.

Pro-Quæstors. *Q. Fabius Piclor.*
L. Cornelius Blafio.
L. Valerius Tappus.

598. Y. of R.
297. Consulship. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
M. CLAU-

Or, CONSULAR CALENDARS.

661

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a second time.

The former triumphs over the Dalmatians; the latter over the Ligures.

Prætor in Farther Spain. M' MANILIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Porcius Cato.
C. Sempronius Rutilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Opilius Salinator.
M. Lucinius Stolo.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Juventius Thalna.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Cn. Helvius Blafio.
C. Atinius Labeo.
A. Arunculeius Cotta.

M. Auburius Gernanius.
C. Veturius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Blaesus.
T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
Sp. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Pompeius Rufus.
M. Titius Nepos.
T. Juventius Thalna.
L. Cæcilius Denton.
C. Arunculeius Cotta.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. P. Perius Fuscus.

Pro Quæstors. C. Valerius Tullius.
Ser. Fabius Pictor.
L. Posthumius Timpianus.

599. Y. of R.

198. Consulship. Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

The latter died in his office; and in his room was chosen

M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Censor. M' Valerius Messala.
C. Cassius Longinus.

The fifty-fifth Lustrum.

Prætor in Farther Spain. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSCINIUS.

Curule Ædiles. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Livius Drusus.
A. Gabinus Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Plautius Hypsæus.
A. Terentius Varrus.
C. Apustius Fado.

M. Porcius Licinus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
Sp. Mummius Nepos.

Q. Bæbius Tampilus.
Q. Aulus Cerretanus.

Sex. Roleius Nepos.
C. Terentius Varrus.

L. Calpurnius Piso.
L. Scribonius Libo.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Porcius Lænas.

A. Licinius Nerva.
L. Lellius Nepos.

Sex. Aulus Paterius Catus.
L. Cæcilius Denton.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Fabius Pictor.
L. Posthumius Timpianus.

600. Y. of R.

199. Consulship. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

Prætor in Farther Spain. L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Fulvius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Titius Nepos.
Q. Aulus Paterius.

Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Brutus.
C. Numicius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.

C. Claudius Canina.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.

Q. Cotus Achilles.
Q. Nævius Matho.

Q. Catus Nepos.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.

C. Flavius Fimbria.
P. Licinius Cæpio.

Quæstors. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilius.
D. Junius Brutus.

M. Purius Piso.
C. Aulus Tiberius.

P. Aulus Ligus.
L. Aulus Glabrio.

L. Flaminius Nepos.
L. Cæcilius Denton.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Fabius Pictor.

601. Y. of R.

300. *Consulship*. M. CLAUDIUS MARCEL-
LUS, the third time:

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

He died in his office.

Prætor. MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. He
died in his *Prætorship*.*Prætor in Far-* M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
ther Spain.*Curule Ædiles*. Q. Fabius Æmilianus.

Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Æ- C. Veturius Nepos.*diles*. P. Juventius Thalna.*Tribunes of the* M. Scatinus Aricinus.
People. M. Atilius Serranus.

Claudius Unimanus.

L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.

M. Aurelius Scaurus.

L. Valerius Tappus.

Ti. Sempronius Blaesus.

C. Petillius Spurius.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

M. Atilius Bulbus.

Quæstors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æ-
milianus.

L. Hostilius Tubulus.

M. Licinius Crassus.

C. Lutatius Cerco.

C. Cluvius Saxula.

C. Atilius Serranus.

Sex. Antistius Nepos.

Sex. Albinus Carrinus.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Flaminius Nepos.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

L. Mummius. Appian only af-
firms that he triumphed over
the Lusitanians.

602. Y. of R.

301. *Consulship*. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.A. POSTHUMIUS ALBI-
NUS.*Prætor in Far-* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
ther Spain.*Curule Ædiles*. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

L. Aurelius Cotta.

Plebeian Æ- L. Hostilius Mancinus.*diles*. C. Plantius Hypseus.*Tribunes of the* C. Lælius Nepos.*People*. C. Nigidius Figulus.

L. Posthumius Tympanus.

M. Fulcinius Nepos.

M. Plætorius Nepos.

M. Statilius Nepos.

C. Valerius Tappus.

M. Cincius Alimestus.

C. Mulvius Nepos.

C. Ricilius Nepos.

L. Furius Philus.

D. Junius Silanus Manlianus.

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Sex. Fulvius Flaccus.

Sex. Atilius Serranus.

L. Daronius Nepos.

C. Popilius Lænas.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

Pro-Consul in C. Aurelius Scaurus.
Hither Spain.*Pro-Quæstors*. C. Cluvius Saxula.

Sex. Albinus Carrinus.

Sex. Atilius Nepos.

L. Flaminius Nepos.

603. Y. of R.

302. *Consulship*. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMI-
NINUS.

M. ACHILIUS BALBUS.

Prætors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Q. AELIUS PÆTUS.

M. ALBINUS GEMINUS.

M. FUFIVS NEPOS.

C. TITIVS NEPOS.

L. AURUNCULEIVS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Q. Servilius Cæpio.

Plebeian Æ- M. Junius Brutus.*diles*. Q. Cælius Achilles.*Tribunes of the* Q. Pompeius Nepos.*People*. M. Furius Crassipes.

C. Aurunculeius Cotta.

L. Cæcilius Denter.

C. Trebonius Asper.

M. Titius Nepos.

M. Toranius Nepos.

T. Juventius Thalna.

M. Turpilius Nepos.

Quæstors. A. Trebius Gallus.

L. Æmilius Paulus.

C. Terentius Varro.

C. Licinius Crassus.

Q. Calpurnius Piso.

P. Manilius Nepos.

P. Gallonius Nepos.

M. Atinius Labeo.

Pro-Prætor in *Q. Stertinius Nepos.*
C. Cosconius Nepos.
Macedon.

Pro-Quæstors. *C. Popilius Lænas.*
Sex. Albius Carrinas.
Q. Petillius Spurius.

The third Punic war.

604. Y. of R.

303. Consulship. *L. MARCIUS CENSORI-*
NUS.

M. MANLIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Far- *C. VETILIUS NEPOS.*

ther Spain.

Prætor in Ma- *P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.*
cedon.

Other Prætors. *Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMI-*
LIANUS.

A. TERENTIUS VARRO.

Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

Q. BÆBIUS TAMPILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher.*

Ser. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Æ- *L. Cecilius Metellus.*

diles. *Claudius Unimanus.*

Tribunes of the *L. Scribonius Libo.*

People. *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.*

Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

A. Licinius Neva.

Sex. Ailius Patus Catus.

Sp. Mæcilius Tullus.

M. Popilius Lænas.

L. Lollius Nepos.

Sp. Antius Restio.

C. Urbicus Nepos.

Quæstors. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*

Cn. Scaevola Geminus.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nepos.

Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus.

M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina.

P. Furius Philus.

C. Fulvius Flaccus.

C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-Prætor in *M. Aurius Geminus.*

Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. *P. Manilius Nepos.*

Q. Stertinius Nepos.

Sex. Albius Carrinas.

P. Gallonius Nepos.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

The Secular Games celebrated the fourth time.

605. Y. of R.

304. Consulship. *SP. POSTUMIUS ALBI-*
NUS.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆ-
SONIUS.

Prætors. *L. AURELIUS COTTA.*

Q. NAVIUS MATHO.

C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in board *L. HOSTILIUS MANCIUS.*

the flat order-

ed for Africa.

Prætor in Far- *C. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS.*

ther Spain.

Prætor in Ma- *Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.*

cedon.

Curule Ædiles. *Q. Fabius Maximus Servilius.*

M. Pinarius Posca.

Plebeian Æ- *C. Lucius Sapiens.*

diles. *C. Nigidius Figulus.*

Tribunes of the *D. Junius Brutus.*

People. *C. Ailius Tubero.*

L. Atilius Glabrio.

M. Pomponius Nepos.

Q. Apronius Nepos.

P. Licinius Crassus.

P. Ailius Ligus.

L. Volturnus Flamma.

C. Fundanius Fundulus.

M. Sextilius Nepos.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.

P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.

T. Didius Nepos.

P. Rutilius Nepos.

P. Popilius Lænas.

Ap. Claudius Centho.

M. Sergius Silus.

Pro-Consul in *M. Manilius Nepos.*

Africa.

Pro-Prætors in *Q. Fabius Pictor.*

Sicily and Hi-

Q. Bæbius Tampilus.

ther Spain.

Pio-Quæstors. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus.*

P. Manilius Nepos.

P. Furius Philus.

Q. Petillius Spurius.

P. Gallonius Nepos.

Q. Stertinius Nepos.

606. Y.

606. Y. of R.

305. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO
AFRIC. ÆMILIANUS.
C. LIVIUS MAMLIANUS.
DRUSUS.

Censors. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
L. Marcius Censorinus.

The fifty-sixth Lustrum.

Prætors. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS
CALVUS.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

Prætor on board M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

the fleet design-

ed for Africa.

Prætor in Far- CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.

ther Spain.

Curule Ædiles. Sp. Mummius Nepos.

Q. Pompeius Nepos.

Plebeian Æ- M. Titius Nepos.

diles. M. Furius Cressipes.

Tribunes of the L. Flaminius Nepos.

People. L. Lutatius Cerco.

C. Atilius Serranus.

C. Genucius Nepos.

C. Mænius Nepos.

L. Hostilius Tubulus.

C. Cluvius Saxula.

Sex. Antistius Nepos.

M. Licinius Crassus.

Ti. Memmius Nepos.

Quæstors.

M. Cosconius Nepos.

C. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus.

L. Plautius Hypsæus.

P. Cornelius Cethegus.

T. Posthumius Tympanus.

Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus.

M. Titinius Curvus.

P. Virginius Rutilus.

Pro-Consul in L. Capurnius Pilo Cæsonius.

Africa.

Pro-Prætor on L. Hostilius Mancinus.

board the fleet

in Africa.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Cecilius Metellus.

Macedon.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Nævius Matbo.

Sardinia.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

P. Rupilius Nepos.

Ap. Claudius Centho.

M. Sergius Silus.

P. Manilius Nepos.

Q. Stertinius Nepos.

607. Y. of R.

306. *Consulship.* CN. CORNELIUS LEN-
TULUS.

L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS.

He triumphs over the Achai-
ans and Corinthians.

Prætor in Hi- C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

ther Spain.

Prætors in je- Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SER-

veral other VILIANUS.

Places.

CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

SERVILIUS FABIVS PICTOR.

L. POSTHUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Popilius Lænas.

A. Lucinius Nerva.

Plebeian Æ- L. Scribonius Libo.

diles.

Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

Tribunes of the

People.

Sex. Atilius Serranus.

C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Sex. Albinius Carrinas.

C. Popilius Lænas.

M. Furius Luscus.

Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.

D. Junius Manlianus.

L. Duronius Nepos.

A. Virginius Nepos.

C. Furius Aculeo.

Quæstors.

C. Atilius Serranus.

L. Rupilius Nepos.

P. Mucius Scaevola.

P. Cornelius Lentulus.

L. Cornelius Sulla.

L. Cornelius Cethegus.

M. Titinius Nepos.

C. Lucinius Nerva.

Pro-Consul in P. Cornelius Scipio Africa-

Africa.

nus Æmilianus. He tri-
umphs over Africa, Carthage,
and Asdrubal.

Pro-Prætor on M. Atilius Serranus.

board the fleet

in Africa.

Pro-Prætor in Q. Cecilius Metellus Macedoni-

Macedon.

cus. He triumphs over Mac-
cedon, and the false Lamp.

Pio-

Pro Prætor in L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus
Sicily. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Plautius Hypsæus.
• T. Posthumius Tynpanus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Ap. Claudius Cento.
P. Virginius Rutilus.

Carthage and Corinth destroyed by the
Romans.

608. Y. of R.

307. Consulship. Q. FABIVS MAX. ÆMILI-
ANUS.

L. HOSFILIVS MANCI-
NUS.

Prætor in Hi- C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.
ther Spain.

Prætors in dif- SP. MUMMIUS.
ferent Coun- M. TORANIUS.
tries. T. IUVENTIVS THALNA.
M. PINARIUS POSCA.
C. ARUNCULEIVS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Lepidus Porcina.
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio.

Plebeian Æ- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.
diles. D. Junius Brutus, afterwards
Callaicus.

Tribunes of the C. Licinius Crassus.
People. Q. Calpurnius Piso.
P. Manilius.
Q. Petillius Spurinus.
Q. Stertinius.
M. Servilius.
P. Gallonius.
C. Terentius Varro.
M. Atinius Labeo.
L. Arennius.

Quæstors. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Perpenna.
C. Memmius Gallus.
M. Aquilius.
C. Livius Salinator.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
Q. Antonius Balbus.
C. Persius Flaccus.

609. Y. of R.

308. Consulship. SER. SULPICIVS GALBA.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors. M. TITIVS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
L. LOLLIVS.

SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTVS CATVS.

VOL. II.

Q. POMPEIVS.
M. FURIUS CRASSIVS.

Curule Ædiles. Sex. Atilius Serranus.
C. Hostilius Mancinus.

Plebeian Æ- D. Junius Silanus Mancinus.
diles. L. Hostilius Tubulus.

Tribunes of the M. Claudius Marcellus.
People. C. Calpurnius Piso.

C. Furius Braccus.
L. Lætorius Plancianus.
C. Pupius Turdus.
C. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Aebutius Carus.
C. Lucretius Trio.
D. Quinctius.
C. Servilius Cati a.

Quæstors. Cn. Octavius.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Annus Luscus.
A. Gabinus Nepos.
Sp. Lucretius Gallus.
T. Villius Tappulus Annalis.
L. Cornelius Sifenna.

Pro-Consul in C. Lælius Sapiens.
Hith. Spain.

Pro-Consul in Q. Fabius Maximus Æmili-
Farth. Spain. anus.

610. Y. of R.

309. Consulship. AP. CLAUDIVS PVLCHER,
who triumphs over the Salassi.
Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS
MACEDONICVS.

Prætors. M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS POR-
CINA.

M. POPILIVS LÆNAS.
M. TITIVS.
Q. POMPEIVS, &c.

Curule Ædiles. P. Furius Philus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Æ- Ser. Fulvius Flaccus.
diles. L. Durenius.

Tribunes of the Titus Didius. The other nine
People. are unknown.

Quæstors. C. Marcus Figulus.
C. Antonius Nepos.
L. Aurelius Orgetes, &c.

611. Y. of R.

310. Consulship. L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS
CALVVS.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS SER-
VILIANVS.

Consul.

Censors. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Æmilianus.
L. Mummius.

The fifty seventh Lustrum.

Prætors. L. Hostilius Tubulus,
A. Licinius Nerva.
Tribunes of the People. C. Fannius Strabo. The other nine are unknown.
Quæstors. L. Trebellius, Flaccus, Scrofa, &c.
Pro Consul in Hith. Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.

612. Y. of R.

311. *Consulship.* CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Q. POMPEIUS.
Prætors. D. JUMENTIUS SILANUS, MANLIANUS,
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mucius Scævola. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Hith. Spain. Q. Cæcilius Macedonicus.

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.

613. Y. of R.

312. *Consulship.* C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Prætors. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, &c.
Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Gallus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Hith. Spain. Q. Pompeius.

614. Y. of R.

313. *Consulship.* CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
Prætors. C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HIPPELLUS,
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Tribunes of the People. A. Gabinius, Ti. Claudius Asellus. The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

615. Y. of R.

314. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALPURNIUS.

Prætors. T. Didius, &c.
Tribunes of the People. C. Curatius. The other nine are unknown.

Prætors. M. Popilius Lænas.
11th. Spain.

617. Y. of R.

315. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, PERCINA.

Prætors. C. HOSTILIUS MANCI-
NUS, who abdicated.

Prætors. P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cælius Longinus, who published a law for voting by ballot.

M. Antius Bibo. The other eight are unknown.

Quæstors. T. Semonius Gracchus, &c.

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. D. Junius Brutus Callaicus.

617. Y. of R.

316. *Consulship.* P. FURNIUS PILLUS.
SEX. AILIUS SERRANUS.

Censors. App. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Fulvius Nobilior.

The fifty-eighth Lustrum.

Prætors. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. L. Furius Brochus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Hith. Spain. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-Consul in Farth. Spain. D. Junius Brutus Callaicus.

618. Y. of R.

317. *Consulship.* SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS;
who triumphs over the *Parthæi*, a people of *Illyricum*.
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætors. C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Rupilius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in the Country of the Veneti in Italy. Sex. Atilius Serranus.

619. Y. of R.

318. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS,
a second time.

C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætors. C. HOSTIUS MANCINI
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. Fannius Strabo. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALPURNIUS.
Farth. Spain.
620. Y. of R.

319. *Consulship.* P. MUCIUS SCÆVO
L. CALPURNIUS PISO

Prætors. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS
C. OCTAVIUS, &c.

Curule-Ædile. Q. Lucretius Plautus Vespillo.

Tribunes of the People. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was killed in his office.

M. Octavius Cæcina.

Q. Mummius.

L. Rubrius Varro.

P. Apuleius Saturninus

Q. Ælius Tubero, &c.

Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLÆICUS.
Farth. Spain

Pro-Consuls in Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.
Campania.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

621. Y. of R.

320. *Consulship.* P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
P. RUPILIUS.

Prætors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. MERCIUS FIGULUS, &c.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Pompeius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLÆICUS.
Farther Spain. who triumphs over the Lusitanians and Gallicians.

Pro-Consul in P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC.
Further Spain.

Æmilianus, who takes Numantia, and obtains a triumph at Rome.

622. Y. of R.

321. *Consulship.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS, the Pontifex Maximus.

L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, the Flamen of Mars.

Censors. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus.

Q. Pompeius.

The fifty-ninth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. C. Papirius Carbo. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in P. Rupilius, who received the honour of an Oration, after he had reduced the slaves in Sicily.

623. Y. of R.

322. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPENNA.

Tribunes of the People. C. Atinius Labeo. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Consul in P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus.
Asia.

624. Y. of R.

323. *Consulship.* C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, who triumphs over the Iudians, a people of Istria.

M. AQUILLIUS.

Pro-Consul in M. Perpenna.
Asia.

625. Y. of R.

324. *Consulship.* CN. OCTAVIUS.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS.

Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius.
Asia.

626. Y. of R.

325. *Consulship.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius.
Asia.

627. Y. of R.

326. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

The secular games, for the fourth time

Censors. Q. Fabius Max. Servilianus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus, who both abdicated.

Prætor in Sicily. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Pennus. The other nine are unknown.

Quæstor in Sardinia. C. Sulpicius Gracchus.

Pro-Consul in M. Aquillius, who triumphs.
Asia.

628. Y. of R.

327. *Consulship.* M. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
M. FLAVIUS FLACCUS.

Censors.

Censors.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio.
L. Cassius Longinus.

The sixtieth Lustrum.

Prætors.

C. FANNIUS STRABO.
L. OPIMIUS.
Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, &c.
L. Aurelius Orestes.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.

629. Y. of R.

328. *Consulship.* C. CASSIVS LONGINVS.
C. SEXTIVS CALVINVS.

Pro-Consul in Transalpine Liguria.

L. Aurelius Orestes.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia.

L. Opimius.

Pro-Consul in Hispania.

630. Y. of R.

329. *Consulship.* Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS
BALEARICVS.
T. QVINCTIVS FLAMINIVS.

Prætors.

SEX. JULIVS CÆSAR.
Q. MARCIVS REX.
Q. ABLIVS TUBERO.
L. JULIVS CÆSAR, &c.

Tribunes of the People.

C. Sempronius Gracchus.
Aufidius Nepos. The other eight are unknown.

Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul.

C. Sextius Calvinus.

Pro-Consul in I.

Pro-Consul in I.

L. Aurelius Orestes, who triumphs over the Ligures, Volcontii, Salluvii, &c.

Pro-Consul in I.

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Pro-Consul in I.

M. Pæbius Cæcilius. The other five are unknown.

Pro-Consul in the Balearic islands.

C. Sextius Calvinus, who triumphs over the Ligures, Volcontii, Salluvii, &c.

Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul.

L. Aurelius Orestes, who triumphs over the Salluvii.

632. Y. of R.

331. *Consulship.* Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS ALBIVS.

Prætor in Asia.

QUINTVS MUCIVS SALLVOLA.

Tribunes of the People.

M. Minucius Rufus.
L. Calpurnius Piso Eclecta.
C. Licinius Nerva. The other seven are unknown.

Quæstor in Asia.

P. Rutilius Rufus.

Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul.

Cn. Domitius Æno-barbus.

Pro-Consul in the Balearic islands.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



